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AND AFTER

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by JAMES KNOWLES.

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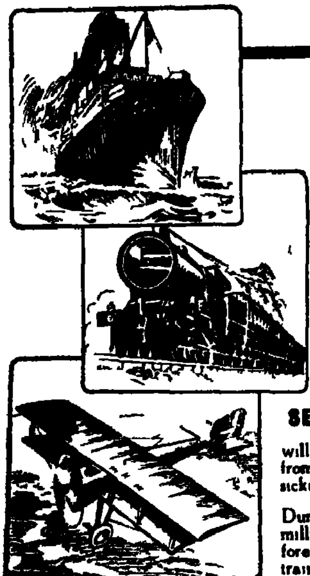
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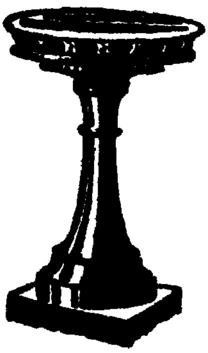
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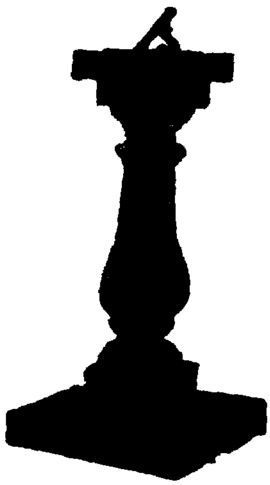
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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. DXCIX—January 1927

THE TRADE UNION PROBLEM[1]

'Depend upon it, nothing can be got by fraternising with Trades Unions. They are founded upon principles of brutal Tyranny and Monopoly. I would rather live under a Dey of Algiers than under a Trades Committee.'[2] These words are not mine. They neither, as will presently be seen, accurately reflect my sentiments, nor do they accord with the traditions of the Conservative Party in regard to the organisation of labour. They were written by Richard Cobden. His was the authentic voice of the Manchester School, and his words essentially conformed to the doctrines of Benthamite Radicalism and to the principles of 'liberty' as

[1] Recent articles on Trade Unions which have appeared in the *Nineteenth Century and After* are:—July 1926—'Trade Unionism: An Explanation, a Condemnation, and an Entreaty,' by W. A. Appleton, Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions. October 1926—'The Trade Union Question, 1926,' by Brig.-General F. G. Stone, C.M.G.

[2] Letter to F. W. Cobden, August 16, 1842.

understood and interpreted by the apostles of *laissez faire*. That 'liberty' is the most precious of human endowments will hardly be denied; but the term is susceptible of varied interpretations. The Manchester School primarily understood by it the absence of all restraints, legislative or other, upon individual activity, and in particular upon freedom of contract. Monopoly of any kind they regarded as an infringement of liberty; and it was because trade unions tended towards the establishment of monopoly in labour, and because they imposed such restraints upon individual action as in some cases amounted to actual tyranny, that Cobden and other apostles of that school so strongly denounced their interference. From a similar angle they deprecated the interference of Parliament with the conditions under which industry was carried on in factories. The necessity for legislative protection for children they did, indeed, admit; otherwise they were as stoutly opposed to factory laws as they were to trade unions.

Of this antipathy the genius of modern Toryism is wholly innocent. Tennyson gave utterance to Tory feelings when he wrote: 'We are not cotton-spinners all.' Social legislation has, indeed, for a full century been part of the tradition of the Conservative Party. It may be, as Radical essayists have not hesitated to assert, that in the days of the Anti-Corn Law agitation the Tory squires saw in factory laws and in the patronage of the workpeople a means of revenge upon the manufacturers. But that motive, if it ever existed, was both partial and evanescent, and certainly did not inspire the policy to which, from the days of Michael Thomas Sadler and Lord Shaftesbury to those of Disraeli and R. A Cross, and from theirs to our own, the Conservative Party have steadfastly adhered.

So much seemed necessary to show that if to-day Conservatives are compelled to tackle the problem of trade unionism, they approach it in no vindictive spirit, but with the keen sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of manual labour which is a vital element in their party tradition.

No one, however, can face the problem with the requisite understanding who does not see it in true historical perspective.

Trade unionism is the product of modern industrialism, and to the existing organisation of industry is an indispensable adjunct. A German professor of the last generation attempted to establish the lineal descent of modern trade unionism from the mediæval guilds, and for many years Brentano's view was widely accepted in England. But with black-letter antiquarianism I am not now concerned. Modern trade unionism came into being as a natural result of the new form of industrial organisation which followed on the great mechanical discoveries of the later eighteenth

century, upon the transition from the domestic to the factory system, and upon the appearance of the capitalist employer—in short, of the Industrial Revolution. Down to that time few people in England, even wage-earners, were wholly dependent upon wages. With the concentration of industry in factories and cities, multitudes of men and women were cut off from all supplementary resources open to the yeoman or even to the commoner; they became for the first time dependent upon weekly wages and weekly employment, and to that extent were placed at the mercy of the capitalist employer. Nor was his mercy, it must be sadly admitted, always tender; and if to-day the children's teeth are set on edge it is partly because the fathers had eaten very sour grapes.

The wage-earners sought refuge, naturally enough, in combination. But here they found themselves up against the law. By Common Law practically all combinations, whether of workmen or employers, were illegal as being 'conspiracies in restraint of trade,' and between the reigns of Edward I. and George IV. no fewer than thirty or forty Acts of Parliament were passed with the object of preventing combinations either of masters or men. A particularly stringent Act was passed in 1800 declaring that any person who combined with another either to secure an advance in wages, or to limit output, or to interfere with the management of a business, was on conviction liable to imprisonment. As Mr. A. V. Dicey put it, 'Any artizan who organized a strike or joined a trade union was a criminal . . .; the strike was a crime, the trade union was an unlawful association.' To us such legislation is unthinkable, and yet, as the same writer pointed out, it reflected the best opinion of that day, and is not one whit more strongly opposed to trade combinations, whether among employers or workmen, than was the Code Napoléon of 1804, which summarised the commercial and economic ideas of the French Revolution.

The Act of 1800 was, however, like its predecessors, at once ineffective and mischievous, and a Royal Commission, which had been appointed to consider the whole position, reported in 1824 strongly against combination laws. So far from preventing combinations either of masters or workmen, those laws had tended, in the Commissioners' judgment, to 'produce mutual irritation and distrust, to give a violent character to the combinations, and to render them highly dangerous to the peace of the community.' The laws were consequently repealed *en bloc* by an Act of that year. The Act represents a notable triumph for Benthamite Radicalism and the principles of *laissez faire*.[1] The immediate results were

[1] The real author of the Act of 1824 was Francis Place; its parliamentary sponsor was Joseph Hume.

not, however, encouraging. On the contrary, the emancipating legislation of 1824 was promptly followed by an epidemic of strikes accompanied by a good deal of violence, and by the intimidation both of employers and peaceable wage-earners. The Benthamites were in dismay. Their hope and intention had been to promote the liberty of the individual workman and the individual employer; but they discovered to their chagrin that emancipation was the prelude, not to liberty, but to coercion.

Once more they had recourse to the Legislature. An Act of 1825 declared that combinations had been found 'injurious to trade and commerce, dangerous to the tranquillity of the country, and especially prejudicial to the interests of all who were concerned in them.' The common law of conspiracy was reaffirmed; summary penalties were prescribed for 'the use of violence, threats, intimidation, molestation, or obstruction by any person for the purpose of forcing a master to alter his mode of business, or a workman to refuse or leave work, or of forcing any person to belong to or conform to the rules of any club or association'; but the Act exempted from punishment persons who met together to agree upon the wages or conditions of employment of those actually present at the meeting, but no others.

The general effect of this somewhat halting piece of legislation was that a trade union remained a non-lawful, though not necessarily a criminal, association. Any trade combination, unless it fell within the limited right of combination given by the Act of 1825, was illegal. 'A strike,' as Mr. Dicey says, 'though not necessarily a conspiracy, certainly might be so, and a trade union, as being a combination in restraint of trade, was at best a non-lawful society, *i.e.* a society which, though membership in it was not a crime, yet could not claim the protection of the law.' This ambiguous position entailed one very serious consequence—trade unions were excluded from the protection afforded by legislation to friendly societies (1855), and their funds were consequently at the mercy of any dishonest official.

Yet, notwithstanding this grave disadvantage, trade unions multiplied very rapidly during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. It was, however, the outrages committed by members of the associations in Sheffield, Manchester, and other industrial centres (1866) which first concentrated public attention on the new labour movement. In 1867 a Royal Commission was set up to inquire into the whole question, and on its Report the legislation of 1871–76 was mainly based.

That legislation has been described as the charter of trade unionism; and the description is broadly accurate. It not only extended to the funds of trade unions the benefit of the Friendly Societies Acts, but relieved them, or was supposed to relieve

them, from liability to damages for the tortious acts of their agents. It mitigated in their favour the Common Law in regard to conspiracy by declaring that 'an agreement or combination by two or more persons to do or procure to be done any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute between employers and workmen shall not be indictable as a conspiracy, if such act if done by one person would not be punishable as a crime' (38 & 39 Vict. c. 86, section 3). The plain meaning of this enactment, as expounded by Mr. Dicey, is 'that a combination among workmen to break a contract with their employer, *e.g.* to leave his service without due notice, with a view to compelling him to grant a rise in wages, is not a crime, whilst a combination by tenants to break a contract by refusing to pay rent due to their landlord, *i.e.* with a view to compelling him to lower their rents, is a crime.' The provisions in regard to picketing and intimidation have at the present time a special significance. What Dicey cautiously describes as 'something like a legal sanction' was given to 'picketing' in connexion with a trade dispute, so long as such conduct does not partake of intimidation or violence; but it was specifically laid down that every person who, with a view to compel any other person to abstain from doing, or to do, any act which such person has a legal right to do, or abstain from doing, wrongfully and without legal authority uses violence to or intimidates such person, follows him about, hides his tools, watches or besets his house, or follows him through the streets in a disorderly way, shall be liable to three months' hard labour. Thus, in the words of Professor Geldart, a distinguished lawyer with pronounced 'popular' sympathies, trade unions 'became in form privileged bodies with a special status.' Nor does it need any elaborate argument to show how far, in the course of half a century, the Legislature had travelled from the prevailing temper of 1825, and much more from that of 1800.

During the thirty years which intervened between the legislation of 1871–76 and the Trade Disputes Act of 1906 several leading cases of great importance to trade unions were decided by the courts. Of these the most famous and the most important was the *Taff Vale Case*, which came before the House of Lords, in its judicial capacity, in 1901. Stated in non-technical terms, the decision of the court was that the legislation of 1871–76, which was supposed to have conferred complete immunity upon trade unions, did not in fact extend to damages obtainable in a civil action, and that a trade union was still liable to an injunction and to the payment of damages for acts of violence committed or threatened in its behalf. Thus were trade unions declared liable for wrongs done by their agents. The decision came as a surprise to the public, and to trade unionists caused nothing less than

consternation. Yet, after all, trade unions were at that time much more important to workmen as benefit societies than they were as militant organisations. During the decade 1895–1904 the total expenditure of 100 of the most important unions amounted to 16,060,000*l.* Of this 86 per cent. was expended on benefits of various kinds; only 14 per cent. on militant objects. Thus so ardent a friend of labour as Professor Geldart has left it on record that in his opinion 'no fair-minded person can dispute the substantial justice of the *Taff Vale* decision.' So strongly, however, was feeling aroused, that in 1903 another Royal Commission was appointed, under the chairmanship of Lord Dunedin, to inquire into the subject of trade disputes and combinations and as to the law affecting them, and to report on the law applicable to the same, and the effect of any modification thereof.

The Commission produced two Reports. The majority was opposed to any alteration of the law as laid down in the *Taff Vale* judgment, but recommended an alteration in the law relating to picketing and conspiracy. The Radical Government, fresh from a notable victory at the polls, and confronted by the new phenomenon of an independent 'Labour' Party numbering twenty-nine members in the House of Commons, promptly introduced a Trade Disputes Bill. The Bill covered four branches of the subject:—conspiracy, picketing, trade interference apart from conspiracy, and agency. There remained the question whether actions of tort against trade unions should be prohibited? As originally introduced the Bill provided that a union was not to be held liable for the wrongful act of its agent, unless the act had been formally approved by the executive committee of the union or had been done by a person or persons specifically authorised to bind the union by the conduct impugned. The Bill was not wholly approved by the Labour members, who, two days after the first reading of the Government Bill, introduced a Bill of their own which relieved the unions of all liability for damages sustained through the conduct of their members. The difference between the two Bills was pithily expressed by Mr. Keir Hardie, who declared that trade unionists would not be satisfied with mere barbed-wire entanglements for the protection of their funds, but would insist on their removal out of the range of the enemies' guns. Then arose a curious and complicated parliamentary situation. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman not only voted but spoke in favour of the Labour Bill, the second reading of which was carried by 416 to 66. The essential point was compromised in favour of the Labour view, and the Government Bill, so amended, passed into law.

The first section of the *Trade Disputes Act* of 1906 extended to civil responsibility for conspiracy the immunity from criminal

prosecution, conferred by the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875. Henceforward 'an act done in pursuance of an agreement or combination by two or more persons' was not to be actionable 'if done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute . . . unless the act, if done without any such agreement or combination, would be actionable.' The second section legalised peaceful picketing; it declared it to be lawful for one or more persons, acting on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union or of an individual employer or firm 'in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, to attend at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be, if they so attend merely for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working.' The third section removed the liability for interfering with another person's business or 'with the right of some other person to dispose of his capital or his labour as he wills.' But again the act so protected by the law must be 'in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute.' Even so, sound lawyers of all parties regarded the immunity as indefensible. It was, however, around the terms of the fourth section that controversy raged, has raged, and will rage hottest. The first three sectious were of general applicability; though evidently intended primarily for the protection of trade unions, they did not exclusively refer to them. The fourth section, which exempted trade unions from all actions for tort, undeniably conferred a special and exclusive privilege upon such associations. Few unbiassed people could now be found to defend such a privilege. Lord Halsbury denounced the whole Bill as one 'for legalising tyranny and for the purpose of taking people outside the ordinary courts of law.' Even Lord James of Hereford was moved to wrath by section 4. 'Simply register yourselves as a trade union; whatever wrong you may inflict, whatever destruction of property may be caused, we the Legislature give our blessing to go forth and do it.' If it be true that the expedient of a criminal prosecution of the guilty individuals is, as good lawyers have argued, left entirely untouched by the Act of 1906, the language of Lord James may sound extravagant; but recent events must have convinced the vast majority of thinking people that the exceptional privilege conferred by section 4 of the Act of 1906 must, in the interests alike of trade unions and of the community, be curtailed, if not abrogated.

But the whole problem was about to assume a new aspect. Down to 1906 the Legislature regarded trade unions, whether it imposed restrictions or conferred privileges upon them, solely as factors in the organisation of industry. After 1906 they could no longer be so regarded. Trade unionism had definitely entered the

political arena. In February 1900 the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress summoned a conference, which was attended not only by trade union delegates, but by representatives of the Independent Labour Party, the Fabian Society, and the Social Democratic Federation. The conference resolved to 'establish a distinct Labour group in Parliament, who shall have their own whips, and agree upon their own policy, which must embrace a readiness to co-operate with any party which for the time being may be engaged in promoting legislation in the direct interests of labour.' The new party made rapid progress. At the General Election of 1900 it ran 15 candidates and returned 2; in 1906 it ran 50 and returned 29; in December 1910 it ran 56 and returned 42; in 1923 it ran 427 and returned 191. Men and money for the party were alike supplied mainly by the trade unions. In the year ending December 1924 the affiliation fees from local Labour parties and trade councils aggregated only 1189*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*; while from trade unions and Socialist societies they amounted to 36,079*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* As there are only seven affiliated Socialist societies, it will be understood that the trade unions are still, as they have been from the first, the backbone of the Labour Party. Nor do these figures quoted adequately measure the financial support derived from this source, since much of the subvention is indirect.

In 1908, however, the new movement encountered a snag. In that year Mr. W. V. Osborne, a member of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, contested the right of his Society to spend its funds on political objects. The case was carried to the House of Lords, which, like the Court of Appeal,[4] decided that it was unlawful for a trade union to make a compulsory levy, or use any of its funds, for the purpose of supporting a political party or maintaining members of Parliament. The courts held, in fact, that the lawful activities of trade unions were by the Acts of 1871–76 confined to 'regulating the relations between workmen and masters, or between workmen and workmen, or between masters and masters,' and imposing restrictive conditions on any trade or business, and to the provision of benefits to members. Political activities were, therefore, *ultra vires*. Following upon this judgment numerous injunctions were granted against trade unions to prevent expenditure on political objects.

Once more the Judiciary had spread consternation among trade unionists and their political allies; once more the Legislature intervened on behalf of trade unions, or rather on behalf of the socialist members of those Societies. On the one hand, in order to meet the immediate difficulties of working-class members

[4] In the court below Mr. Justice Neville had given judgment (July 7, [illegible]) against Mr. Osborne.

of Parliament, the House of Commons resolved in 1911 to pay a salary of 400*l*. a year to all members; on the other, Parliament was induced to pass the Trade Union Act of 1913—popularly known as the Political Levy Act. By that Act a trade union, so long as its principal objects are those of a trade union as defined by the Act of 1876, is entitled to 'apply the funds of the union for any lawful objects or purposes for the time being authorised under its constitution' (section 1 (i.)). The Act contained a very wide specification (section 3 (iii.)) of political objects to which a union might contribute, including the expenses of candidates for Parliament or local bodies, and the maintenance of members of such bodies, the holding of political meetings, the distribution of political literature, and so forth. But such activities could not be undertaken until approval was obtained by a ballot of the members. All payments were to be made out of a separate political fund, and any member was to be entitled to claim exemption from contributions to that fund. Contribution to the fund was not to be made a condition of admission to the union, nor was any exempted member to be excluded from any benefits of the union, or 'placed in any respect, either directly or indirectly, under any disability or at any disadvantage as compared with other members of the union (except in relation to the control or management of the political fund) by reason of his being so exempt' (section 3 (i.) (*b*)).

The Act of 1913 was admittedly a compromise. It sought to secure to trade unions the legal right to indulge in political activities, a right which prior to 1908 they had believed themselves to possess. At the same time it was designed to secure the rights of individual workmen to withhold support from political parties or principles to which they were opposed, without sacrificing the benefits which trade unions offered. Parliament, having endowed trade unions with large privileges, was clearly bound to insist that those privileges should not be monopolised by the adherents of any one political party. To effect this object Parliament adopted the device of 'contracting out.' But the machinery has worked badly. Twelve years' experience of the Act has proved that the safeguards provided therein are to a large extent illusory, that the ballots are, in many cases, little more than a farce, and that the lot of the member who has the courage to claim exemption is not invariably a happy one. It is highly significant that in fourteen of the largest trade unions, with a total membership of 1,800,000, only 43,430 individuals had (down to the end of 1924) claimed exemption under the Act of 1913. Various deductions may, of course, be drawn from these figures, but the votes cast for Conservative candidates in the General Elections of 1922 and 1924 suggest irresistibly, if they

cannot conclusively prove, that a large number of trade unionists decline to support socialist principles when they can count on the secrecy of the ballot, even though, for the sake of peace and quietness, they continue to contribute, through the political levy, to the expenses and maintenance of members opposed to them in politics.[5]

The Act of 1913 does not, however, stand alone; recent events have thrust into prominence several of the more debatable provisions of the Act of 1906, and many thoughtful persons, outside the ranks of strong partisans, and largely detached from active politics, are forced to the conclusion that the time has arrived for reconsidering the relations between the State and a group of powerful associations which constitute a veritable *imperium in imperio*. The membership of these associations quadrupled between 1900 and 1920, reaching 8,334,362 at the end of the latter year. It has since declined to about 5,500,000, but it still represents about one-third of the wage-earning population.

The problem is thus both large and complex, and plainly must be considered from at least three points of view: that of the workmen, individually and collectively; that of industry as a whole; and, above all, that of the community.

A development of great importance in the history of trade unionism calls at this point for notice. In the summer of 1920 the members of the Executive Committee of the Labour Party combined with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress to form a Council of Action. A special Trade Union Congress was summoned to meet in London on July 12, and by a card vote of 2,760,000 to 1,636,000 the Congress demanded the withdrawal of all British troops from Ireland and the cessation of the production of munitions of war destined for use in Ireland or against Russia. In the event of refusal the Congress recommended a General Strike. The Government had already given its answer to this threat through the mouth of the Prime Minister. Certain railway employees in Ireland had, earlier in the summer, refused to handle cases of munitions intended for the use of soldiers or police in Ireland; others refused to work trains carrying more than a certain quota of soldiers.

The threat of 'direct action' was in effect a challenge to the State, an assault upon the root principle of Democracy. Mr. Lloyd George promptly took it up.

I have related the incident more than once; I recall it again because it illustrates very vividly the entirely novel position assumed by those who claimed to speak in the name of organised

[5] The aggregate Socialist vote cast in the Election of 1918 was 2,244,945, at a time when trade union membership was estimated at about 7,000,000.

labour, and exhibits them as oligarchical pretenders to a throne already occupied by democracy. Their pretensions were as inadmissible as they were arrogant, and were most properly and most promptly repudiated by Mr. Lloyd George. Little more was heard *eo nomine* of the Council of Action; but a crisis hardly less menacing, though essentially different in character, was narrowly averted in 1921, when a strike threatened by the 'Triple Alliance'—miners, railwaymen, and transport workers—was called off at the last minute of the eleventh hour on 'Black Friday' (April 15). A situation almost precisely parallel with that of 1920 was reproduced in the spring of 1926, and issued in the General Strike.

The declaration of a General Strike raised questions of the gravest import both to the theory of the State and to the practical problems of government. It was called by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, and for any disaster which might have followed from that act of arrogant folly the general body of trade unionists would have been formally if not morally responsible. No sooner was its failure manifest than an impudent attempt was made by trade union leaders in Parliament, and elsewhere, to minimise its significance, and to represent the incident as purely industrial, differing in degree perhaps, but not in kind, from scores of trade disputes in the past. Lord Oxford was quick to expose this fallacy, and described it as a blow at the very vitals of the community.

And yet, while emphasising this truth, and though I deem it important to realise the distance which trade unionism has travelled down a slippery and dangerous path, it is nevertheless desirable to approach the problem of the immediate future as free as may be from any prepossessions derived from the events of the recent past. Undeniably it is the folly of trade union leaders which has forced the nation to confront an issue which cannot be postponed. None the less is it proper to confront it in a light as dry as can, in a disturbed atmosphere, be attained.

If the argument of this paper be sound, it is imperative that nothing should be done to interfere with the legitimate activities of trade unions in the purely industrial sphere. Nor will anything of the kind be proposed. The existing organisation of industry cannot dispense with them. They are an essential adjunct of 'capitalism.' But the legislation of 1906 and 1913 has tempted trade unions to neglect their appropriate sphere, to sacrifice a strong industrial position, in the hope of capturing the machinery of the State, and to utilise that machinery in the supposed interests of the manual workers. This interlocking of industry and politics has wrought great mischief to both. It tends to weaken the

authority and to impair the dignity of Parliament; it may, if the unfortunate tendency is not arrested, actually destroy Representative Democracy. There are those in the Socialist ranks who would welcome such a result—nay, who are consciously working to achieve it. They would supersede a representative Parliament by a Soviet, and would concentrate authority in a hierarchy of workers' councils. Some such purpose was behind the General Strike. Had it succeeded, some such result would have ensued. True, only a small minority actually realised the purpose which inspired that revolutionary movement; fewer still aimed consciously at the goal: of those who went out the vast majority had no thought save sympathy for the miners, who were called upon (so they thought) to bear the first brunt of a general assault upon the whole economic position of the wage-earners. None the less is it essential to insist upon the responsibility of the trade union leaders, who are now ingeminating peace, for a movement which brought this nation to the brink of civil war.

> The business of trade unionism is to restore order and end the chaos that has overwhelmed our movement. Depleted funds and shrivelling memberships are evils that resolution and good faith can convert in time; loss of prestige and influence are difficulties far more serious, but still not insuperable.

Thus wrote Mr. Rose, Labour M.P. for North Aberdeen, in the *Daily Mail* of December 7, 1926. I cordially agree; and I would add that it is in complete accord with the best traditions of the Conservative Party to help the rank and file among the trade unionists 'to restore order and end the chaos' that has indeed overwhelmed their movement.

How is it to be done? How is industrial trade unionism to be delivered from political entanglements, and the community to be saved from the dire consequences which the unholy alliance has brought upon it?

First: the farce of the present method of taking a ballot must be ended; the scandal of not taking ballots removed. This matter is not free from complexity; but it ought not to be beyond the wit of man to devise methods which, while respecting the cherished autonomy of the unions, shall secure to their members an opportunity of giving their votes, freely and under the strictest seal of secrecy, for or against a resort to war.

Secondly: a strict line must be drawn between the benefit funds and the militant funds: the former must be protected alike against attachment for damages for tort, against depletion for militant purposes, and against the liability of payments to officials for purely political services. Parliament has, in these latter years, been naturally and perhaps wisely reluctant to do anything

which would interfere, or even appear to interfere, with the independence of great self-governing associations of workmen. It would be infinitely better if the indispensable reforms could come from within; but if the trade unions cannot protect themselves, they must be protected against themselves.

Similar considerations apply to what has come to be known as the 'political levy.' If it be true, as I have argued, that trade unions are an inseparable adjunct of the industrial organisation of to-day, if employers are unwilling or unable to follow the American lead and keep their shops 'open,' it is evidently essential that a workman should be entitled to join a trade union in order to secure the advantages of collective bargaining and other 'benefits,' without being virtually compelled to subscribe to the funds of any political party. As well might a trade union make a compulsory levy for the maintenance of denominational teaching in schools. There is, I have reason to know, a large body of opinion among trade unionists in favour of substituting the method of 'contracting in' for that of 'contracting out'; but here, again, it were greatly to be preferred that the substantive proposals should come from within.

On the difficult question as to the legal status of trade unions it is hardly for a mere layman to venture an opinion; but to the lay mind the present position of these great associations seems in the highest degree anomalous and therefore to call for amendment. Perhaps an argument may be most safely suggested under cover of an interrogation: Does anyone pretend that if the legislation of 1906, to say nothing of that of 1913, were to-day to be proposed to Parliament, after the experience of the last twenty years, that it would have a chance of acceptance? If not, what hinders amendment?

And it is for amendment carried out in no vindictive spirit, but with a genuine desire to make trade unions more effective instruments for their appropriate work, that I plead. Whether the time is not near at hand when the existing organisation of industry will give place to a better, and whether trade unions would not prove an impediment to the realisation of that better order—these are interesting and important questions, but the answer to them must be deferred. In the present industrial system trade unions are an integral and indispensable element. The immediate problem is how, without curbing their beneficent activities, to remove those temptations to mischief which recent legislation has unfortunately offered them. The problem is not simple, but, given goodwill and clear thinking, it is not insoluble.

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

LOCARNO, GENEVA, AND THE EMPIRE

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S appeal to the Dominions to stand by Great Britain in the event of war with Turkey, after the ill-starred Greek adventure in Asia Minor had collapsed, caused considerable searching of heart throughout the Empire. The question as to how far the Dominions would be willing in future to follow the lead of the Foreign Office and accept the responsibilities and liabilities consequent on indorsement by them of British policy became an issue of first-rate importance. Its importance was accentuated by the attitude of Canada towards Lausanne. Then came the Geneva 'Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes,' which was adopted by the fifth Assembly of the League of Nations on October 2, 1924, and published by the Executive Committee with an introductory note commencing with the exhortation that 'If the Geneva Protocol is to come into force, its immense importance needs to be understood by the British people, so that it may be approved by Parliament and ratified by the British Government before May 1, 1925.'

On October 9, 1924, the British Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union unanimously approved the Protocol and started a propaganda campaign at home and in the Dominions. The result of this campaign was that the Protocol was so well 'understood by the British people' that Mr. Austen Chamberlain was impelled to oppose it at Geneva, and Great Britain and the Dominions declined to ratify.

After taking such a step as this, it appeared incumbent on our Foreign Office to put forward an alternative scheme, and thus the Locarno Treaty was conceived and in due time brought forth by Mr. Austen Chamberlain amid general rejoicing.

Henceforth a Locarno atmosphere pervaded men's minds which optimists even hoped might ensoul our domestic industrial relations; but this aspiration was rudely dispelled by the General Strike and by the persistent refusal of the miners' leaders to listen to any counsel except that which emanated from Moscow, accompanied by the wherewithal to carry on the war.

The 'pacific settlement of international disputes' on paper truly seemed a simpler matter than the pacific settlement of

nominally domestic disputes in practice. And so it will continue to seem, until the testing time comes to put the paper precepts into practice.

The Dominions and India were kept duly informed of the provisions of the Locarno Pact, but were not formally consulted, it being provided that 'The present Treaty shall impose no obligation on any of the British Dominions or on India, unless the Government of such Dominion or of India signifies its acceptance thereof.'

The Final Protocol of the Locarno Conference, 1925, contains the following: (1) Treaty between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy; (2) Arbitration Convention between Germany and Belgium; (3) Arbitration Convention between Germany and France; (4) Arbitration Convention between Germany and Poland; (5) Arbitration Convention between Germany and Czecho-Slovakia.

Even those who are opposed to Great Britain involving herself any more deeply in Continental affairs than she is already committed by her membership of the League of Nations must agree that the Pact is a statesmanlike instrument, as well designed, perhaps, as is humanly possible to prevent aggression and settle disputes between neighbouring nations by methods other than armed force, and, in the last resort, to oppose aggression swiftly and effectively by force of arms.

Article 2 of the Pact runs as follows:

> Germany and Belgium, also Germany and France, mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war.
>
> This stipulation shall not however apply in the case of—
>
> 1. The exercise of the right of legitimate defence, that is to say, resistance to a violation of the undertaking contained in the previous paragraph, or to a flagrant breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles, if such breach constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression, and by reason of the assembly of armed forces in the demilitarised zone, immediate action is necessary.
>
> 2. Action in pursuance of Article 16 of the League of Nations.
>
> 3. Action as the result of a decision taken by the Assembly or by the Council of the League of Nations, or in pursuance of Article 15, paragraph 7,[1] of the Covenant of the League of Nations, provided that in this last event, the action is directed against a State which was the first to attack.
>
> Article 4.—I. If one of the high contracting parties alleges that a violation of Article 2 of the present Treaty or a breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the

[1] If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

Treaty of Versailles has been or is being committed, it shall bring the question at once before the Council of the League of Nations.

II. As soon as the Council of the League of Nations is satisfied that such violation or breach has been committed, it will notify its finding without delay to the Powers signatory of the present Treaty, who severally agree that in such case they will each of them come immediately to the assistance of the Power against whom the act complained of is directed.

III. In case of a flagrant violation of Article 2 of the present Treaty or a flagrant breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles by one of the high contracting parties, each of the other contracting parties hereby undertakes immediately to come to the help of the party against whom such violation or breach has been directed as soon as the said Power has been able to satisfy itself that this violation constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression and that by reason either of the crossing of the frontier or of the outbreak of hostilities or of the assembly of armed forces in the demilitarised zone, immediate action is necessary.

It will be remembered that Germany had objected to the full implications of Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, arguing particularly, with respect to the provision that members of the League should 'take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League,' that, in her comparatively defenceless state with armed forces and armaments restricted by the Treaty of Versailles, she could not be expected to agree to opening her territory to the armed forces of other Powers.

The Geneva Protocol (Article 11), with a view to facilitating Germany's entry into the League, modified Article 16 of the Covenant by limiting the obligations under the article to loyal co-operation of each member 'in the degree which its geographical position and its particular situation as regards armaments allow'; and this modification, in slightly different wording, was adopted in the Locarno Pact.

This, as we know, satisfied the German objections; but, on the other hand, the new interpretation of Article 16 of the Covenant has been received with considerable misgiving in certain other quarters as an undesirable weakening of the guarantees of security held by the League of Nations. Persia and Finland have accordingly made reservations in accepting the resolution passed at the seventh Assembly of the League on the Locarno Agreement.

The admission of Germany as a full member of the League has, however, been secured, and, according to the provisional agenda for the next (forty-third) session of the League Council, Germany occupies the presidency: this is in conformity with the alphabetical grouping, which will also give to China the honour of opening the eighth Assembly!

It is interesting at this point to recall the pregnant utterance of the German Chancellor (Herr von Bethmann Hollweg) in his speech to the Main Committee of the Reichstag on November 9, 1916. Referring to the subject of an 'International Peace Union' proposed by President Wilson, he said: 'Germany is ready at all times to join the union of the peoples, *and even to place herself at the head of such a union which will restrain a disturber of the peace.*' A prophetic utterance!

It must be remembered that India and the Dominions, as signatories of the Versailles Treaty (which includes the Covenant of the League of Nations in its first twenty-six articles), are under a collective general obligation to maintain the territorial status of France, Germany, and Belgium, and to enforce respect for the demilitarised zones, in accordance with Articles 42 and 43; but, unless they accept the Locarno Agreement, they have not contracted any special obligation of an individual character such as the British Government has incurred.

The position, therefore, is that Great Britain has become the accepted instrument of the League of Nations, in this connexion, to enforce respect for the Versailles Treaty; acting promptly on her own initiative in the event of a 'flagrant violation' if satisfied that 'immediate action is necessary.' And Italy shares the same obligation.

Article 16 of the Covenant of the League would in such a case come automatically into force against the offending State, which would be held to have 'committed an act of war against all other members of the League,' and Great Britain would, in co-operation with the injured party or parties and Italy, bear the immediate brunt of the fighting while the Council of the League deliberated as to 'what effective military, naval, or air force the members of the League should severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.'

Not so very different, after all, as regards Belgium, from our position in 1914, but a very serious extension of our obligations in respect to France and Germany. Are we prepared to meet these obligations?

Sir William Robertson, in his book *Soldiers and Statesmen* (Vol. I., p. 59), writes:

> When preparations for war are decried as being unnecessary or as more likely to provoke war than to prevent it, or for any other reason, we shall do well to recollect that in the Great War, thousands of lives were sacrificed and terrible hardships suffered, because no suitable preparations for it had been made.

It is argued by some that regional agreements, such as Locarno, are evidence of distrust in the power of the League to

enforce decisions; and this is undoubtedly true in so far as prompt action is necessary, and promptness is of the very essence of success at the beginning of a war, or, in certain cases, in preventing a war from beginning. It would, however, be a fairer statement of the case to say that regional agreements provide the instruments by means of which the League can exercise its functions in an emergency with greater promptitude than would be possible through the necessarily more cumbrous procedure of the machinery of the League itself.

Mr. Richard Jebb (in the *Outlook*, November 28, 1925) drew a vivid and disturbing picture of Great Britain at war with Germany under the obligations of the Locarno Pact: he supposed the case of the Dominions whose Governments had not accepted the Pact remaining neutral, which, as he correctly remarked, is a widely different thing from being a passive belligerent. He assumed that because the Locarno Pact imposes no obligation on them 'they become automatically neutral,' and that their harbours could not be used by our warships, and recruiting for the British forces would be illegal.

It does not appear that this is a correct view of the case: if it were, then indeed would Locarno be a 'damned spot.' If Great Britain has to take warlike action, under her Locarno obligations, against any aggressor State, she acts as the mandatory of the League of Nations: every other country, member of the League, is therefore also at war with the aggressor State, though not necessarily committed to active participation in the warlike operations. India and the Dominions automatically become belligerents, and, along with all other members of the League, are pledged, under the Covenant of the League, to sever 'all trade or financial relations, to prohibit all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State, and to prevent all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.' The Council will 'recommend' what effective military, naval, or air force the members of the League shall severally contribute; and it is clear that the interpretation of the latter part of paragraph 3 of Article 16 of the Covenant, which was given in the collective note to Germany of October 16, 1925, and incorporated both in the Geneva Protocol (see *ante*, p. 16) and in the Locarno Pact, is of special importance in this connexion, inasmuch as it limits the demands to be made on any member of the League to what is 'compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account.'

But obviously there can be no question of India or any of the

Dominions, signatories of the Versailles Treaty and full members of the League of Nations, being 'neutral.'

It seems, therefore, that those who condemn the policy of Great Britain in accepting a specific prospective obligation under the Locarno Pact under certain eventualities on the ground that India and the Dominions may not in all cases concur, and may indeed desire to be 'neutral,' are, in fact, distrustful of the ability of the League itself to fulfil its obligations under the Covenant of the League.

Logically considered, the Locarno Pact, like any other regional agreement, should be looked upon as an instrument which, being fashioned for a certain definite purpose and endowed with a power of prompt initiative, can serve the objects of the League expeditiously and effectively at the most critical phase of a situation which demands the League's intervention. If, however, the League fails to fulfil its responsibilities, then, indeed, Great Britain will have incurred an obligation which might well be her undoing, unless she is fully prepared for the part she may have to play.

If, therefore, the Locarno Pact is to be criticised, it is not because its provisions are such as to strain the ties which bind together the component parts of the Empire, but it is because it rests on the *assumption* that the League of Nations will, when the testing time comes, live up to the ambitious *rôle* set forth in its Covenant. As Lord Grey pertinently remarked at the Foreign Press Association luncheon on October 23, 1916, at the Hotel Cecil, 'We are all in favour of it [the League], but when the time comes, will you play up?' There is no criticism, expressed or implied, in the Report of the Imperial Conference Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations, but, on the other hand, unanimous and cordial approval, conveyed in the following resolution:

> The Conference has heard with satisfaction the statement of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with regard to the efforts made to ensure peace in Europe, culminating in the agreements of Locarno; and congratulates His Majesty's Government in Great Britain on its share in this successful contribution towards the promotion of the peace of the world.

All doubts as to the solidarity of the British Commonwealth of Nations have been set at rest as a result of the Imperial Conference of 1926, but doubts may well linger as regards the stability of the League of Nations Covenant and the ability of the League to enforce some of its articles when the ordeal by battle challenges the platitudes of peace.

If Locarno fails to effect its purpose without resort to arms against the aggressor State, will the United States cease lending

[illegible]

The experience of the [illegible] is rather sensitive on the subject of the right of search so long as she is not herself a belligerent; yet Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations declares that all other members of the League (*i.e.*, other than the aggressor State) 'hereby undertake . . . the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.'

When Italy occupied Corfu with an armed force, pending complete satisfaction of her claims against Greece, she made it perfectly clear that she would not tolerate any intervention on the part of the League of Nations: the Council of the League was placed in an awkward predicament, since by Article 15 Italy was bound to submit any 'dispute likely to lead to a rupture' to the Council. Italy's action, moreover, openly flouted Article 10 of the Covenant, which provides that 'Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League.'

If the Council had attempted to enforce the rules of the Covenant which were applicable in this case, it would have resulted in another European, perhaps a world, war. What would have been the position of Great Britain in relation to the United States if she co-operated in a blockade of Italy and interfered with American commerce?

Smaller States can be coerced into accepting the mediation of the League, but the League's writ does not run where a Great Power has a grievance against a lesser Power.

Italy has openly proclaimed her need for 'sun and earth,' and if other nations will not accede to what she considers reasonable she will take by force what she requires.

To-day it is the fashion in certain quarters to credit Germany with a 'change of heart': many of us are prone to believe what we want to believe, and even to have such faith in miracles as 'to say we believe what we know to be untrue.' Let us see what Herr Kantarowicz, Professor of Law at the University of Freiburg (Baden), has to say on the subject. Referring to responsibility for the war which Germany has persistently disavowed, the Professor writes:[2]

The author is right in thinking that most German writers have come to recognise as false the theory that England was mainly responsible;

[2] In a review of Seton Watson's *Sarajevo* (*Slavonic Review*, June [illegible], p. [illegible]).

[illegible] to look this theory so altogether abandoned. In my book *Der [illegible] und das Märchen von der [illegible] Deutschlands* I have unfortunately been obliged to point out that this theory has [illegible] passed from the books of learned writers into the school text-books, and that to-day almost all the youth of Germany is being poisoned by the teaching that the Great War was the work of Edward VII. and that Sir Edward Grey merely carried out his purpose.*

According to the latest figures there are 2,000,000 members of 'patriotic societies' in Germany, armed, equipped, and organised on a military basis, to which must be added the 3,000,000 belonging to the Reichsbanner, which is organised on military lines. In the regular forces there are 130,000 police. Out of the 100,000 men who form the regular army (authorised by Treaty) only 36,000 are private soldiers; while there are 14,000 officers for the thirty-six vessels which form the German navy.[1]

The Reichswehr *Manual for Instruction in the Army*, recently on sale in Germany, is a second (enlarged) edition, containing, in addition to condensed histories of the military and naval operations of the Great War, extracts from the Treaty of Versailles and Wilson's Fourteen Points. It declares that the collapse of the Central Powers was mainly due to the blockade, 'which was contrary to all international law.' After criticising the disarmament conditions it declares that

> A peace which delivers up 4,000,000 Germans to Polish, French, Danish, Belgian, Italian and Czech domination is an unexampled transgression against the German nation, is contrary to the principle of the right of self-determination, and is bound to contain the seed of fresh wars.

The lost territories, European and Colonial, are individually described, and strong arguments adduced for their return.

> The enemy alliance prepared the way for the unlimited application of coercion by breaches of faith and of treaties. But above all, the moral basis of the whole Treaty—the sole responsibility of Germany for the war—is false, for it was the French thirst for revenge, Russian craving for conquest, and English business interests that brought about this war.

Under the heading 'Germany's Defencelessness' it is stated that Germany agreed to disarm on condition that the other countries also disarmed, and a table is given of the number of armed men per 1000 inhabitants in the various countries, which shows twenty-one per 1000 in France as against two per 1000 in Germany. It is understood that the new edition of this manual, which is being prepared, will be less open to criticism; this edition under discussion may, however, be trusted to do its work.

[1] *Morning Post* correspondent in Paris (*Morning Post*, November 11, [illegible]).

While giving the present rulers of Germany credit for a loyal desire to eschew militarism and all its works and to honour its Treaty agreements, it would be folly to ignore the fact that the old aggressive German spirit is still very much alive and inheres in the national instinct and subconsciousness in a manner which assures the National Party of a ready response whenever the day and the hour is propitious to its designs.

The 'Black Reichswehr' trials and the debate in the Prussian Diet on the dissolution of various so-called athletic societies have thrown a flood of light upon Nationalist and Monarchist activities which have been conducted concurrently with official assurances of Germany's 'defencelessness.' The apparent openness and candour with which the subject has been treated by the Government are accepted by well-disposed persons as evidence of Germany's desire to fulfil her obligations and generally 'play the game.'

But it is perfectly certain that the suppression of the Olympia League and of the Viking Association and kindred societies has no significance whatever beyond the determination of the Republican Government to protect *itself* against attempts by irregular military organisations to seize the reins and establish a military dictatorship as a prelude to the restoration of Hohenzollern rule. The recruiting system under local authority is also suspect of being worked in collusion with these semi-military societies so as to secure only recruits of approved (*i.e.*, Monarchist) persuasion, and it is intended by Herr Löbe, the Socialist President of the Reichstag, to press forward a reform which will remove recruiting from the hands of the local authorities and place it in those of central commissions consisting of representatives of the Reichstag and of the Reichswehr Ministry.[4]

The Times correspondent in Berlin summarises the situation by remarking that

> It would be a mistake to regard Republican Germany as at heart much less desirous than Monarchist Germany of reversing the verdict of Versailles. It is merely politically too sophisticated to utter its thoughts with the same bluntness. It realizes the importance of peace for recuperation and regards the bluff sincerity of the Pan-German reactionaries as stupid. Even Captain Ehrhardt has come round to this view in his latest declaration of policy on behalf of the Nationalist societies he controls.
>
> The withdrawal of the Reichswehr manual is supported by Republicans because the manual has offended Paris and London. The withdrawal is not likely to modify the trend of instruction in the Reichswehr. Passages in text-books used in State schools of Republican Germany would not be found to differ very greatly from the passages objected to in the manual.

Some idea of the line which Germany will take next year at

[4] Berlin correspondent of *The Times*, November 17, 1926.

SCIENCE AND WONDERLAND

THE object of science is to observe and to explain the phenomena of the universe. The first step, the accurate observation of phenomena, is of fundamental importance, since this must precede any attempt at explanation. The explanation of phenomena involves their classification and co-ordination, in order to obtain generalisations which are commonly spoken of as 'laws of Nature.' It should be recognised at the outset that a law of Nature does not control phenomena, but is a generalised statement of the way in which phenomena are observed to occur; when we say that law and order exist in the universe, we mean only that we have discovered certain uniformities common to a number of phenomena, and we express these uniformities in the form of laws. It follows that, as our experimental knowledge increases, we may find it necessary to revise the laws previously deduced from insufficient data, and possibly to derive new generalisations of a more comprehensive character

A theory takes the form of an explanation of a complicated phenomenon or group of phenomena in terms of laws or principles which have been deduced from simpler data There is no finality about any scientific theory; in particular, the contradictory evidence of a single experiment may necessitate the abandonment of a theory formerly accepted, or it may lead to the recognition that the theory is true only in a restricted sense. On the other hand, it is hardly to be expected that any theory should found to be consistently in agreement with all phenomena to ich it is thought to apply. When inconsistencies are detected, ti must be examined critically with a view to determine whether thare inherent and of such a fundamental character that the the must be abandoned; or whether they may be due to a faultpplication of the theory. When two or more theories are aable for the explanat of a given phenomenon, we may be gui in our choice n them by the extent to which they agwith observatio this criterion fails, our choice should fa the simplest th vertheless, a theory is not discreditedrely by the fa n be understood only with difficu some theories plication of abstruse

mathematical analysis for their elucidation, and the criticism of such theories itself involves the use of mathematical analysis and would be unintelligible to non-mathematical readers. It should be borne in mind, however, that in employing mathematical analysis tacit assumptions are apt to be made, and it may happen that the final results depend more or less on these. Even when no such assumptions can be detected, the results of the analysis must be understood to represent only the logical outcome of the overt assumptions on which the mathematical statement of the problem is based. The character of these overt assumptions can be criticised independently of the mathematical analysis to which they are subjected, and if they are found to be untenable, the results of the analysis must be discredited

An excuse for these somewhat trite reflections may be found in their bearing on the present state of physical science During the course of the nineteenth century experimental determinations added to our knowledge of the phenomena of the universe at an ever-increasing rate. For a long time the available theories were found equal to the task of co-ordinating the experimental results as they were obtained. Indeed, during many years theoretical knowledge was ahead of experimental determinations; new experimental results were mostly obtained in testing issues which had been raised on theoretical grounds, and agreement with theoretical predictions was nearly universal; some unexpected phenomena were observed, but these for the most part were ultimately found to be in agreement with existing theories.

Towards the end of the century, however, serious difficulties arose in the attempted explanation of certain experimental results in accordance with accepted theories; the results referred to are—the apparent absence of an ether drift as deduced from the Michelson-Morley experiment, and the nature of the radiation from a hot body. Attempts to reconcile these results with existing knowledge having failed, they were used as the bases for the erection of new theories of a very remarkable character. The theory of relativity was based on the Michelson-Morley experiment, and the theory of quanta was based on the observed properties of radiation from a hot body. These two theories are not interdependent, but they possess many characteristics in common which differentiate them from what may be called the classical theories of physics and mechanics. The theory of relativity has been brought prominently before the public, and has received an amount of attention which many consider to be in excess of its intrinsic merits; the theory of quanta has appealed most strongly to experimental scientists, who have found that it provides a means of co-ordinating known phenomena of various kinds, and even of successfully predicting

[illegible] may be gathered from an article by Baron von Rheinbaben in the *Sunday Times* of November 14, 1926, in which he says:

> There is no question of destroying or disrespecting existing treaties, but there should be and there must be, on the other side, the possibility of interpreting and developing the treaties in quite another spirit than has heretofore been employed. Such an interpretation cannot be blind to the *necessity of developing in future a new political rearrangement to the east of Germany and of resumption of overseas and colonial activity by the German people. The German people need, for economic reasons and impulses, more room to live in.*

With Germany's demand for 'more room to live in' and Italy's determination to have more 'sun and earth' it seems that concrete problems of the first magnitude will have to be tackled by the League of Nations in 1927, and that comparatively academic questions, such as disarmament, will have to take a back seat. Are the nations of Europe going to disarm as a proof of their mutual confidence in each other's good intentions as members of the League of Nations while Russia is raising herself to the level of a first-class military Power and a naval Power strong enough to make her influence felt? Trotsky performed wonders in the reorganisation of the 'Red' army, and even greater wonders in his drastic reform and reorganisation of the fleet. If a greater than Trotsky should arise, what might he not do with the weapon which Trotsky has forged? A disarmed Europe and a chaotic Asia would offer a field even more tempting than that which offered itself to the armies of revolutionary France under the leadership of Napoleon. And the visionaries of the League of Nations babble of disarmament!

It was suggested by Lord Parmoor in the House of Lords last November that Great Britain should set the other nations of Europe an example in reduction of armaments; and this is seriously proposed in the same year in which we have taken on the onerous obligations imposed on us by the Locarno Treaty! At the Foreign Press Association dinner (previously mentioned, p. 16) Lord Grey said 'that if the nations of the world, after this war, are to do something more effective than they were ever able to do before the war, to bind themselves for the common object of peace, *they must be prepared not to undertake more than they are prepared to uphold by force, and prepared to see, when the time and the crisis comes, that it is upheld by force.*'

Have we undertaken more than we are 'prepared to uphold by force'? Has the Soviet so crippled our finances by its attack on our basic industry that we cannot face the Army Estimates which would be necessary to implement our solemn undertaking? Would it not be well, without further delay, to take the steps necessary to recover our self-respect and restore the shaken

phenomena which had not been observed previously. Both of these theories, however, violate the principles referred to at the beginning of this article, in so far as they attempt to explain complicated phenomena, not in accordance with principles which have been derived from the examination of simpler phenomena, but by hypotheses which in some respects are totally at variance with the rest of our knowledge, and are even self-contradictory. Both have gained much of their popularity on the ground that they claim to supersede the older classical theories. It would appear that some minds find exhilaration in contemplating a universe which had been reduced to incomprehensibility—a universe in which paradoxes supersede axioms, and phenomena in general resemble those observed by Alice when she stepped through the looking-glass. Alice observed the persistence of the feline grin after the cat had vanished, and by the same token she might have observed the waves of a non-existent sea breaking on the shore; phenomena such as these form the commonplaces of the universe as explained by the theory of relativity. To many people, however, a wonderland in which anything may happen is a poor substitute for a universe in which phenomena are not only foretellable but comprehensible; and the prediction may be hazarded that the theories which are now acclaimed as revolutionary will in the end adapt themselves to the requirements of common-sense, or be superseded by others which are better fitted to do so. In the meantime, it is disquieting to find that theories which aim at explaining the known in terms of the unknown tend to increase. Our disquiet might well be greater were it not for the fact that, so far as these theories involve principles that can be tested experimentally, researches are suggested which may prove fruitful even when the results predicted are not confirmed; purely speculative theories must eventually die a natural death owing to lack of utility. Further, it is a mistake to exaggerate the practical importance of these new theories; most of the experimental work carried out from day to day is independent of them, and the utility of the classical theories is proved by the number of successful industries which are based on their essential principles. As a matter of fact, so much has been explained by the classical theories that their failure in any particular case cannot escape notice; with the new theories, interest is centred on the limited number of phenomena which they profess to explain, and no one troubles about their failures.

The best way of appreciating the present state of physical science is to review the progress made from early times to the present day. A detailed review would, of course, be impossible within the space available for an article such as the present; but much may be done merely by touching on the most important

steps of the progress, and, in particular, answers will be found to some questions of vital importance.

Observation of the phenomena of the universe depends directly or indirectly on the use of our senses, and the question arises at the outset, How can we distinguish between those sensuous impressions which we attribute to the external world and the mental impressions of a similar character which occur in dreams? To put the question in another form, how do we know that there is any external world at all? Perhaps the most noticeable characteristic of our experiences in dreams is that we are never perplexed thereby; however distressing they may be, we accept them without question. In our waking experiences we are compelled to adjust our ideas in accordance with observations of a more consistent character, and when we fail to do so we experience perplexity. Nevertheless, philosophies have been based on the non-existence of a material universe, and it is difficult to confute them on purely logical grounds; we find, however, that the Barmecide feast they provide for the intellect is not sustaining, and we are forced by circumstances to *act* as though there were an external universe independent of ourselves. In other words, we accept the existence of the universe as an intuitive conviction which is independent of logical proof.

Accepting the objective reality of the universe, we observe that material bodies occupy definite positions in relation to each other; such observations implicitly recognise the spaciousness of the universe, and give rise to the intuition of space. The only attribute of space is roominess or extension; we cannot define space, because definition implies comparison and there is nothing with which it can be compared. The observation of change in the universe involves the intuition of time, which also defies definition. The intuitions of space and time are more fundamental than intelligence, and must be possessed by the lower animals in common with man; for instance, the hawk that swoops down on its quarry must adjust its actions both in space and in time, and its intuitive perceptions of these qualities of the universe may be narrower than our own, but they cannot be intrinsically different. The needs of mankind, however, have demanded measurements of space and time. The simplest spacial measurement is the distance between two bodies, and this is obtainable by comparison with a standard measuring-rod. The simplest time measurement is the interval that elapses between two occurrences, and this is obtainable by comparison with phenomena that recur at regular intervals, such as the periodic motion of the sun or the swings of a pendulum. The accuracy with which either of these measurements can be made is a subject for experimental research.

The science of geometry must have developed step by step with the progress of architecture. Plane geometry came first, due to the ease with which distances can be represented accurately by straight lines drawn on a flat surface; this branch of knowledge was perfected at an early date by the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. These races, unfortunately, possessed a complicated and inefficient notation for the representation of numbers, with the result that the simplest arithmetical problems presented almost insuperable difficulty; this will be realised if we attempt to multiply MDCCCXCIV. by XCVIII. The Arabs, who had adopted the numerical notation now in general use, were able to develop arithmetical calculations, and they speedily introduced the more generalised system known as algebra, in which letters are used to represent unspecified numbers, and the general solution of a problem is obtained in the form of a combination of letters, to which numerical values can be assigned when we require the solution of a particular variant of the problem. Modern mathematical analysis is merely a development of algebra; a number of measurable quantities are represented by letters, and the relation between them, known or assumed, is expressed by combining them with certain symbols; by a purely mechanical rearrangement of the letters and symbols, according to rules that have been laid down previously, the solution of the problem is obtained. Any meaning we please can be assigned to the letters and symbols, and any arbitrary relations can be assumed between the quantities they represent; the final solution will give the result of the assumptions that have been made explicitly and implicitly. Mathematical analysis is, before everything, a time-saving system of symbolical reasoning; by its aid problems can be solved that would otherwise baffle the intellect by their complexity, but nevertheless it cannot be used to determine anything more than the consequences of the initial assumptions. A simple example will explain the method used in mathematical analysis, and will also indicate the kind of limitation which is inherent therein.

In a financial statement, the plus sign may be prefixed to assets and the minus sign to liabilities, and the result will indicate whether the balance is on the credit or on the debit side. In a simple geometrical problem concerned with motion along a straight line, the plus sign may be prefixed to displacements in one direction and the negative sign to those in the opposite direction; the result will indicate the magnitude and direction of the net displacement. When the displacements are not restricted to a straight line, we may prefix the plus sign to displacements (say) from west to east, while an arbitrary symbol i is prefixed to displacements from south to north; thus when we mul-

tiply a distance measured from west to east by the symbol i we rotate it so that it acquires the direction from south to north, *i.e.*, we rotate the distance through a right angle. If we apply the symbol i twice in succession, we rotate the distance to which it is applied through two right angles, thus obtaining a displacement opposite in direction to that originally selected; in other words, we convert a displacement from west to east, that would be indicated by a plus sign, into one from east to west, that would be indicated by a minus sign. Thus the symbol i, when multiplied by itself or squared, is equivalent to 'minus one,' and the symbol i is therefore equivalent to the 'square root of minus one.' By the aid of this convention most important simplifications are effected in geometrical analysis. On the other hand, the square root of minus one would have no meaning in a financial problem, and if it were found in the solution of a financial problem it would indicate either that a mistake had been made or that the statement of the problem was incorrect

If we wish to specify the position of one point relative to another in space, we can do this by means of three distances measured in mutually perpendicular directions. These three distances, called the co-ordinates of the point, suffice to determine its position, and space is therefore said to be of three dimensions. The position of one point relative to another can also be specified by a single distance and two angles, and numerous other ways can be used with equal success; in all cases, however, three measurements are required. It must be remembered, however, that our intuitive apprehension of space is not founded on any system of measurement, on the contrary, the system of measurement we adopt is chosen so as to satisfy our needs and to harmonise with our intuition of space When a mathematician speaks of space of four or more dimensions, he is not referring at all to the space of the universe which we apprehend intuitively; his meaning can best be made clear by an example

If from a chosen point as origin we draw three mutually perpendicular axes, the position of any point relative to the origin can be specified by three distances or co-ordinates measured parallel to these axes, and the square of the distance of the point from the origin is equal to the sum of the squares of the co-ordinates. Thus, a mathematical statement which comprises the sum of the squares of three independent quantities equated to a constant value represents a sphere, *i.e.*, a surface all points of which are at a constant distance from the centre. It may happen, however, that the statement of a mathematical problem involves the sum of the squares of four independent quantities equated to a constant value; the mathematician would say that this statement represents a sphere in four dimensions, merely

because the mathematical statement bears a formal resemblance to that which represents a sphere in space. Space of four dimensions has no literal meaning; the term may be used in reference to any problem which involves four magnitudes which can vary independently, even when these quantities have no relation whatever to distances. Similarly, a doctor may plot the temperature of a fever patient against the time, and obtain a curve in two dimensions; the buying or selling prices of stocks and shares from day to day may be plotted in a similar manner.

When objects change their positions in space, time is involved in their specification. The speed with which a body is moving, or its velocity, may be constant, in which case the body travels in a straight line through equal distances in successive units of time; or it may be variable, in which case the direction of motion may change, or the speed of the body may increase or decrease. The Newtonian system of mechanics was founded on the principle that, when the velocity of a body is changing, the body is under the action of a force, and the magnitude of the force is proportional to the rate at which the velocity is changing. Newton applied this principle to the motion of the planets, which were known to travel round the sun in elliptic orbits He found that for a planet to describe its known orbit it must be acted on by a force, directed towards the sun, and having a magnitude inversely proportional to the square of the distance between the two bodies. Thus he arrived at the celebrated law of gravitation, that one material body attracts another with a force which varies inversely as the square of the distance between them. It should be noticed that this explanation of planetary motion is only partial; it specifies the value of the pull which the sun exerts on a planet, but gives no clue as to the way in which this pull is exerted. Various attempts have been made to explain why material bodies attract each other, and, since we cannot imagine how two bodies in an absolutely empty space can influence each other, all agree in postulating some sort of medium which occupies the space between them None of these theories, however, has met with general acceptance, and the cause of gravitation still remains unexplained.

Newton's theory is concerned with the 'how,' and not with the 'why,' of gravitation. Its practical value is beyond dispute. When, for instance, we know the relative positions and the velocities of any two material bodies at a given instant, we can obtain a mathematical expression which will suffice to determine their positions at any later date If, however, there are three instead of two material bodies, a similar solution cannot be obtained; this is not due to any shortcoming of the theory of gravitation, but to the insufficiency of the mathematical analysis

at our disposal. Given three or more bodies in specified positions, moving with specified velocities and attracting each other in accordance with Newton's law, we can in fact determine their subsequent history, but only by the tedious process of tracing their paths from instant to instant. It was by this means that the planet Neptune was discovered When Herschel identified the planet Uranus, it was found that the motion of that body was not of the simple character appertaining to the other planets, and it could not be explained merely as due to the attraction of the sun. At first sight it appeared that the Newtonian theory had broken down, and at one time even the eminent mathematician Bessel held this view. Le Verrier in France and Adams in England adopted the more reasonable assumption that the Newtonian theory was probably correct, but that it had been incorrectly applied to the planet Uranus. They took account not only of the attraction exerted by the sun, but also of that due to the big planets Saturn and Jupiter, and found that this accounted for part of the anomaly of the orbit of Uranus. The residual anomaly was attributed to the attraction of some other planet that had hitherto escaped observation, and the position and size of this planet were calculated in accordance with Newton's theory. When a search was made in the part of the heavens indicated, the planet subsequently called Neptune was discovered practically in the calculated position. No more searching test of the validity of the Newtonian theory could have been devised or even imagined. It is worthy of remark that if Neptune had remained undiscovered up to the present day, it would still have been necessary to carry out the same tedious calculations on the same lines; modern science, including the theory of relativity, has devised no other means by which the discovery could have been made.

In the course of the development of the Newtonian system of mechanics, an ever-increasing importance has attached to the idea of energy When a body is moved against an opposing force, work is said to be done; the magnitude of the work is obtained by multiplying the value of the force by the distance parallel thereto through which the body is displaced. When a body is in motion it can only be brought to rest by the application of an opposing force. Since the force is proportional to the rate at which the velocity changes, it follows that a finite force can only produce a finite rate of change of velocity. Therefore the velocity of a moving body must diminish continuously during the application of an opposing force; in other words, while the body is being brought to rest, it moves against the opposing force, and work is done. Energy is defined as the capacity for performing work; a moving body therefore possesses energy called kinetic energy, and the magnitude of this energy is equal to the

work which can be done by the body while it is being brought to rest. If a body is projected vertically upwards from the surface of the earth it will rise against the opposing force of gravity until it reaches its maximum elevation, when it will come to rest for an instant. The kinetic energy possessed by the body immediately after its projection is lost by the time it comes to rest at the extremity of its upward journey, but in subsequently falling to the earth the body will regain the kinetic energy which it possessed initially, and therefore we say that at its maximum elevation the body possesses energy of position, or potential energy, equivalent to the kinetic energy which it can acquire in falling to the earth. As the body rises its kinetic energy diminishes and its potential energy increases, the loss of one kind of energy being balanced by an equal gain of the other; in falling toward the earth the potential energy diminishes while the kinetic energy increases. The sum of the kinetic and potential energies of the body remains constant throughout the motion of the body. These ideas form the basis of the Newtonian mechanics as developed by Lagrange and Hamilton.

The idea of energy has been further extended to cover phenomena which are not explainable on the grounds outlined above. When a moving body is brought to rest by frictional forces its kinetic energy is lost without any compensating gain of potential energy; however, heat is necessarily produced, and it has been found that the mechanical energy lost is proportional to the heat generated, so that we are entitled to say that the energy apparently lost has in fact been converted into a new form —that of heat. The detonation of an explosive charge is accompanied by the performance of work, and therefore the charge is said to possess chemical energy Sunlight falling on a black body is absorbed and heat is produced, so that light must be a manifestation of energy The law of conservation of energy states that whenever one form of energy disappears, an equivalent amount of some other kind of energy makes its appearance, so that the sum total of the energy in the universe is constant. At the present day, energy is bought and sold like a material commodity, and the continued solvency of the industries concerned could not be explained if our ideas of energy were seriously at fault. It must be noticed, however, that the protean character of energy differentiates it unmistakably from matter Further, all experiments which have been performed indicate that matter can gain or lose energy without undergoing a change of weight.

In addition to laying the foundations of mechanical science, Newton attempted to give an explanation of light. It had previously been proved that light travels with a velocity which is very high but is yet finite. In order to explain the fact that light

travels in approximately straight lines Newton assumed that it consists of streams of 'corpuscles' which travel with a definite velocity through empty space. A difficulty arose at the outset from the fact that rays of light can cross without affecting each other; rays of light from the farthest stars have been travelling towards us for thousands of years across innumerable rays from other stars, and yet when they reach us they show no signs of having been disturbed in any way. This, however, was not the only difficulty encountered. In order to explain the phenomena of refraction at the surface of a transparent material medium, Newton was forced to conclude that in entering such a medium, the velocity of the corpuscles is increased This point was tested experimentally by Fizeau, who found that the velocity of transmission of light in water and other transparent liquids is less than that in air. This crucial experiment disposed of the corpuscular theory of light, and the evidence on which it was abandoned has never been rebutted.

When the corpuscular theory of light had been abandoned, there was no alternative but the acceptance of the wave theory, which indicates that the velocity of light in transparent material media should be less than that in empty space Newton had himself considered the possibility of light being due to a wave disturbance somewhat like that involved in the propagation of sound, but he rejected it on the ground that light travels in straight lines with the result that an opaque obstacle casts a well-defined shadow, while ordinary sound does not behave in this way. It was soon found, however, that waves will cast a definite shadow if the linear dimensions of the obstacle are large in comparison with the length of the waves It was then pointed out, as an objection to the wave theory, that light from a minute source, when it falls on a small body, should throw a shadow with a bright spot at its centre This phenomenon had never previously been observed, but when the experiment was tried it was found that the bright spot was plainly visible. The difficulties that had confronted the upholders of the wave theory were melting away rapidly.

The nature of waves can best be explained by a simple example. When one end of a stretched string is twitched, an undulation or wave travels away from the point of disturbance at a definite speed dependent only on the tension and the massiveness of the string. As the wave pursues its course, each particle of the string executes an oscillation about a fixed position, and then comes to rest; the oscillatory motion is transferred from particle to particle, which is expressed by saying that the wave propagates itself along the string. When the string is twitched at regular intervals, a series of waves travel along it, the distance between

any wave and the next of the series being constant. The series of waves is called a wave-train; it goes without saying that a wave-train comprising a thousand waves must have entailed a thousand twitches for its formation, the time occupied being equal to a thousand times the period between successive twitches.

Each wave as it reaches the fixed end of the string is reflected and travels back towards the starting-point, with the result that the string is traversed by two similar wave-trains moving with equal velocities in opposite directions The instantaneous displacement of any particle of the string is due to the two waves which are passing it at the moment If the twitches which generate the waves are suitably timed, certain particles of the string remain permanently stationary, each being subjected to equal and opposite displacements by the two waves that pass it simultaneously; between these stationary points or 'nodes' the motion of the string is augmented, both waves producing displacements in the same direction We thus see that two waves passing through a point may produce complete rest there A similar phenomenon is observable in connexion with light. If a beam of light derived from a small source is divided into two component beams, both of which are caused to fall on a white surface, the illumination produced is not uniform, if white light is used, the surface is crossed by brilliant coloured bands, whilst if the light is derived from a Bunsen flame into which some common salt has been introduced the surface is crossed by yellow bands separated by black intervals Optical phenomena of this kind are due to the interference of two beams of light, just as the nodes of a vibrating string are due to the interference of two wave-trains travelling along it. No such phenomenon would be anticipated in accordance with the corpuscular theory of light.

If a stretched string passes through a narrow slit, waves vibrating parallel to the slit can be transmitted, but those perpendicular to the slit will be intercepted If the string passes successively through two slits, the waves will be transmitted if the slits are parallel to each other, but they will be intercepted if the slits are perpendicular. A similar optical phenomenon is easily observable; light can pass through two crystals of tourmaline placed face to face, if the axes of the crystals are parallel, but it is entirely intercepted if the axes are perpendicular. These facts suggest that light consists of waves, the vibrations of which are perpendicular to the direction of propagation.

If light is propagated through space in the form of waves, the space must be occupied by a medium which can propagate the waves. To speak of the propagation of waves in an empty space is as meaningless as to discuss the propagation of the human race in an uninhabited country. Thus the adoption of

the wave theory of light entails the acceptance of the luminiferous ether as a logical necessity. We assume that the constituent particles of a luminous body are quivering and disturbing the ether, so that waves are produced in the way already explained.

Fresnel assumed that the luminiferous ether is somewhat similar to an elastic solid such as a jelly; this would account for the transverse vibrations of light waves, but it entails serious difficulty in explaining the unimpeded motion of the planets through space. When light is transmitted through a crystal of iceland spar it is split into two wave-trains which travel along different paths, and the vibrations of the corresponding waves are performed in mutually perpendicular directions; these phenomena were explained by Fresnel on the assumption that the ether permeating the crystal has acquired the character of an elastic solid whose elasticity has different values in different directions. Fresnel's theory of double refraction possesses a peculiar interest, because it accurately predicted the laws of refraction applicable to crystals, and indicated phenomena (internal and external conical refraction) which had not previously been suspected; nevertheless, the properties which he ascribed to an elastic solid, and used in developing his theory, are not in agreement with the accurate laws of elasticity. Further, investigations carried out in accordance with the true properties of an elastic solid do not indicate the optical phenomena observed when light is transmitted through a crystal Thus it becomes clear that the successful prediction of phenomena in accordance with a theory may be compatible with fundamental error in the theory itself This conclusion should be remembered in connexion with modern theories which derive their justification merely from the successful prediction of phenomena.

At the present day the tenability of the wave theory of light can scarcely be doubted; indeed, the most trustworthy measurements in physics are those of wave-lengths, and our standards of length have acquired an added permanence and universality by their accurate comparison with wave-lengths of light. The existence of the ether, the medium by which the waves of light are transmitted, cannot logically be called in question without impugning the wave theory; nevertheless, attempts to construct a mechanical model to explain the properties of the ether have met with little success. The elastic solid theory has been abandoned, and we now content ourselves with the electro-magnetic theory, which explains light in terms of electro-magnetic disturbances. This theory demands the existence of the ether, not only to explain the propagation of waves such as those of light, but also to account for the attractions and repulsions of electric charges and the various phenomena of the electric circuit. The wave

prestige of our Government by cutting out the Communist cancer which is gnawing at our vitals and which will inevitably destroy us unless we speedily remove the source from which it derives its nourishment ?

The danger of the League of Nations is that it resembles a drug which has the power to cause men to live in a world of illusion created by the international atmosphere of Geneva, in which they attribute to others a lofty altruism which is not of this world, and are thereby lulled into a sense of security and well-being which has no more solid foundation than that of the thought forms created by their own imagination. While they are dreaming their dreams others are preparing to turn the stuff that those dreams are made of to their own material advantage.

The mischievous inquisition of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations has been properly resented by Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa in a finely worded memorandum by the British Foreign Office to the Secretariat of the League. The Mandates Commission, not content with maintaining that it should be considered as a sort of court before which petitioners might state their grievances against the mandatory State, have issued an inquisitorial *questionnaire* containing over 230 questions on every detail of administration. 'Among them are questions relating to points on which, according to British practice, itself the result of an unequalled experience in many different countries and conditions, the Home Government would not think it wise to interfere with a colonial administration.' The methods of the Mandates Commission show how such an organisation may easily become a fruitful source of intrigue and a serious danger to the maintenance of friendly relations between nations who cannot avoid being to some extent in competition with each other, a competition which in certain obvious cases must necessarily become increasingly acute.

Nothing, however, could have contributed more effectually to cementing the union between Great Britain and the overseas Dominions ; nothing could have brought home to the Dominions concerned so vividly and conclusively the peril in which they might stand as separate entities, and how strong they are to resist any intrigue or attack on their sovereignty while they stand together as component parts of a mighty Empire.

The Imperial Conference agreed only to such a measure of disarmament as would be 'consistent with the safety and integrity of all parts of the Empire and its communications,' and considered that 'a considerable effort will be required to maintain the minimum standard of naval strength contemplated in the Washington Treaty on limitation of armaments, namely, equality with the naval strength of any single Power.'

theory itself has acquired a significance far transcending that due to its explanation of light. An intimate knowledge of the structure of crystals has been obtained by recognising that X-rays consist of electro-magnetic waves of exceedingly short length. Essentially similar waves of lengths measurable in metres are employed in wireless telephony and telegraphy. Auguste Comte seemed to have good reason for his conclusion that we should never be able to determine the chemical constitution of the sun and stars; but scarcely had the prediction been made when it was falsified by the application of the wave theory to the spectroscopic examination of celestial bodies. It is not too much to say that the explanation of light and allied phenomena, as due to waves transmitted by the ether, is as well founded as our knowledge of atoms and molecules

Attention must now be directed to a class of phenomena that has previously been ignored. Our primary conception of velocity is derived from observations of the motion of bodies relative to the earth. Since the determination of a velocity entails the measurement of the displacement of a body in a given time, we must have some object to mark the starting-point from which the displacement can be measured. If we imagine an observer in a universe which is absolutely empty except for himself, it is clear that for him velocities would have no meaning whatever. The measurement of an absolute velocity would necessitate the existence of something which is known to be stationary, and obviously we have no criterion to decide whether any material object is absolutely stationary or not. On the other hand, the ether is an apparently boundless fluid distributed throughout all space; the motion of the planets is not impeded by it, and therefore they presumably do not set it in motion; local currents in the ether would produce erratic apparent displacements of the stars, and nothing of this kind has been observed. Apart from the quiverings due to light waves, the ether may be considered to give us a standard of complete quiescence

The Newtonian system of mechanics is based on the conception of force as that which changes the velocity of a body, and we can detect and measure a change of velocity without determining the velocity absolutely. Thus, the mechanical interactions involved in a game of billiards are not affected by the fact that the table is moving with the earth, which is rotating on its axis and is also traversing an orbit around the sun. So far as irrotational motion is concerned, the Newtonian theory makes no distinction between a mechanical system which as a whole is stationary, and one that is travelling in a straight line with uniform velocity; therefore mechanical tests can give us no evidence whatever as to

absolute linear motion. In relation to rotational motion the case is different. By the aid of a pendulum or a gyrostat we could determine the absolute rate of rotation of the earth about its axis even if we had no means of making astronomical observations.

One of the earliest methods of determining the velocity of light was derived from the phenomenon known as astronomical aberration. If anyone runs through a shower of rain which is falling vertically, it will appear to him that the rain is driving in his face. Similarly, if light from a star is incident vertically on the earth, the motion of the earth in its orbit will produce an apparent deflection of the rays from the vertical, so that the star will not appear to be directly overhead; its apparent displacement will be reversed every six months. The phenomena observed indicate that the ether is stationary, that is, that the moving earth does not impart any translational velocity to the ether in its neighbourhood. In this case the source of light, the star, is external to the earth and does not partake of its motion. When the source of light, the observer, and the apparatus used are all moving with the earth, the conditions are different.

The orbital velocity of the earth amounts to about eighteen and a half miles per second, while the velocity of light is ten thousand times as great As a consequence of the great disparity between these magnitudes, it is found that most optical observations are not appreciably affected by the motion of the earth imparted in common to the source of light, the apparatus, and the observer. An example will illustrate this

The wave theory indicates that, when a ray of light is reflected from a stationary mirror, the angles of incidence and reflexion are exactly equal If the ray is reflected from a mirror moving in a direction perpendicular to its plane with a velocity of eighteen and a half miles per second, the angles of incidence and reflexion will be sensibly unequal; if, for instance, the mirror is moving forward to meet the light, and the angle of incidence is about eighty degrees, the angle of reflexion will be about forty seconds of arc less than the angle of incidence. However, the motion of the source of light will increase the angle of incidence by about twenty seconds, so that, as a net result, the motion of the source and the mirror will diminish the angle of reflexion by twenty seconds. Further, the motion of the observer will produce an apparent increase of twenty seconds in the angle of reflexion, so that the apparent direction of the reflected ray will be approximately the same as if the system were at rest

The case would be different if the orbital velocity of the earth were much greater than it is. As things are, there is only one optical experiment which could be expected to show the effect of

the earth's motion through the ether; this is the celebrated Michelson-Morley experiment, which is of so much importance that it is advisable to explain it in detail.

Let it be supposed that a speed test is to be performed under the following imaginary conditions. It is to be carried out on a plane surface of unlimited extent, so uniform in appearance that there is no means of distinguishing one point on it from another. On this surface three motor-cars, A, B and C, are arranged so that B is eight miles north of A, while C is eight miles to the west of A. Two runners start from A and traverse the surface at the rate of eight miles per hour, one running to B and back while the other runs to C and back; each will take two hours for the double journey.

Now let it be supposed that all three motor-cars, while retaining their relative positions, are set in motion at the rate of two miles per hour in the direction from south to north, and that the running test is repeated. The runner towards B still travels north at the rate of eight miles per hour, but the turning point B of his outward journey is moving away from him at the rate of two miles per hour, so that he is approaching B at the rate of six miles per hour and will reach B in one hour and twenty minutes. During the return journey from B to A the runner travels south at the rate of eight miles per hour, while the terminus A of his journey is moving toward him at the rate of two miles per hour, so that he is approaching A at the rate of ten miles per hour, and will reach A forty-eight minutes after leaving B. Thus the journey from A to B and back has occupied 128 minutes, as compared with 120 minutes required when the cars were stationary.

The other runner, also traversing the surface at the rate of eight miles per hour, must at first take the shortest path to reach C, which itself is travelling towards the north at the rate of two miles per hour, so that his course lies fourteen and a half degrees north of west, and he reaches C in sixty-two minutes; on his return journey to A his course lies fourteen and a half degrees north of east, and he reaches A after an additional sixty-two minutes, so that the journey from A to C and back has occupied 124 minutes. The motion of the system A B C relative to the surface has increased the distance traversed by each runner, the one on the A B track having run a little more than seventeen miles, while the one on the A C track has run about sixteen and a half miles.

If this test were carried out and it were found that both runners finally reached A at the same instant, we should be forced to conclude that the theoretical conditions of the experiment had not been complied with. It is supposed to be beyond question that the two runners traverse the surface at equal rates. If the

motion of the cars somehow carried the surface forward with them, the result of the test would be explained. It must be remembered that the surface is supposed to be so uniform that observation from one of the cars would not reveal whether it is moving relatively to the surface or not. If this explanation were not acceptable, it might be assumed that in setting the cars in motion the distance between the cars A and B is somehow diminished by a quarter of a mile, that between A and C remaining unchanged, so that the distance actually traversed by each runner is sixteen and a half miles. This would explain the simultaneous return of both runners to A, but it is not the only explanation possible; it might be assumed that the motion of the cars increases the distance between A and C by a quarter of a mile, while that between A and B is unchanged, in which case each runner would have traversed seventeen miles If the referee on the car A observed the times of departure and return of both runners, and found that the intervals which elapsed were not only equal but that in each case exactly two hours elapsed as in the case when the cars were stationary, the additional assumption might be made that the stop-watch of the referee was caused to go slow by the motion of the cars Assumptions of this sort would explain the phenomenon observed, but would themselves be inexplicable, we should be explaining the known by the unknown.

The Michelson-Morley experiment can now be understood. A beam of light falls at an angle of forty-five degrees on a thinly silvered mirror A, so that half of the beam is transmitted and half reflected The two component beams traverse equal paths at right angles to each other, and are then reflected back to A by two mirrors B and C At A the beams recombine and interference fringes are produced The source of light, the apparatus, and the observer are all moving with the earth, and we cannot make a preliminary adjustment with everything at rest; but we can adjust the apparatus so that the paths A B and A C are apparently equal as indicated by the interference fringes produced, and then turn the apparatus through a right angle so that each path is brought into the line previously occupied by the other In effect, a single wave of the incident beam produces two component waves which start from A, and correspond to the runners in the analogous case; both waves travel through the ether with equal velocities, and when the path A B is parallel to the orbital velocity of the earth the time taken in completing the journey from A to B and back will be longer than that required when A B is brought into a perpendicular position Thus a shift of the interference fringes is to be anticipated as the apparatus is rotated; in the Michelson-Morley experiment each of the paths was eleven metres in length, and a shift of half a fringe-breadth was to be expected.

Michelson and Morley found that if a shift of the interference fringes was produced at all, it was less than the twentieth part of that anticipated. The obvious inference is that the ether is carried round with the earth so that the relative motion between it and the apparatus is very small or non-existent; but this conclusion is at variance with that deduced from the simpler and more straightforward observations of astronomical aberration. The Michelson-Morley experiment was performed in a cellar; the experimenters suggested that a similar test should be carried out on a mountain, and this has recently been done by Dr. Miller, who reports that a definite shift of the fringes is produced, although this shift is less than would be anticipated on the assumption that the apparatus is moving through a quiescent ether. Dr. Miller has carried out another experiment in which a beam of light is divided into two components which are caused to traverse a horizontal rectangular path in opposite directions; owing to the rotation of the earth, the rectangle is rotating about a vertical axis, with the result that its opposite sides are moving in contrary directions. It was found that a shift of the interference fringes was produced, its value being in excellent agreement with that predicted on the assumption that the ether is not disturbed by the rotational motion of the earth An explanation of all the above experimental results has not yet been proposed. The theory of relativity was enunciated and developed before Dr Miller's experiments had been performed, and it is not in keeping with them, it gives, however, a fanciful explanation of the Michelson-Morley result, and predicts results to be anticipated in many optical experiments that we have no chance of performing.

The Michelson-Morley result, if considered to be definitely negative, has been explained by Lorentz on the supposition that when any material body is in motion, its dimensions parallel to the direction of motion are diminished The assumed diminution due to the earth's orbital motion is almost inconceivably small, being only three inches in 10,000 miles The most accurate linear measurement that has ever been effected is Michelson's comparison of the standard metre with the wave-length of light, but this is accurate only to about one part in a million, or three inches in fifty miles.

The theory of relativity proceeds on the assumption, which is wholly gratuitous so far as the Michelson-Morley experiment is concerned, that the times taken in traversing the two paths A B and A C to and fro are not only equal, which is all that the experiment indicated, but that they are the same as if the system were at rest. This entails the condition that any timekeeper, such as a watch, runs slow when it is set in motion; on this assumption the speed of the earth in its orbit would produce a loss of one and

a half seconds of time in ten years. According to the theory of relativity, it is impossible to obtain any information as to the absolute velocity of the earth; therefore we might be moving with a velocity equal to that of light, in which case all lengths parallel to the direction of motion would shrink to nothing, the interval between consecutive ticks of a watch would be an eternity, and yet we should notice nothing extraordinary. Returning to the test with the cars, it is easily seen that if these are moving with the same velocity as the runners, the runner from A to B will be unable to get ahead of A, and will never reach B at all unless the distance between A and B vanishes, the runner from A to C will never reach C anyhow, and therefore the watch of the referee must stop in order that he may notice nothing extraordinary while he waits during an eternity for the return of the missing runner.

The theory of relativity as developed by Einstein is based on the assumption that there is nothing stationary in the universe, with the result that there can be no question of measuring any velocity absolutely. The inconsistent assumption is also made that light is propagated through space at a definite speed, which is tantamount to the assumption that the speed of light is known absolutely. It has been proved that light exerts pressure on a mirror when it is reflected thereat, and if the mirror were free to move it would be set in motion and its speed would increase until it acquired the velocity of the light itself; therefore it would be possible, theoretically at least, to set a mirror in motion with the absolute velocity of light and to use its velocity as a standard for the comparison of other velocities

The existence of a stationary ether is inconsistent with the fundamental principle of Einstein's theory, and therefore it has been assumed that light, and radiation in general, consists of matter ejected from luminous bodies very much as was assumed in Newton's corpuscular theory This assumption would lead us to expect that light may be influenced by gravitation, although its high speed would entail only an inappreciable deflection in any gravitational field not of excessive intensity. It was predicted that a definite deflection would be produced when a ray from a star passes near to the sun, and this deflection was observed during the solar eclipse of May 29, 1919. If this deflection had been observed before Einstein's prediction, it would unquestionably have been attributed to refraction by the atmosphere of tenuous matter which is known to surround the sun and extend to a great distance therefrom. This matter is understood to be somewhat like that of which comets are composed, and stars seen through comets have been observed to be displaced from their true positions, due to refraction by the tenuous cometary matter. Thus

the evidence in favour of Einstein's theory, derived from the solar eclipse of 1919, depends not so much on the fact that the stars were apparently displaced, but on the displacement observed being of the magnitude predicted. Observations made during subsequent eclipses have confirmed the existence of the displacement, but not its predicted magnitude. As a consequence, the validity of Einstein's theory cannot be sustained on the grounds that it predicts phenomena which would otherwise be inexplicable. Similar remarks apply to Einstein's explanation of the anomalous displacement of the perihelion of Mercury This can be and has been explained on other grounds, and therefore provides no conclusive evidence Moreover, Mercury is not the only celestial body whose motion is erratic; our nearest neighbour in the universe, the moon, is so erratic in its motion that its position cannot be predicted a long time ahead, and Einstein's theory furnishes no clue to explain this.

The strongest argument against the Einstein theory, apart from that which demolished the corpuscular theory, is that the abandonment of the ether is necessitated The radiation emitted by a luminous body is known to consist of wave-trains each of which comprises many thousands, or even millions, of consecutive waves, and must therefore extend over a distance between (say) a millimetre and fifty centimetres The breadth of the wave front must also be large enough to fill the apertures of our largest telescopes, and must therefore amount to several feet If Einstein's theory were correct, each particle of infinitesimal mass emitted as radiation by a star would have to expand to the magnitude given above, and in addition to possess a structure that would enable it to simulate the properties of a train of waves.

On the whole, therefore, the theory of relativity has not removed the difficulties connected with the aberration of light, and though the 'boldness' of the theory may recommend it to minds with a speculative bias, that very characteristic disqualifies it in the eyes of those who desire a comprehensible explanation of phenomena

A full discussion of the quantum theory is impossible in an article like the present. First of all, the phenomena which it seeks to explain would have to be considered in some detail; when this had been done, the explanations advanced would need careful attention, and these explanations are not comprised in a single theory, but involve at least three main theories and a large number of variants. The most that can be done here is to subject some of the fundamental assumptions to a brief examination.

When a material body is heated to a high temperature, light is emitted. We know that visible light is only a portion of the total radiation given out; a particular wave-length, which varies with

the temperature, is emitted most profusely, but longer and shorter wave-lengths are also present. In fact, the radiation emitted comprises innumerable wave-lengths, and the energy of the radiation is distributed in a known manner between these, most of it being carried by waves whose lengths are only a little longer or shorter than a particular value. We are forced to conclude that the radiation is due to some sort of vibratory motion of the heated body, and the problem is to account for the known distribution of energy amongst the various wave-lengths. We know very little about the structure of the atoms of which matter is composed, and it is therefore impossible to effect a straightforward application of the Newtonian mechanics to the problem; the most we can attempt is to employ statistical methods in the hope of finding some general properties of matter which will assist us. In the Newtonian system of mechanics, energy is gained or lost continuously; for instance, when the kinetic energy of a body increases, its velocity changes from one value to another bypassing through all intermediate stages When a statistical examination of matter is made on these lines, it is found that the energy radiated should tend to concentrate in the very shortest wave-lengths, which is not in accordance with experience. It is found, however, on the supposition that the energy is emitted discontinuously, as if it were given out in parcels, that the observed distribution of the energy between the various wave-lengths can be accounted for. Thus, matter is assumed to pass from one state to another in a series of jumps, and energy is gained or lost only in 'quanta' These quanta are not invariable in value The magnitude of the quantum of energy which a vibrating body can absorb or emit is directly proportional to the frequency with which the body vibrates, thus, with quickly vibrating systems like atoms the quantum has a large value, and for slowly vibrating systems, such as are found in the large-scale phenomena of matter in bulk, the quantum is so small that energy appears to be given out or taken in continuously It will probably occur to the reader that many mechanical systems function with a certain degree of discontinuity A watch loses a definite amount of energy at each tick, and the loss is confined to a very short time in comparison with the period between two ticks. Further, when the watch is being wound up, each click of the pawl on the ratchet wheel marks the gain of a definite amount of energy, and no smaller amount can be retained Thus the broad ideas involved in the quantum theory are not very difficult to assimilate, unless absolute, as distinguished from relative, discontinuity is insisted on.

It is found, however, so soon as attempts are made to apply the quantum theory to concrete problems, that difficulties of the

most serious character arise. The nature of these difficulties is well illustrated by Bohr's theory of monochromatic radiation.

When hydrogen, at a reduced pressure, is present in the path of an electrical discharge in a vacuum tube, light is emitted, and when this is analysed by the spectroscope it is found to include a number of bright lines each of which corresponds to a definite wave-length. Further, we know from interference experiments that the radiation of each wave-length comprises a train of many thousands, and perhaps millions, of waves. So far as the structure of the hydrogen atom is concerned, experimental evidence indicates that the atom comprises a nucleus, or 'proton,' of relatively large mass carrying a positive charge, and an 'electron' of much smaller mass carrying an equal negative charge.

Bohr assumes that the electron revolves about the proton in an orbit somewhat like that of a planet in the solar system. The relation between the radius of the orbit and the time occupied in a revolution are deduced from the Newtonian mechanics, but it is further assumed that only those orbits are possible in which the kinetic energy is equal to an integral number of quanta. It is assumed that no disturbance of the orbit, such as is known to occur in planetary motion, can possibly be produced, occasionally, however, for some unknown reason, an electron jumps suddenly from one orbit to another, and in doing so emits *instantaneously* a quantum of radiation. On these assumptions a formula is found which correctly indicates the frequencies of the various lines of the hydrogen spectrum; further, a whole series of lines in the extreme ultra-violet part of the spectrum was predicted and afterwards confirmed experimentally When predictions, made in accordance with a theory, are found to be in accurate agreement with experimental determinations, we must accept this as affording strong evidence in favour of the validity of the theory Indeed, if the theory itself is strictly logical, such evidence is practically conclusive Unfortunately, Bohr's theory is logical only in determining the consequences of a number of assumptions which are themselves purely arbitrary, further, although it successfully predicts the frequency of the radiation emitted, the assumptions are inconsistent with the production of radiation comprising trains of many waves. It has been pointed out previously that the production of a train comprising a thousand waves must necessarily occupy a time equal to a thousand times the period of each wave, and therefore it is a contradiction in terms to say that a wave train is produced instantaneously, as is assumed by Bohr. Since Bohr's theory is inconsistent with the production of radiation with the properties which we know it to possess, it cannot be accepted as giving an explanation of radiation. Obviously, some or all of the assumptions made must be erroneous. We may recall

Fresnel's theory of double refraction, which was based on incorrect assumptions and yet predicted phenomena with precision; later it was found that the same results could be deduced from the electro-magnetic theory without any inconsistency.

Finally, the conclusions to be drawn from the foregoing review are obvious. The phenomena of aberration and those of the emission of radiation have not received a satisfactory explanation up to the present, either in terms of the classical theories or otherwise. It is clear that our acquaintance with phenomena has increased faster than our capacity to explain them. The truth appears to be that experimental knowledge lately gained has drawn our attention forcibly to intricate problems without sufficing to indicate the lines on which they can be solved. It is natural, in the circumstances, that our explanations should be tentative and not free from inconsistency Nevertheless, the strength of a theory lies not in its 'boldness' but in its inevitability, and although science may for a time stray into the delectable meadows of wonderland, it must in the end return to the broad highway of logic and consistency

EDWIN EDSER.

We can turn with something like relief from the debatable blessings of Locarno and Geneva, and even of Washington, to embrace the substantial realities and the sure and certain hope afforded to us in the present results and the future possibilities of the Imperial Conference.

The deeply interesting article by Mr. Bruce, Premier of Australia, on 'The Problem of Empire Welfare' in the December (1926) number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* leads us along the same lines as the two resolutions passed by the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations at the Scarborough Conference (October 1926), on 'Safeguarding of Industries and Empire Preference' and on 'Empire Development' respectively, towards the same goal—namely, the ultimate realisation of the Empire as a single economic unit, in which Great Britain 'will join with the other Dominions in safeguarding Empire standards of living from competition based on sweated labour.'

Mr. Bruce has shown clearly how great and imminent is the danger to this country of relying principally upon foreign trade—which helps to build up the industries of foreign competitors—instead of concentrating on Imperial development and trade within the Empire, which will build up Empire industries, employ the Empire's population and help to distribute it to the greatest possible advantage, thus creating ever-widening markets for British goods in strict relation to the prosperity of the Empire settlers who send us their produce in return.

The *Washington Post* appropriately commented:

> t may be observed that if the Government of George III. had possessed he wisdom of the Government of George V., there would have been no Declaration of Independence, and the United States would now be part of he British Commonwealth. The evolution from an Empire to a Commonwealth is accomplished by mutual consent, and no written constitution will follow to bind the bargain.

And General Hertzog:

> I feel that nothing has ever before been accomplished so calculated to y a deep and enduring foundation for national co-operation between embers of the British Commonwealth of Nations and ensure real good eling between us all.

In contemplating the achievements of this Conference and the irit of genuine co-operation which alone made its achievements ssible, we feel that we breathe a serener air, and brace ourlves, almost unconsciously, to face a future not free from peril, nfident in the belief that, with God's help, the British Commonalth of Nations under one King will go on from strength strength to fulfil its appointed destiny.

F. G. [illegible]

THE STEAM LOCOMOTIVE IN THE PAST AND THE FUTURE

IN the earliest stages the steam locomotive was designed more particularly for mineral and goods traffic, but George Stephenson's 'Rocket' inaugurated the speed era, in that it showed the possibility of running at 30 miles an hour, as compared with the 8 to 15 miles an hour hitherto associated with locomotive traction It is said, indeed, that this engine actually ran at 60 miles an hour later in its history From 1830 onwards, however, the speed capabilities of the locomotive engine became all-important, on the passenger side if not generally, and during the next two decades, not only was fast running regarded as practical, though on a basis of averages of 30 to 35 miles an hour, with actual speeds up to 50, 55, and 60 miles an hour, but for a long time constituted the outstanding feature of rail travel as compared with other means of conveyance.

Prior to about 1860 an express train would consist of from six to ten or a dozen small four-wheeled coaches, but it would carry perhaps 200 passengers, all paying ordinary first and second class fares, for the days of almost universal third class travel were not yet, and to take three hours from London to Birmingham (including stops), or six hours to Liverpool or Manchester, was regarded as a wonderful speed achievement. The engines were, of course, small, and probably not particularly efficient on a fuel basis, but they did the work in a remunerative manner, especially when six-wheeled designs superseded the four-wheeled, as they did comparatively early.

It must be remembered that, in those days, fuel was plentiful and cheap, and wage costs were low, while the trains were light, passenger traffic very much more remunerative, and charges for goods traffic were willingly borne, as alternative means of transit were generally more expensive and usually very slow. There was, of course, much less traffic, but what there was paid very well, while duplicated main lines, expensive marshalling yards, big warehouses, elaborate stations and hotels, docks and other 'ancillary' undertakings did not become essential until later.

By the 'fifties practice had, to all intents and purposes, settled

down, in that, although widely varied in detail, the engines of that period included most of the standard features. Moreover, signalling and other traffic control agencies had reached a stage which permitted of a fair volume of traffic being operated safely and trains run at reasonably fast speeds.

From the speed point of view, too, quite good work was done, and there are many claims that speeds as high as, or even higher than, those normally recorded to-day were made. During the famous 'Battle of the Gauges' of the late 'forties and 'fifties speed became, in fact, an all-important factor, and a number of engines, some of queer types and unusual dimensions, were built mainly with a view to the achievement of speed honours.

In this connexion several extravagant claims obtained currency, of which the most extreme was probably that which maintained that a Great Western broad-gauge engine once ran from London to Bristol—118½ miles—in the even hour In regard to this, the late Mr. Charles Rous-Marten, famous in his day as an expert train-timer, argued that the actual time was one hour and so many minutes, the latter being quietly dropped as the tale was told and retold. Allowing, however, for the fact that the real time was possibly 1 hour 55 minutes, it still remains a notable performance, which is only equalled by times occasionally made to-day, though 40 or 50 tons was probably the extreme load, whereas 250 to 300 tons is now a usual figure for the London-Bristol two-hour trains

Mr. Rous-Marten accepted, however, with a little modification and correction, suggestions that the run between Paddington and Didcot (53 miles) was made in 47 minutes. Further, it is beyond question that both the Great Western broad-gauge engines of the 'Lord of the Isles' class, with 8 ft. wheels, and the curious single-driver express tank engines, with 9 ft. wheels, on occasions reached, and probably exceeded, the 80 miles an hour rate on favourable down grades, even in the 'fifties Similar claims were, however, made in regard to standard-gauge engines, including the London and North Western locomotive 'Cornwall,' with its 8 ft 6 in. wheels, and the Crampton engine 'Liverpool,' with 8 ft. wheels behind the firebox instead of midway, as usual

On the basis of mere speed, indeed, there is no doubt that a running speed of 60 miles an hour became common comparatively early, though it was not until the 'seventies and the 'eighties that even 50 miles an hour averages between stops were adopted. Moreover, whatever they may have done in their early days, many of these old engines met the heavier demands of later years very well, and not a few achieved speed exploits later in their careers which far exceeded the demands usually placed upon them when new.

By the 'sixties and 'seventies conditions and methods had settled down so far that reasonably fast express services were in general operation, while engines of fair size (for their day), and having good load-hauling as well as speed capabilities, were in general use.

The number of trains, including those used for suburban as well as local, branch, goods and mineral services, had also increased steadily, so that a great part of the work then done was more or less of a standard character, with an occasional special achievement. Some of these related to load-hauling, but now and then notable speed work was done Thus, two of Mr. Ramsbottom's ' Lady of the Lake ' class, on the London and North Western Railway, made the run from Holyhead to Euston, with the Trent despatches, in 5 hours for the 264 miles, one engine from Holyhead to Stafford and the other thence to London. This was in 1862, but engines of the same class also made the run from Euston to Crewe, 158 miles without a stop, in 1888, and about 1898 I saw two of them working the evening Highland sleeping-car express, also non-stop to Crewe, but with a substantial modern load of certainly 300 tons.

In the 'seventies coupled engines began to come into favour for main line duties, with coupled wheels from 6 ft. to 6 ft. 9 in. diameter, 150 lb steam pressure, and total weights (without tender) of 30 to 40 tons On some lines engines of that period can still be seen on suitable duties, though during the last twenty years they have naturally tended to disappear. The most famous still to be seen are undoubtedly the London and North Western ' Precedents,' originally built by Ramsbottom in the 'sixties, though they gained their chief honours after being rebuilt by Mr. F. W. Webb from 1873 onwards, with others constructed entirely under his oversight

Mr. Rous-Marten claimed a speed of 88 miles an hour for the class, but the outstanding performances are on the basis of average speeds or steady, good work Thus, in the 1895 ' Race to Aberdeen,' No. 790 (' Hardwicke ') achieved an average speed of 67·6 miles an hour from Crewe to Carlisle, though with only 75 tons, while No. 955 (' Charles Dickens ') covered over 2,000,000 miles before being broken up, mainly by working from Manchester to London and back daily over a long period

The engines which followed were somewhat larger machines on most lines, though the older and smaller locomotives frequently worked side by side with them. The period was, however, one of steady expansion of railway traffic, application of continuous brakes and improved signalling, including the introduction of the block system, a gradual increase in train weights, and acceleration of times on important services. The last-mentioned

aspect led to several competitive developments, notably the 1888 'Race to Edinburgh.'

Some notable times were made on both routes. It was, however, the 1895 'Race to Aberdeen' which gave the most sensational times. Thus, one of the Stirling 8 ft. bogie singles on the Great Northern Railway, in the 1888 'Race to Edinburgh,' with about 80 tons, reached Grantham, 105½ miles, in 110 minutes from King's Cross, and in the 1895 'Race to Aberdeen' engines of the same class averaged 61·9 to Grantham and 65·3 thence to York with heavier loads. During the same 'race' a North-Eastern four-coupled engine averaged 61·5 miles an hour from York to Newcastle and another 65·5 miles an hour thence to Edinburgh. Incidentally, North British four-coupled bogie engines averaged 61 miles an hour from Edinburgh to Dundee, and 64 miles an hour onwards to Aberdeen, against the Caledonian 60·5 miles an hour from Carlisle to Perth and 67 miles an hour from Perth to Aberdeen. Other achievements of those exciting times were: 64·3 from Euston to Crewe by a Webb three-cylinder compound, and Caledonian runs in 1888 from Carlisle to Edinburgh (100¾ miles in 102½ minutes), and in 1895 from Carlisle to Stirling (117¾ miles in 117 minutes).

Notable, however, as these and other runs appear, even at this date, it has to be borne in mind that they were all achieved with light or relatively light loads, and the most remarkable thing is actually that, besides being able to 'show a clean pair of heels' in this fashion, so many of the engines of the period could also do good work with heavy trains. Thus, the famous Webb three-cylinder compound No. 1305 ('Jeanie Deans') for years worked the midday Scottish express between Euston and Crewe with loads of appreciably over 300 tons; while the Great Northern 8 ft. singles often ran East Coast and other expresses of 250 tons and more well into the present century, as did also the companion six-wheeled singles designed by Mr. Stirling. On the Midland Railway the work done by the singles of Mr. Johnson's design also showed substantial load-hauling capabilities, while one of the few authenticated instances of 90 miles an hour being reached or exceeded is credited to the class.

Except in respect of actual maximum speed, however, it is one of Mr. Dean's narrow-gauge single-driver locomotives for the Great Western Railway which claims what is believed to be the most remarkable sustained speed achievement on record. This was on May 9, 1904, when a special mail train from Plymouth to Paddington was worked, from Bristol, by No. 3065 ('Duke of Connaught'), which, with about 80 tons, ran the 118½ miles at an average of 71·3 miles an hour, including two slacks, incidentally covering the 81¾ miles from passing Wootton Bassett to passing

Westbourne Park in 62 minutes 55 seconds. The speed thus averaged about 80 miles an hour for most of the distance, with a maximum of 91·8 near Slough. Earlier in the journey a four-coupled engine, 'City of Truro,' with double the load, had touched a speed of 102·3 miles an hour descending the Wellington Bank down to Taunton, this being the highest authenticated speed attributed to any locomotive engine. Considerably higher speeds have been claimed, particularly in the United States, but the particulars are not sufficiently trustworthy to permit of unqualified acceptance, whereas 'City of Truro's' run was most elaborately timed and is generally accepted as unquestionable.

By about 1890 it was becoming increasingly recognised that bigger engines were inevitable to meet requirements, especially when corridor trains rendered it practicable to include restaurant cars to serve a complete train (the earlier restaurant cars were isolated vehicles in which a limited number of passengers remained throughout the journey). It is true that single-driver locomotives and six-wheeled four-coupled engines continued for many years to do a great deal of useful work, but the four-coupled bogie engine began by this time to be the favourite heavy-duty express type. Thus, on the Midland Railway, such engines were taking over the harder duties from the singles, in Scotland the type had become the universal standard, on the London and North Western the four-cylinder compounds had made their appearance, and on most other lines similar classes rapidly tended to become standard. These engines made many notable speed records, but their great value was in load-hauling, particularly when Mr. McIntosh's policy, initiated on the Caledonian Railway, of providing what was then considered to be ample boiler power, became general It is necessary to bear in mind that increase of power carried with it the inference that adverse gradients could be climbed more effectively, so that there was less need for extremely fast running on down grades and level stretches. This fact, combined with the standardisation of running times and the discouragement of excessively high speeds, explains why there has been less sensational running in later years. As a result, very high speeds have become less necessary than in earlier years, though, both with four- and with six-coupled engines, there have been plenty of instances of the attainment of high maximum speeds (up to and exceeding the 90 rate), and of the maintenance of average speeds well over the mile a minute with substantial loads and for long distances.

For twenty years or so the four-coupled bogie engines did most of the hard express work, and on many lines they still cover a good proportion of the ordinary and some of the special duties, but, shortly before the opening of the twentieth century, 'Atlantic'

type locomotives (4-4-2) began to make their appearance, while six-coupled bogie (4-6-0) engines were being introduced on heavy-load and heavy-gradient routes soon after finding favour for general main line services. The first 'Atlantics' appeared almost concurrently on the Great Northern and Lancashire and Yorkshire Railways, about 1897, and in due course this became a favourite type on several other lines The advantage was that a very big boiler could be carried, as it had become realised that this was the primary requirement for sustained heavy work. The adoption on the Great Northern Railway of a wide type of firebox rendered it impracticable to couple the trailing wheels, so that it was not until the further development into the 'Pacific' (4-6-2) type was adopted in 1922 that six-coupled express engines came into use on that line. On certain other systems, however, the 4-6-0 type was employed, so that while the East Coast lines (Great Northern, North Eastern and North British) maintained their adherence to the 'Atlantic' type for many years, the Great Western and Lancashire and Yorkshire turned to 4-6-0's, and most of the other railways adopted six-coupled designs without introducing 'Atlantics' at all We thus get the notable series of 4-6-0 designs, which in the earlier years of the twentieth century became the standard classes for heavy main line duties on so many railways, starting with the Highland mixed-traffic engines of 1897 and the North Eastern main line locomotives of the '2001' class (1900), and leading up to the 'Stars' and 'Castles' on the Great Western, the 'Claughtons' on the London and North Western, and similar designs on other lines, the Southern Railway's 'Lord Nelson' being, so far, the latest and most notable development.

There are now many trains which involve weights of over 400 tons—up to nearly 600 tons, indeed, on occasions—although there may be only 200, 300, or 400 passengers (approximately 1½ or 2 tons per passenger, as compared with substantially under half a ton in early days) Further, while many of the fastest runs are made with only moderate loads, there are large numbers of trains which have to average between 50 and 60 miles an hour with big tonnages.

It is necessary to remember that an average speed of even 55 miles an hour for 80 to 160 miles may entail the covering of perhaps two-thirds of the journey at well over 60 miles an hour, as so many runs include, besides a difficult start, and an easy run in prior to the stop, two or three places requiring reduced speed (as at big junction stations and for curves), and a number of miles of hard climbing. Consequently, even with an express train which does not have a phenomenally fast timing, it may easily occur that, to keep time, 50, 60, or even more miles must be run in as many minutes or less, while a really fast average

speed may entail an average of well over 60 miles an hour for all but the first and last three or four miles. For example, Great Western two-hour expresses between Paddington and Bristol must run 100 of the 117½ or 118½ miles (according to route) in 93 to 96 minutes if they are to keep time. The famous 'Cornish Riviera' express of the same railway has to cover three-fourths of its run between Paddington and Plymouth (North Road) in only a few more minutes than miles, because of the fact that between Exeter and Newton Abbot curves, etc., preclude very fast running, while between Newton Abbot and Plymouth the gradients are of a terrifically hard nature. Consequently, even allowing for the fact that, by slipping sections of the train *en route*, the load over the hardest portion is reduced to practicable limits, this run of 226 miles, the world's longest, represents a very difficult task to complete in 247 minutes Yet the same distance, with moderately big loads throughout, has been run on many occasions in about 235 minutes, though this involved well over the mile-a-minute average for most of the journey east of Exeter. Similarly, on other lines, the working of present-day loads at the speeds demanded involves very hard work, whether the averages reach or exceed 55 miles an hour or show only a moderate 50 or so.

There are three British expresses timed at average speeds, start to stop, exceeding the mile-a-minute rate. One is on the Great Western Railway, Swindon to Paddington, 77·3 miles in 75 minutes. The other two are on the London and North Eastern Railway, one from Darlington to York, 44·1 miles in 43 minutes, and the other from Leicester to Arkwright Street, Nottingham, 22·6 miles in 22 minutes The London, Midland and Scottish Railway has one or two trains booked from Birmingham to Coventry in 19 minutes (18·9 miles). On the Great Western Railway two trains are booked to slip coaches at Bath in 105 minutes from Paddington (106·7 miles), the through part being timed to reach Bristol in 120 minutes for the 118½ miles On the basis of non-stop runs exceeding 100 miles, the Great Western Railway has twenty-six, ranging from 101·6 to 225·7 miles, the London Midland and Scottish Railway fifty-eight, for distances of 100·6 to 205·5 miles; and the London and North Eastern forty-one, from 103·1 to 188·2 miles A good proportion of these exceed the 55 miles an hour average. Some of these runs are with summer trains, but about 80 per cent apply all the year round, many of the trains being heavy business expresses as distinct from holiday and tourist trains, and not a few loading to a substantial degree. The Southern Railway has no regular runs exceeding 100 miles, but it has its due share of equivalently fast and notable bookings, frequently over distinctly hard routes, as

between Salisbury and Exeter, and, in the case of Continental boat trains, between London and Dover.

In other countries it is usually practicable to employ bigger engines than can be run in this country for the hardest duties, so that it is not quite so remarkable as it appears to be that in France big 'Pacific' locomotives haul 500 and 600 ton trains at speeds only a trifle short of the mile-a-minute rate, or that American locomotives work loads of 700 and even 800 tons on many runs There is, indeed, a great deal of notable express train operation in many parts of the world, while numerous trains which do not suggest wonderfully fast running represent, in fact, very hard work Such performances in other countries are, however, usually done by locomotives substantially or, in the case of the United States, considerably larger than our own, while a greater proportion than is the case here constitute trains limited to first or first and second class passengers, or subject to supplementary charges.

So far attention has been confined to main line express locomotives of usual types, but a few remarks are necessary in regard to other classes of engines An interesting development in British practice is the extensive vogue of notable engines of classes which do not need a separate tender Thus, there are many very big tank engines in use in this country, some designed for working trains over difficult sections or for special duties, others intended for express duties where the runs are not too long Among the former may be mentioned some of the big six-coupled tank engines for hard gradient duties, and the eight-coupled engines for heavy yard shunting, while the latter include designs such as the 4-6-4 ('Baltic') and 2-6-4 express tank engines in use on the Southern Railway, which are called upon to make such runs as from London to Brighton, 51 miles in 60 minutes, involving actual maximum speeds of from 75 to 80 miles an hour. Then there are the big eight-coupled goods and mineral engines now in extensive use, and special engines, such as the ten-coupled engines used for banking trains up the Lickey incline of the London Midland and Scottish Railway (2 miles at 1 in 37), and the huge Garratt articulated engine, used by the London and North Eastern Railway for similar duty near Barnsley, which attracted so much attention at the Railway Centenary celebrations in 1925.

In other countries, especially for steeply graded and mountain lines, there are eight-coupled passenger and eight- and ten- and even twelve-coupled goods and mineral engines, while in the United States there are huge Mallet articulated engines, with sixteen, twenty, and even twenty-four driving wheels, designed to get tremendously heavy freight trains over difficult sections without division or attaching several assisting engines of ordinary

types. Over the mountain grades of the South African Railways, and in other parts of the world, Garratt and other articulated or duplex designs have been introduced for working heavy trains unbroken over long and steep sections.

Notwithstanding, however, that locomotive engineers in other lands have developed their engines, on the dimensional basis if not in other respects, to a degree which has not been either necessary or practicable in the case of the home lines, it is substantially correct to claim that, weight for weight, our engines rank among the most efficient in the world, while British expresses compare to advantage, in respect of numbers and speeds, with those in any other country. Moreover, while British locomotive engineers cannot develop their engines for home service to the extent practicable elsewhere, large numbers of notable engines have been designed and constructed here for use overseas, many of them far too large to be run on our lines, even if the rail gauge did not constitute an effective prohibition.

It is sometimes argued that the standard steam locomotive is an inefficient fuel user It is quite true that it wastes a considerable amount of fuel-heat, and the dimensional and other limitations and restrictions under which it operates preclude many of the refinements practicable with large-scale stationary and marine engines being adopted It yet remains, however, the most generally useful and, on the average, most efficient machine for traction on rails Further, a great deal is now being done in the way of improving its operating efficiency, while special forms have now reached a stage where they can be confidently adopted if conditions and requirements justify that course. So much so, indeed, that the suggestion that the steam locomotive has seen its best days can now be regarded as without foundation.

The electric locomotive cannot, however, be considered as a direct alternative to steam, though in its proper fields its position is unassailable, while it may give better fuel efficiency and undoubtedly offers substantial advantages Moreover, direct steam turbine, turbo-electric, or Diesel or other internal-combustion designs are still mainly experimental or in early stages of practical development, and cannot, so far, be compared fairly with the steam locomotive engine.

In most cases, indeed, all these alternatives to ordinary steam locomotive traction call for selection or rearrangement of duties to maintain their heat-efficiency superiority, whereas usual types of engines are called upon to meet all the everyday demands of a big railway, including the unfavourable and miscellaneous work which figures so largely in practice. Other means of rail traction are designed, mainly, to suit special circumstances, or to satisfy particular requirements, with the result that steam locomotives

outnumber electric designs by many thousands to one, while other types continue to be occasional and more or less exceptional.

It is claimed in some quarters that the motor road vehicle (possibly working on special motorways) and the aeroplane will eventually provide the solution of the traffic problems which will have to be faced in the future. It is difficult, however, to follow such arguments Unless it becomes an equivalent to a train, a locomotive vehicle hauling a series of trailers, no conceivable form of road motor vehicle can convey a load equivalent to that carried by a single ordinary railway train, while the frequent sequences, both passenger and goods, which are the rule on every railway main line, could only be operated on special tracks. Control of such road trains would probably be too complicated a matter to be left to, say, two men on the locomotive vehicle and one or two elsewhere, as is the case with the average railway train. Any attempt at high speed with such a combination, bearing in mind that there would require to be many such trains if their introduction and the construction of suitable roads were to be justified, would call for something in the way of signalling and traffic control, so that the conditions would become so similar to those which apply to the railway that the simplest solution would be to return to rail traction as most convenient as well as most suitable

It is difficult, too, to consider a system of aerial transport which could deal with more than a very small percentage of the traffic easily, conveniently, and speedily handed by rail. Both road transport on private motorways and aerial transport seem to be schemes which suggest wonderful possibilities when considered on a small scale and exceptional basis, but it is only necessary to imagine their application to large-scale transport, with multiplication of units, to recognise that they offer little scope for development as an equivalent, or even as an alternative, to the railway.

The great problem of the day is, indeed, not to replace rail conveyance by another means of transport, but to get over the fact that these alternatives tend to divert from the railway a percentage of traffic which they can handle, and which is often the best-paying, leaving the main burden and the less remunerative traffic where it is To a certain extent this problem will, no doubt, solve itself, in that it is only while road traffic is free from so much of the cost of provision and maintenance of track and control of traffic that it can continue to operate more cheaply than the railways. Road conveyance offers many other advantages, it is true, but it is becoming more and more generally realised that ultimately road and rail will have to be co-ordinated and that road transport must, if its scale and activities are to

RECENT IMPRESSIONS OF GERMANY

HAVING recently returned from a visit to various industries[1] in the Ruhr, Maine, and Bavaria, I have been much impressed with the lesson Germany has to teach us, and with the need of its manifestation to the people of this country.

Eight years have passed since the Armistice, and only now can Europe be said to be emerging from the immediate post-war groove of economic despondency and even despair. The dire disease of fighting facts has at last spent its force, and Europe is beginning to work. Certainly Germany is. Nor is she unwise in being a relatively early starter. On all sides there is clear evidence of a lower standard of life, and poverty is spoken of by all classes—perhaps to a degree beyond that which the facts justify. The interest lies to no small extent in the way in which the German reacts to such a situation—*Per ardua ad astra*, to use a much-honoured motto, perhaps almost blasphemously. Here is a lesson which does not seem altogether inapposite to us in England. Neither words nor legislation have yet been found to save any nation, and salvation can be procured only by reliance on character—no mean support in British lands.

Real or even partial distress—such as has been brought on us by our recent troubles in England, and which is so apt to introduce political factors to complicate the problem—is almost entirely absent in Germany, although I believe the Thuringian home industries, mainly wooden toys, are in that category. Stringent economy is everywhere observable, in private as in industrial life, and you have to mingle with genuine magnates in order to come in contact with luxurious living. Undoubtedly there is a basic appearance of wealth in most parts: substantial buildings, very fair roads (except for the smaller ones, which are exceedingly bad), poles carrying electric current all over the countryside, and what may be described as a general air of permanency. Furthermore, factory machinery is up to date, and there is no lack of those things which the mechanically minded enthusiast calls 'gadgets,' such as self-stokers and many other

[1] Coal, steel and iron, electrical, chemical, and dyes, toys, colour printing, and railway shops.

increase as they bid fair to do, become subject to a degree of control and bear its due share of costs, very much as is the case already with the railways. Aerial transport may in the future be developed in interesting ways, but it is not seen that it offers much scope for the handling of general traffic in well-populated industrial countries, whatever may be the situation in regard to the making of special journeys where other communication is difficult and slow.

The future, indeed, seems to belong primarily to the railway, and as has been the case for the last 100 years, the world's greatest developmental period, it is the locomotive engine, and in particular that operated by steam, which will continue to be the predominating factor. Motor-road and aerial transport have their own fields, and there may be even more overlapping than is at present the case, but eventually the competitive element must give place to co-ordination and association.

J F GAIRNS.

PARADOX AND PRINCIPLE IN CHINA

II

Two of three paradoxes in the Chinese situation were examined in the last issue of *The Nineteenth Century*. Examination of the third—of the fact, namely, that the 'unequal treaties' which the Chinese wish to abolish include specifically only some of the rights which they are most concerned to recover—will, it is hoped, place the reader in a position to understand much that has been happening at Hankow and Peking.

In none of the treaties is it provided that foreigners shall be immune from Chinese taxation, or that at the Treaty ports the Chinese Government shall not tax its own subjects. Yet, apart from land taxes and customs duties and dues, Treaty Power foreigners have for the most part not paid Chinese taxes, while in regard to its own subjects the Chinese Government's fiscal authority has, with the exceptions just named, in most cases stopped short at the boundaries of settlements and concessions Nor in any of the treaties is it provided that the warrants issued or judgments delivered by Chinese courts shall not be executed within the settlements or concessions or within the precincts of any building belonging to a foreigner without preliminary examination by a consular or foreign judicial officer. Yet the practice has been to require the Chinese to have their warrants countersigned by foreign consular authority and to effect arrests through foreign-controlled police. Again, when originally provided for, extra-territorial rights were not intended to extend consular protection to Chinese, or to Chinese concerns only nominally foreign. Yet many Chinese and Chinese concerns have enjoyed, and enjoy, such protection. The treaties do not state that customs duties shall be collected by foreigners, or that the customs revenue shall be lodged in foreign banks. Yet such has been the practice for a long time and is the practice at the time of writing

Labour leaders and others who are conducting the hands-off China movement have acquainted themselves with, and are using, some of these facts, but in a manner so obviously 'coached'

and superficial as to indicate that they do not really understand them. Indeed, if they did, they could make of them a case much more misleading than they are actually making, and people like myself, who have studied the position for years, would have greater difficulty than we are actually experiencing in placing the facts in proper perspective and giving them their correct value.

That, let it be emphasised, is a very different thing from trying to explain them away. They cannot be explained away. If they could, they would by this time have been negotiated away, whereas, as recent events have shown, negotiation is encountering stubborn obstacles. The reason is that many of the facts alluded to are structural: they result, that is to say, from faults in the Chinese governmental system necessitating improvisation and adaptation, and form part of an irregular and, in some ways, cumbersome edifice difficult to modernise without endangering. To review all the anomalies would require more pages than I am entitled to fill Attention, accordingly, may be concentrated on those with which British diplomacy is directly concerned.

To begin with, however, it seems desirable to state, and, as far as possible, to analyse, the Chinese attitude towards them. As expressed at the Washington Conference, their point of view was intelligible and aroused sympathy, though, had the statesmen there assembled known their China, they would not have taken what was said as literally as they did. In regard to extra-territoriality Dr. Wang Chung-hui said:

> These extra-territorial rights were granted at a time when there were only five treaty ports—that is, places where foreigners could trade and reside. Now there are fifty such places and an equal number of places opened to foreign trade on China's initiative This means an ever-increasing number of persons within China's territory over whom she is almost powerless This anomalous condition has become a serious problem with which local administration is confronted, and if the impairment of the territorial and administrative integrity of China is not to be continued, the matter demands immediate attention

Wellington Koo said:

> ...riff *régime* means a continued loss ... The customs import duty under ...ate of 5 per cent *ad valorem* for all ...ith the average rate of 15 per cent. ...ies. . To provide the fullest and ... China to develop and maintain for ...ment it is necessary to restore tariff ... . Nor is it to be overlooked that the ...ediment to China's economic develop... ...joys no reciprocity from any of the

Powers with which she stands in Treaty relations: Chinese produce and merchandise, on entering into any of these countries, is subjected to the maximum rates leviable, which are in some cases 60 or 70 times the rate which she herself levies on foreign imports. Thus, whenever China makes a proposal, be it for revision of the tariff to bring it more into harmony with the prevailing prices or for an increase of the customs duty to meet her increased needs, the unanimous consent of more than a dozen Treaty Powers is necessary.

In regard to leased territories Dr. Koo said:

The existence of such leased territories has greatly prejudiced China's territorial and administrative integrity, because they are all situated at the strategical points along the Chinese littoral. Furthermore, these foreign leaseholds have hampered her work of national defence by constituting in China a virtual *imperium in imperio*.

The point of view expressed in these passages may be described as administrative, and embraces, obviously, the anomalies mentioned at the beginning of this article, which have resulted in giving foreigners a far wider range of rights than the treaties contemplated, at the same time withdrawing from Chinese control, wholly or partially, a very large number of Chinese subjects and a very substantial portion of the national revenue. From the point of view of international law and post-war conceptions of national self-determination, such a position requires rectification. And if the statements made in the passages quoted could be taken at their face value, if the administrative standpoint were entirely genuine and the only one with which we had to deal, both classes of anomalies, those created by Treaty and the others, could be removed with comparative ease Unfortunately this is not the case The statements cannot be taken at their face value: the standpoint is by no means entirely genuine, while there is another point of view which makes a practical treatment of the issues involved between China and ourselves anything but easy.

This point of view results from what can only be described as an inferiority complex. It takes no account of historical or administrative facts, or, when it does, only of those which illustrate that at various times China has not been treated as an equal, her claims to equal treatment being taken, without any examination, for granted. This point of view is eagerly embraced by the most conceited and irresponsible class in China, the students, and easily taught, in the form of anti-foreignism, to the mob. To all who hold it recovery of sovereign rights is primarily important, not as a step towards the exercise of administrative competence, patiently learnt as Japan learnt hers, but as proof of successful international assertion and recognition.

During the past month Mr. Eugene Chen has issued two statements which illustrate this view. The first was published on January 25 and contains the following passages:

> The leading assumption of all British and other foreign declarations of policy regarding China is that she is unable to look after her own interests, and that, in pursuance of the spirit of the Washington Conference, Great Britain and other Powers must enter into self-denying ordinances respecting her in order 'to safeguard her integrity and independence' and promote her political and economic development and the rehabilitation of her finances. This is not true of 'Nationalist' China. To-day this new China is strong and conscious of its power and of its ability by economic means to enforce its will on Chinese soil against any Power
>
> The question, then, is not what Great Britain and other Powers may wish to grant to China to meet 'the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese nation,' but what Nationalist China may justly grant to Great Britain and the other Powers, whose *régime* of international control is now definitely sharing the fate of all historical systems of political subjection.

The second statement was published on February 3 and refers to the 'Tory statesmanship of imperialism, war and Byzantine glory.' In neither statement is there a word to indicate that the nationalists are conscious of any of their country's deficiencies, nor is there any recognition of the part which these have played in her loss of rights, while, on the other hand, both passages indicate an attitude towards, and a conception of, this country and its aims which make satisfactory treatment of the very commonplace and mundane problems involved in Treaty revision extremely difficult.

Let us examine, first, those that group themselves round extra-territoriality. Why does extra-territoriality exist, and how comes it that on the original rights granted in treaties there rests now an accretion of other rights not foreseen or provided for in them?

In regard to the first part of this question the author of *American Consular Jurisdiction in the Orient* says.

> Between the treaties with Turkey and those with China there is this fundamental difference, that the treaties with China contain no references to privileges resting upon customs and usages With the exception of the restricted privileges enjoyed by the Russian caravans in extreme north-western China many years before the Western European treaties with China were made, these treaties marked the very beginning of extra-territorial jurisdiction in that country. The earlier practice had, in fact, been just the opposite of that stipulated in the treaties. But the customary rights of foreigners in Turkey were so considerable and of so long standing that no attempt was made to reduce all of them to explicit written statement.

It is important that this difference between extra-territoriality and the capitulations should be understood. During the course of the past month I have more than once heard the

statement made that, in the first instance, China conceded extra-territorial rights voluntarily, and was glad to free herself from the tiresome responsibility of exercising jurisdiction over strangers whose language and ways her officials did not understand. History does not support this, nor does the case for extra-territoriality rest on it. It rests on the fact that the administration of justice in China is, and always has been, bad, and was worse at the beginning of the nineteenth century than it is now. Accordingly, when Great Britain was obliged, by provocations in many ways similar to those which she has recently been receiving, to use force against China, she arranged, in article 13 of the resolution issued in pursuance of the Treaty of Nanking made in 1842, that ' regarding the punishment of English criminals the English Government will enact the laws necessary to attain that end, and the Consul will be empowered to put them into force ; and, regarding the punishment of Chinese criminals, these will be tried and punished by their own laws ' Later, in 1858, after a second war caused in the same way, this arrangement was expanded into the following provisions

Chinese subjects who may be guilty of any criminal act towards British subjects shall be arrested and punished by the Chinese authorities according to the laws of China British subjects who may commit any crime in China shall be tried and punished by the Consul, or other public functionary authorised thereto, according to the laws of Great Britain. Justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides.

A British subject having reason to complain of a Chinese must proceed to the Consulate and state his grievance The Consul will inquire into the merits of the case, and do his utmost to arrange it amicably. In like manner, if a Chinese have reason to complain of a British subject, the Consul shall no less listen to his complaint and endeavour to settle it in a friendly manner If disputes take place of such a nature that the Consul cannot arrange them amicably, then he shall request the assistance of the Chinese authorities, that they may together examine into the merits of the case and decide it equitably.

If criminals, subjects of China, shall take refuge in Hongkong, or on board the British ships there, they shall upon due requisition by the Chinese authorities be searched for, and on proof of their guilt be delivered up In like manner, if Chinese offenders take refuge in the houses or on board the vessels of British subjects at the open ports, they shall not be harboured or concealed, but shall be delivered up, on due requisition by the Chinese authorities, addressed to the British Consul.

All questions in regard to rights, whether of property or person, arising between British subjects shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the British authorities.

The Chinese authorities shall at all times afford the fullest protection to the persons and property of British subjects, whenever these shall be

subjected to insult or violence. . . . The Chinese Government will place no restrictions whatever upon the employment, by British subjects, of Chinese subjects in any lawful capacity.

The story of Shanghai illustrates how these provisions—the last of which conferred no extra-territorial rights—came gradually to be extended and to form the basis there of an *imperium in imperio* with a nucleus of 12⅔ square miles, in which until quite recently no foreigner and no Chinese could be arrested, tried or, except in the form of customs duties and land taxes, taxed by Chinese authority, similar conditions with local variations obtaining, apart from Hongkong and the leased territories of Kuangchowan, Kowloon, Weihaiwei, and Liaotung, at Canton, Amoy, Hangchow, Soochow, Chingkiang, Kiukiang, Hankow, Tientsin, and Newchwang.

Between September 1853 and February 1855 the native city of Shanghai was occupied by the Taiping rebels, and to escape them thousands of refugees entered the adjacent foreign area, the British section of which was 470 acres in extent. As a result the small European community (for, from the first, the British had welcomed all comers) had to seek wider powers of government than those possessed by the Committee of Roads and Jetties under the authority of Land Regulations agreed to, in 1845, by the British Consul and the local Chinese official, the Taotai. Accordingly, in 1854, a new code of municipal and land regulations was negotiated, under which, to quote from Mr. H. B. Morse's *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, 'the Government having authority over the soil and the Governments having authority over the persons and property of the foreigners, delegated to those foreigners the highest power in all government, that of taxing and policing their own community.'

It was not intended, however, that this power should withdraw Chinese residents from Chinese control. In 1858 a Chinese-American Treaty laid down the principle that grants of right or interest in any tract of land should 'in no event be construed to divest the Chinese authorities of their right of jurisdiction over persons and property within the said tract of land except so far as that right may have been expressly relinquished by treaty,' an exception which did not include the Shanghai Land Regulations of 1854, which were not the subject of treaty Similarly, in 1862, Mr. Bruce, the British Envoy, reminded the Shanghai community that

the Chinese Government has never formally abandoned its rights over its own subjects, nor has Her Majesty's Government ever claimed, or expressed any desire to exercise, a protectorate over them. The only case in which, consistently with the principles laid down for the guidance of Her Majesty's authorities in this country, the Consul has a right to interfere is where

the Chinese is in the employ of a British firm, and where there is reason for believing that the arrest of the Chinese servant is an outrage through him on his employer. . . . Because we protect Shanghai from falling a prey to a horde of brigands, it does not follow that we are prepared to interfere with the natural relation of the Chinese to their own Government.

On June 12, 1863, accordingly, it was arranged that the Taotai should be at liberty to levy on Chinese residents within Settlement limits a poll-tax that was being levied on Chinese in the native city, on the understanding that this should free them from any further taxation, the underlying principle of the understanding being the one expressed by the foreign residents in a memorial replying to the views of the British Envoy quoted above This memorial admitted that, according to the strict letter of the treaties, Mr Bruce was right It expressed the view, however, that, according to their spirit, he was wrong and added that '*it is of very great importance to the future safety and well-being of this important port that some restrictions be placed upon the actions of the local native authorities within the limits of the foreign Settlements.*'

The passage is italicised partly because it shows how, in administrative no less than in legal affairs, experience had proved the necessity of protecting foreigners and their enterprises from Chinese misgovernment, partly because only very shortly before, namely in 1860 and 1861, this necessity had been recognised in the provisions made for British subjects at Canton, Chingkiang, Newchwang, Kiukiang, Hankow and Tientsin, and partly because the passage furnishes the key to subsequent Shanghai history Of this the part most important from the point of view both of this article and of current events is that relating to the Mixed Court. Before proceeding to relate it, note should be made of the fact that the compromise regarding the Taotai's poll-tax was never put into effect, and that because of the dangers attending, as Mr Morse says, ' the admission of dual and rival jurisdictions on a footing of independence within the same area,' the Chinese authorities have never been allowed to levy on Chinese living in the international or the French areas in Shanghai any taxes other than land taxes and customs duties It should also be explained that the leases of the British concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang, dated respectively March 21 and 25, 1861, both stipulate that in the allotting of ground to British subjects, in the construction of roads ' and in every other matter appertaining to the said ground,' the British Consul ' shall exercise sole control and may from time to time make such regulations as he sees fit.'

The Mixed Court was established in 1864 under a deputy of the Taotai to take the place of the consular courts in mixed suits between foreigners and Chinese. In police cases the deputy

alone took cognisance; in criminal or civil cases in which a foreigner was concerned a foreign assessor was present, while the Taotai heard appeals. In 1869 procedure was altered so as to admit of the presence of a foreign assessor in all cases affecting the interests of foreigners. Prior to 1911 the Chinese magistrate tried all civil cases in which Chinese only were concerned, and, though foreign assessors sat with him in criminal cases and in all civil cases in which foreigners were interested, they were, theoretically, no more than assessors. Warrants, summonses, and orders were issued by the Chinese magistrate, countersigned by the Senior Consul or one of the foreign assessors representing him, and were served by the courts' runners accompanied by the municipal police.

In 1911, however, came the anti-Manchu revolution. The magistrates, who were imperial officials, fled, taking with them the fees and other moneys belonging to the Mixed Court, and leaving it in the utmost confusion At the same time the native city of Shanghai joined the revolutionaries, and the Taotai, unable to perform his duties, requested to be allowed to act inside the Settlement. This step was refused by the Diplomatic Body in Peking, who authorised the Consular Body in Shanghai to 'exercise such powers of control as might be necessary to protect foreign life and property and to maintain the status of the international settlement.' The Consular Body, accordingly, issued a proclamation dated November 10, 1911, informing the public that, as a measure of expediency, the Chinese magistrate of the Mixed Court would in future function 'under the guidance of, and in concert with, the assessors of the said consuls,' and that the municipal police would take over the prisons of the court and 'execute its summonses and warrants when bearing the seal of the Senior Consul and its decrees and orders when countersigned by the proper assessor' Thus the court, while it continued to apply Chinese law, became, to all intents and purposes, an administrative and judicial organ of the Settlement's authorities Various reforms were introduced in its procedure, and it became in many ways a much more efficient and reliable institution than it had been before.

Other developments completed the process whereby foreign Shanghai, which was all the time expanding commercially into one of the eight largest ports of the world, became an extremely rich, well-organised and very self-conscious *imperium in imperio.* Chief amongst these was the rapid and universal deterioration of government in China, which, as shown in the first part of this article, became a prey to civil war, to the ravages of enormous armies steadily increasing in size, to indiscipline and savagery, and to unbridled and unproductive use of public funds, the

result being that at the time of the Washington Conference, when, as already seen, Dr. Wellington Koo put forward the most affecting and plausible arguments for tariff autonomy, there was not a single public revenue, other than the customs, which was not being seized in increasing quantities and squandered by provincial rulers, all sorts of expedients in the form of taxation and borrowing being employed to make good their misappropriations. In this welter of misrule larger and larger numbers of rich Chinese gravitated towards Shanghai and Tientsin, glad of the safety and immunity which they found there. More and more of them put their money into foreign banks, into land registered in foreign names, and into property entitled to foreign consular protection, and very many of them took out Italian and Portuguese nationality papers. The most ardent Kuomintang nationalists, including Eugene Chen, C. T. Wang, Wu Ting-fang, his son C. C. Wu, the great Sun Yat-sen himself and his family, were glad from time to time to make prolonged stays in the extraterritorialised areas which, when it was temporarily safe to leave them, they eloquently denounced as menaces to China's territorial integrity and 'imperialistic' infringements of her sovereign rights.

It was owing to the events of 1911 that the substantial portion of the national revenue referred to at the beginning of this article—namely, the customs revenue—was to a large extent withdrawn from Chinese control Before that year this revenue, which is collected by foreign, largely British, employees of the Chinese Government, under a British Inspector-General, Sir Francis Aglen, who is now retiring from his post, was paid into Chinese banks, and foreigners exercised no control over it whatever. It had become the security for three foreign loans, generally spoken of as the pre-Boxer loans, and for the indemnity imposed on China as a penalty for the anti-foreign (Boxer) outbreak of 1900. The service of these obligations, however, was a matter left entirely to the Chinese Government, which arranged it with the provincial authorities in a manner satisfactory to all concerned, collection of the revenue by foreigners having originated in the inability of the Manchu authorities to hold Shanghai against the Taiping rebels. Various methods of continuing the collection of customs duties were tried and failed, and ultimately three foreigners, an American, a Frenchman and an Englishman, were nominated to help in the task. The system so inaugurated was extended, under the Rules of Trade, 1858, to other ports, and in 1861 Mr. H. N. Lay was appointed Inspector-General, Her Majesty's Government receiving an assurance from the Chinese Government in 1898 that the post should continue to be held by a British subject as long as the trade of Great Britain remained larger than

[illegible]-saving devices. Mass production is everywhere notice-[illegible]; and particularly striking in such an instance as that of [illegible]chanical toys, where various small parts of toy engines and [illegible], etc., are made in tremendous quantities; it is also seen in [illegible] medicine factories, where patent pills, analogous to aspirin [illegible]d many other well-known remedies, are produced. The [illegible]rman zeal for research is strikingly indicated in chemical and [illegible]e works. In one I was told that all the effort which went to [illegible]rocure 80,000 new colours only produced 80 of any value—*in 1000!* It was satisfactory to learn that the sphere of German [illegible]onopoly in this field had been considerably curtailed since the [illegible]ar, and that much of their knowledge was now shared with [illegible]ritish and other competitors. A wonderful tree of colour [illegible]enealogies still demonstrates, however, a distinct preponderance, [illegible]nd, in the case of one firm, I was told that whereas only 15 per [illegible]ent. of their pre-war trade went to the home market, they [illegible]ould not now place as much as 85 per cent. abroad. It is of [illegible]nterest to note that the combine they have formed, called for [illegible]hort the 'I.G.,' has now been followed by a British trust on [illegible]imilar lines.

Industrialists on all sides complain bitterly of the 'burdens [illegible]n trade,' and care needs to be exercised in discriminating between [illegible]e reality and the catch-phrase. A definite instance is con-[illegible]tantly brought up in the settlement known as the Dawes Scheme, [illegible]ough all are ready to admit that it displaced a far more damaging [illegible]a of economic chaos. Clearly the Reparations issue rankles; a [illegible]pical case is that of railway rolling stock, where they have to [illegible]pply the ex-Allies—France and Belgium mainly—with engines [illegible]ten technically unsuitable and waggons usually numerically [illegible]dundant, while their own 'Reichbahn' is seriously incapaci-[illegible]ted by deficiencies in this direction. It may be noted, however, [illegible]at there appeared to be little or no complaint over the unifica-[illegible]n of the system. The burden on industry, whatever it may be, [illegible]none the less, sensibly decreased by the fact that the somewhat [illegible]ous weight of debt accumulated by all the important concerns [illegible] largely paid off during the slump in the mark, when this could [illegible] done with the minimum of genuine sacrifice. The financial [illegible]antage of this achievement has been of considerable conse-[illegible]nce in the buoyancy of their trade generally, and in their [illegible]ity to hold and capture markets in the face of British and other [illegible]ign competition. It was therefore all the more satisfactory to [illegible] that, for instance, in some lines of colour-printed book [illegible]duction they could not compete against British tenders.

[illegible]n interesting sidelight on the well-known German attitude [illegible] markets is illustrated by the case of an Englishman who [illegible]ght a toy for his son in Scotland for 1s. On moving with

that of any other country. In 1911, owing to the disorganisation caused by the anti-Manchu revolution, the Chinese Government defaulted on the monthly payment of interest due in respect of the Anglo-German loan of 1896, and the British Minister, Sir John Jordan, in order to ensure that default should not recur on a wider scale, insisted on immediate steps being taken to place the whole revenue both at the Treaty ports still in the possession of the Manchu Government and at those which had fallen into the hands of the revolutionaries under the direct control of the Inspector-General Accordingly, on January 30, 1912, an agreement was arrived at between the Chinese Government and the Diplomatic Body. The Inspector-General was to arrange for weekly remittances from all the collecting ports to Shanghai, where the net revenue was to be divided weekly, and as nearly as possible equally, between the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank, and the Russo-Asiatic Bank for account of the loans concerned and the indemnity payments. The Shanghai Commissioner of Customs was authorised to draw upon these accounts for loan payments as they fell due, the banks named being designated custodians of the customs funds at Shanghai. Certain other banks—*i e* the Yokohama Specie Bank, the Banque de l'Indo-Chine, the International Bank, and the Banque Sino-Belge—continued to receive the portions of the native customs revenue which had been assigned by the final protocol of 1901 as part security for the Boxer indemnity, and had been paid monthly to them as members of the commission of bankers brought into existence by the protocol. In December 1913 this agreement was altered by a revision of one of its articles to the following:

> The banks chiefly interested, *i e*, the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank and the Russo-Asiatic Bank, shall be custodians of the customs funds at Shanghai; at the end of each month, beginning with January 1914, the surplus, after all payments due each month on account of loans secured by the customs revenue and contracted previous to 1900 have been fully met, shall be divided *pro rata* amongst the banks having charge of the indemnity service up to the amount of the instalments respectively due to them each month.

At the beginning of the Great War the German bank dropped out.

Now it is to be noted that the agreement of 1912 contained a clause which implied that foreign control was to cease when the Chinese Government was able to resume loan and indemnity payments. The agreement was, in fact, originally conceived as a temporary measure, just as consular control of the Mixed Court at Shanghai was introduced as a temporary measure. It was the view of everybody who had to deal with the question, except the Belgian Minister, that, in the uncertain circumstances of

the time, foreign control ought to be continued. And so it was, with these further developments—(*a*) that in July 1917 the service of the Reorganisation Loan of 1913 was placed as a charge on the customs revenue, thus freeing the salt revenue which was originally its primary security; (*b*) that in 1917, after China's declaration of war against Germany, the monthly sums due to her as her share of the Boxer indemnity were cancelled and hypothecated to the service of domestic loans, the money being placed in a foreign bank; (*c*) that subsequently Austrian and Russian indemnity moneys were similarly hypothecated; and (*d*) that in 1921 the Inspector-General was authorised by Presidential mandate to use surplus customs revenue—*i.e.*, customs revenue not required for foreign loans or Indemnity payments—for the service of certain other domestic loans, which being thus secured became the backbone of China's domestic credit and are to-day very largely held by Chinese banks.

These developments took place in spite of the fact that the Canton Government, which, as shown in the last issue of *The Nineteenth Century*, was at enmity with the North, had in 1918 and 1919 threatened to seize the customs revenue collected at that port, threats which were met by counter-threats by the Powers, who were not concerned in China's civil wars, or desirous of supporting either side, but were justly interested in maintaining the solidarity of the security for foreign loans. For this reason, in 1919, acting on the same principle as the one that had governed their attitude towards the demands of Canton, they rejected a request by the Peking Government that in future the Inspector-General should be at liberty, when all foreign obligations had been fully met, automatically to release customs surpluses without the consent of the Diplomatic Body. In 1920 the Canton Government again threatened to seize the Canton customs, the ground of their threat on this occasion being the withholding, owing to the existence of rival Cantonese claimants to it, of the proportion of the surplus which, after their threat of 1919, the Central Government had agreed to give them, the moneys so withheld being deposited with the Inspector-General. In 1920 also the Diplomatic Body for a second time refused the request which the Central Government had made in the previous year. In March of the following year, however, they agreed to some of the money which, for the reason just stated, had been withheld from Canton and deposited with the Inspector-General, being used for domestic loan service.

Thus when the whole of the customs surplus was earmarked for the service of domestic loans, a step which, as far as I am aware, was taken without reference to the Diplomatic Body, and when, nevertheless, in the autumn of 1921, the Inspector-General

was supported by the Diplomatic Body in refusing to let the Central Government raid the funds they had themselves ear-marked, the position of foreigners in relation to China's financial affairs became one which was bound, sooner or later, to lead to trouble, particularly for ourselves. In the autumn of 1923 the Canton Government again put forward a claim to their share of the surplus, arguing that Peking was not entitled to use it for the service of domestic loans which helped to finance military operations against South China, and again threatened to seize the customs. In the autumn of the following year the Peking faction obtained money through an issue of Treasury bills secured on the customs, whereupon Chang Tso-lin threatened to seize the Manchurian customs, his threat being followed by another threat from the south. In March 1925, power in North China being shared by Chang Tso-lin and Feng Yu-hsiang, a further domestic loan of $15,000,000 was secured on the customs. Two months later Bolshevist intrigue succeeded in uniting the various currents of anti-British feeling, and on May 30, 1925, the storm broke.

His Majesty's Government is now trying both at Hankow and Peking to reassert the principles which, as I have shown, its Envoy, Mr. Bruce, invoked in the middle of last century, and to adapt them to the circumstances which have arisen since. It has offered to apply Chinese law in British courts; to dispense, in mixed cases, with the presence of an assessor; to make British subjects amenable to Chinese taxation and to give the Chinese authorities a large share in the control of the Concessions, a change which, as pointed out by a correspondent of *The Times* on February 3, is likely to result in considerable modifications in the governance of the international Settlement at Shanghai. Additionally, in his speech at Birmingham on January 29, Sir Austen Chamberlain stated that the British Government was prepared to give China tariff autonomy.

As shown in the article in *The Times* just referred to, the fulfilment of these offers is bound to encounter many practical difficulties, for while China's modern system of law is very incomplete, her judicial and police administration is riddled with defects and abuses. In defence of the persons and property of British residents His Majesty's Government cannot but insist on maintaining certain safeguards, while in regard to the disposal of the customs revenue, a matter which does not appear as yet to have been raised, but which the retirement of Sir Francis Aglen and China's prospective enjoyment of tariff autonomy are certain soon to raise, His Majesty's Government will be confronted with the difficulty of seeing that British bondholders continue to be protected.

Furthermore, between the legitimate interests of our nationals

and the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese lie a number of wholly illegitimate aims, those of the Russians forming one group, those of bogus Chinese patriots a second. And in the pathway of successful negotiations lie also two paradoxical possibilities, each, to use a Meredithian phrase, with 'yard grin of eager grinders'—one the danger that in trying to retain the goodwill of Chinese merchants we do them the disservice of ruining their banks; the other that in seeking to replace anomaly by regularity we succeed only in stereotyping disorder. For it was, as I have shown, through disorder and misrule that foreign rights and privileges came into existence. If they have infringed China's 'sovereign rights' they have also helped to build up her foreign trade and its flourishing centres. They have provided her with the means of converting herself from a mediæval into a modern State, sustained her financial credit both foreign and domestic, and preserved her administrative system from the complete disintegration which now threatens it. The threat may pass: a regional or federal system of government may be established, and the sovereignty of which the nationalists talk so much may come to have practical meaning. But there is no certainty whatever that these things will happen; the chances, on the contrary, appear to be the other way. It would be a grim paradox indeed if, in our desire to recognise and apply principles in China, we made confusion worse confounded.

E. M. GULL.

THE RIFT

THE long-delayed realisation of the importance of education as a national asset is perhaps the outstanding feature of the twentieth century in England, and the absolute necessity of spreading higher education throughout all classes in the country has been faced, and boldly faced, by the State as never before To pretend, however, that the time has now come to sum up the results would, of course, in view of the youth of the new experiment, be both over-hasty and illogical, since our system of education is still in a state of flux, and will, we hope, long remain so.

The Nineteenth Century has lately published articles on the two main products of our secondary educational systems—the old type, the Public School Boy, and the new, the Secondary School Boy—and has made it abundantly clear that both are in a state of transition and open to new influences, and also that both contain the seeds, if not the fruit, of infinite good The present article deals with one point of necessity left untouched—the problem of the relations of these two systems and of their human products to each other; and, since it cannot be denied that a nation stands or falls by the quality of its human material, the importance of this question for the future of our race must neither be overlooked nor underestimated

It is now fully half a century since Disraeli wrote his novel *Sybil, or the Two Nations*, and it may be said only too truly that since that time the two nations to which he referred, so far from coalescing, have, if anything, drawn farther apart It is, of course, hardly necessary to note that Disraeli spoke of aristocratic, or public school England on the one hand, and industrial and labouring England on the other, and of the rift between them, which had grown up almost unnoticed and, since they rarely ever came into contact, hardly felt To-day, to the great misfortune of England, the rift is still there, it has even in some respects widened, and it threatens soon to become an abyss precipitous enough to engulf the whole fabric of the English nation.

Until quite late in the nineteenth century, however, despite this great division, there was a steady gradation in English society which prevented this hiatus being felt and which effectually knit

together the diverse wefts of the social edifice. In the new industrial centres which had sprung up since the advent of machines the new lords of labour had not yet come to feel themselves of a different stock from their workmen, and their sons were educated still at the local town grammar school. They grew up to some extent in sympathy with the poor folk around them, and preserved that intimate warmth of contact which arises from having lived to some extent in the same atmosphere and speaking, more or less, the same tongue. Their quarrel with the workmen, when they had quarrels, was economic, not social, and history has proved since then that the deadliest of enmity arises as much from social dislike as from £. s. d. This, in part, is the lesson of Russia. Similarly, in the older, more cultured regions of southern England the squire or local gentry did not hesitate to patronise the old grammar schools, and thus formed a stepping-stone between the uneducated lower strata of society and the aristocracy. In Disraeli's time it is true, of course, that the lower strata lived in definitely inferior conditions and with no education at all, and it might be supposed that with the spread of compulsory elementary education and of State-aided secondary education the cleavage mentioned above would have been narrowed. Strange to say, this is not so, and it is the object of this essay to explain why

Fifty years ago our educational system was socially much more varied than to-day. From Oxford and Cambridge downwards to the free Sunday schools there were schools for all classes, from the most aristocratic to the roughest Scotch crofter. In the gradation of these schools it would have been possible to follow a given curve without meeting any definite social break, and it may be asserted that it was very largely owing to this system of schools that class feeling was so late in appearing in Great Britain. It was, in fact, more owing to this system than to our industrial prosperity of that period, for it is certain that as regards nine-tenths of our population we are industrially better off now than we were then—*i e*, better clothed, better fed, and with more security of life. Let it be noticed, in passing, that we are not so much discussing the efficient intellectual work of these schools as the human product they turned out.

To-day, with infinitely more and undoubtedly better schools, we find ourselves divided, as an educated nation, into two camps, and—strange phenomenon !—in this respect almost alone in the world. The State, realising that in order to hold our own in the trade and commerce of the universe we must be educated, and all of us educated, has built new schools everywhere, and with cordial, though perhaps not too lavish hand, has, in a magnificent gesture, invited all and sundry to partake ; and to its great

invitation many have replied. In every town it has built new secondary schools with small and disappearing fees. It has helped the old grammar schools with gifts of money, asking only that they shall accept a small number of poor scholars (25 per cent.). It has dotted the land with new (modern) universities, and has even endowed State scholarships. And yet, with all this diversity, the people of England are no longer diverse but have divided themselves into two parties, between whom there is a gulf wide beyond nightmare dreams and possibly still widening. It is no longer possible to pick and choose any school between 10*l* a year and 150*l*.; now either 20*l*. or 200*l* must be paid—there is no *acceptable* half-way line. It may be believed that for 20*l*., as for 200*l*., the boy will learn about the same, in some cases more, for 20*l*. The difference, of course, lies in the social *éclat*, the gentlemanliness, the bearing and self-confidence which 200*l*. will buy, or is supposed to buy, for him Such is the pious (and not altogether unfounded) hope of the fond middle-class parent.

How is it that our education has come to this unfortunate end while all the other white nations have tended steadily towards equality and democracy in their educational systems? To reply adequately to this problem would demand a separate study, dealing with our long tradition of aristocratic ideals, the supremacy of the two ancient universities and the equally ancient public schools, our lack of revolutionary ideas, and the inborn snobbishness (in its best sense) of our nation. Let it suffice to enumerate the actual effects of the new education. The grammar schools are ceasing to be connecting links between the rich and the lower middle class. The industrial magnates of the new towns, now established as ruling classes and forgetting their workman origin, have adopted the ideals of Oxford and the public schools. The grammar schools 'tainted' with their 25 per cent. elementary school children are no better than the State secondary schools, and are taboo The only solution is to pay 200*l*, or some similar sum, and turn to a public school. Thus the town grammar schools are becoming gradually limited to one class, instead of containing all the elements of town society, and they tend to rank socially with the State schools. For similar reasons every doctor and every lawyer will stretch every nerve to find the money for his boy's education at a boarding school. Too often they will adopt a third means and send him to a cheap boarding school with underpaid staff on modified 'Dotheboy' lines. For it must be admitted that there are intermediate schools, inferior both to those above and those below them. There (though he may learn nothing), at least he will mix with his own breed and learn the language of his father.

In the country the situation is very similar. It is known that Lord Nelson went as a boy to his local grammar school. I do not know whether or not there are descendants of Lord Nelson at school to-day, but we may feel confident that if there are they will be at Eton or Harrow or some equivalent, and every village parson and doctor will move heaven and earth to send his sons to similar schools Moreover, the rift goes further down. Even for preparatory education segregation is the watchword, and preparatory schools have sprung up throughout the length and breadth of England, skilled in the capture of public school scholarships, lest the poor middle class should be robbed of its due right to a gentleman's education. Middle class parents on local boards of education will openly confess that this is an evil state of affairs, and will express their willingness to send their children *a priori* to the public elementary schools—as soon as these schools are sufficiently clean and wholesome, with playing fields attached. But how can this happen? Surely only by well-to-do parents consenting to use these schools for their children and bringing the necessary pressure to bear to make them clean and wholesome. This is how it came about in Germany and America, and the only way it can come about in England. If all our middle classes sent their children to the public elementary schools they would soon see to it that those schools were models of cleanliness and health. Thus the problem is shelved till the next generation, by which time a class feeling based on real differences of outlook will have had time to grow. And as at the bottom, so at the top. The public school boy goes to Oxford or Cambridge, where he learns nothing new. The town boy goes to the modern universities, where he also learns nothing new. When the two meet they dislike one another, and not without cause. As for the few State school boys (a mere drop in the ocean) who filter into the old universities, they are usually completely absorbed or possibly alienated. In any case, their influence is too small to count. Anyone who imagines that our old universities present a mixture of classes is profoundly mistaken. Along with the public or preparatory schools they present a small but compact front with definite and largely unchangeable ideas, while the modern universities, most of the grammar schools, and the State schools down to the elementary schools form another. It is a fact that they do not like each other, and it is a fact that they do not mix easily. The staffs of most public schools are mainly composed of public school types, with London as a possible exception. When a new master arrives the boys do not ask, 'What university do you come from, sir?', but *which?* And underneath that simple question lies the tradition of a thousand years—the whole of English history. To feel certain that they

do not mix together easily one needs only to hear a number of public school boys discussing their local schools, or town boys who have been in contact with public school boys discussing them. They do not mix well because they are not like each other—their speech and their manners, or sometimes their dress, are different; and however much we may deny it, these things are the basic facts of human intercourse, and they are the rock upon which this nation is splitting. Everyone who has been in close contact with Americans, British Colonials, or Continentals will have noticed the uniformity of their human products as compared with ours. Practically all native Americans speak alike. We may sometimes detect a deeper nasal twang in a visitor from the Far West, but we feel that he is equally intelligible (or unintelligible) as an American from Boston; and in other respects he is the same too. He feels the same, and will tell you so if you ask him. This is because he has received the same sort of education as nearly every other American, both in elementary, secondary, and even possibly university, education There is no rift in America. In Germany, too, education for prince and pauper is identical as regards elementary education, and very often secondary education too, and their day universities do not differ materially. The same is true of France and Italy.

Only, therefore, in England has this unfortunate situation arisen, and, curiously enough, coincident with a rapid growth of democracy in power. It seems illogical, and yet it is true, that, especially since the war which was to unite us in brotherly unity, the cleavage has accentuated itself. That the public school system has gained in popularity can be seen by the rapid growth of new schools such as Stowe, and this in spite of the comparative impoverishment of the richer element in our society. Side by side with this we have the rise to power of a Labour Government and the open signs of another and more powerful Labour Government after the next election. We have had—what is more to the point of this essay—the surprising and interesting spectacle of men of both the types I have alluded to, and of both the traditions mentioned, carrying on the work of constitutional government in what seemed perfect harmony. This at first sight would seem to disprove our assertion of growing class antagonism and dislike; but on close examination it is not so. In the first place, our present Labour leaders, with few exceptions, are men of the nineteenth century point of view, reconciled to the social ideals of old England, who have moved about a good deal in a Liberal-Conservative atmosphere and have been partially absorbed. If they have not, their children will be, for, like the successful manufacturer, they tend to educate their offspring in the best schools. Moreover, the harmony is not so perfect as it may

seem, to judge by the remarks of Dean Inge in his book *England* on the new Labour members of Parliament. Finally, it may be prophesied that Labour Governments of the future will tend to be more democratic, and that there will be less absorption by the older classes owing to their decreasing political prestige. The present movement of many Liberals (and even Conservatives) over to the Labour Party testifies to the growing prestige of the latter, and with it a growing influence of their Labour culture.

Hence we have the peculiar and ambiguous situation of a State becoming steadily more democratic at the seat of government while its commercial and professional classes are becoming, if anything, less democratic in outlook, and more and more cut off from the workers, who ultimately control the personnel of the seat of government. I offer no comments on this situation. It may have its good points, and, as our history is full of anomalies, this may be but one more to add to them. It is true, also, that we are a tolerant nation, and it may be that our poorer populations are quite willing to allow the richer to segregate their social life provided they can have the control of government which they desire. Nevertheless it stands out as a significant fact that the only other nation in the world where such a division existed between the aristocracy, with their schools for nobles, and the rest of the nation, was Russia, and in that country, when the workmen came into power with the intelligentsia at their head, they did not tolerate—they made a clean sweep and began again. The public schools of Russia are now rest homes for proletariat workers or turned into proletariat schools. It will be objected in answer to this that we are not Russia, and that the process of absorption of successful Labour leaders will go on for ever, but we have already discussed this question above. It may be added, moreover, that there was absorption in Russia up to a point, but some refused to be absorbed. Among these were Lenin and Trotsky, both of whom represent popular culture as opposed to aristocratic, and these two men turned Russia upside down. Apropos of this same argument it should be remembered that those countries where cultural unity had been attained, such as Germany, rejected Bolshevism at first sight, and yet Germany, with its disciplined population, with its keen sense of duty towards the State, its readiness for hard work in return for small pay, is surely the one nation which could have worked Communism successfully.

It would be foolish to attempt a close parallel between two such different countries as Russia and England We will return to the immediate argument. Between the two classes of Englishmen we have mentioned there is a gulf, and it is not lessening, and

his family to Germany the toy was [illegible] to be of German make. A duplicate toy, [illegible] firm, was accordingly bought, to replace it, at [illegible] approximately 8*s*. in value. *How aptly does this* [illegible] oft-repeated contention that steps are needed to protect [illegible] *industries against competition of goods dumped in our* [illegible] *well under their cost of production to kill all rivalry in* [illegible] thereafter to revert to the economic or even a profiteering [illegible] price! For the benefit of those who, even in past times, look[illegible] for English names on the goods they sought to buy it may be [illegible] interest to note a curious coincidence (?). In one town alo[illegible] (Nürnburg), of three important and well-known businesses which[illegible] particularly pre-war, and even now to a considerable extent, have [illegible] large export trade to Great Britain, the names are such as woul[illegible] strike any average purchaser as good, sound 'Anglo-Saxon'— Messrs. Faber (pencils), Messrs. Nister (colour printed children's books), Messrs. Bing (mechanical toys).

If Germany's outlet for her goods in England is curtailed, the same is true in the reverse direction. The main hopes seemed to centre npon Bradford imports, but even here the market for our woollen ware seemed to be growing more restricted. The chief complaint one heard was that English firms showed a great reluctance to grant credits, and though this may easily be comprehensible, it certainly is not far-sighted.

Many portents undoubtedly justify a favourable view of German recovery, but the road is neither easy nor short. One single example will suffice as an illustration. Messrs. Krupp employed 36,000 men pre-war, 180,000 in the latter part of the war, and 16,000 to-day (October 1926)! The vast acres of massive buildings that once were such a hive of activity now merely demonstrate what the transition from war to peace, from armaments to cream separators, really means to Westphalia, and indeed to all industrial centres. This colossal undertaking can no longer provide work for a great part of the community in Essen. Yet with evidence of a similar situation all over the country, and with a more limited scheme of State aid in money and in subsidised labour than that to which we are accustomed, there was but little sign of deleterious effect on the people. The children all seemed noticeably happy, and, though not often blooming, were certainly comparable to ours in similar circumstances; as prices on the whole were high, this is a matter of some substance and indicates the circumstances of the parents.

The truth is, salvation is coming to Germany in the workshop. For here the characteristic feature is work, a more noteworthy matter than it should be. There is not there the enlightened *régime* that prevails in American industry, but the worker after

by common consent, whether it is dangerous for the political stability of England or not, it ought to be bridged. If the two classes dislike each other there must be something wrong in the education of one or the other, or more likely of both. What is wrong is simply that they are different externally, and above all their speech and manners are different, and to a less extent their dress. Now it cannot be, and is not doubted, that fundamentally, being all Englishmen, they are the same and have similar ideals. In fact, they are, ultimately, not different. None the less, as men judge each other far more on exterior points, and since all social life is built upon similarity of speech and behaviour, these external signs of culture assume an importance far beyond their intrinsic value, and must be dealt with in the future without prejudice and with no half-measures. It is of the utmost importance for the future that we should produce *one class of cultured Englishmen —one only—and that it should be of the highest and best type possible.* This, and this alone, is what we mean by the term 'an educated democracy,' and it can be done by bringing the two classes together and combining their good qualities instead of allowing them to drift apart, as they are doing at present.

When we use the phrase 'one type of cultured Englishmen' we do not mean a barren standardisation of humanity. There is no fear of this in the future. We cannot and do not wish to standardise individuals—even the boarding school system neither aims at nor achieves this—but only to remove all the exterior differences which are the cause of misunderstanding and dislike. Of these dress has become the least important and has almost ceased to be a sign of class distinction. Good and inexpensive clothes are now practically within the reach of all, and will be increasingly so in the future. We can at once turn to the important question of speech.

With regard to speech there can be no question of overestimation. A man is judged far more by the way he speaks than by what he says in actual life, and nothing causes more irritation than a strong local accent or an unfortunate habit of dropping aspirates. There is here no question of right and wrong. A Cockney has a perfect right to drop aspirates if he insists upon it, just as much as a Scotchman is justified in sounding them in certain words where the Englishman has dropped them. Phonetically the aspirate has disappeared in the London area, exactly as it did in France in Roman times. It is a problem not of right or wrong, but of expediency. It has happened that the first part of England to be educated academically and develop a fairly fixed pronunciation—*i.e.*, the south-east of England—has also fixed certain rules of pronunciation which it would be well that the whole nation should learn. Any other dialect would have done

for this purpose had it experienced the good fortune to achieve supremacy, but since this did not happen, let us for the sake of unity cling to this pronunciation as a standard. From this point of view the public schools have a decided advantage as they all teach this pronunciation, and it coincides, frequently though not invariably, with the home pronunciation of their pupils. During the term also the boarding school holds the field unopposed by the pupil's family. The grammar schools and State secondary schools, and more so the elementary schools, drawing their pupils from their own localities, have to deal with the opposition of local dialects and of their scholars' homes There is nothing unfortunate about this. Local dialects are in no wise to be despised, but for the sake of bridging our social gulf they must learn the κοινη, the standard pronunciation, as well. In Hamburg the educated man will speak Plattdeutsch quite openly at home, but he is perfectly able and willing to converse in High German, the κοινη of Germany, when environment demands. So it should be also in Lancashire and other parts of England. In this respect a national effort should be and can be made. Every training college for teachers, every secondary and elementary school, should have one trained phonetician on its staff who should teach the laws of sound to the pupils in precisely the same way as French and German are taught in the early stages. It would be indeed strange if the methods adopted for the pronunciation of French could not be used for English. It follows that it is ludicrous that many teachers of French, whose French pronunciation is beautiful, are in command only of their local speech for English. Nor are the practical difficulties at all insuperable The office of phonetician might well be combined with that of English master; the training is rapid and can be made a part of the diploma of education or teacher's certificate All that is needed is a good will, and a realisation that one common standard, or a close approximation to it, would be a national blessing and an act of patriotism It casts no aspersions on local dialects; they should also be preserved, but the κοινη in addition.

The three great aims of education are wisdom, fearlessness, and tolerance, and they are achieved as much by the life children lead and by their relations to their teachers and parents as by the subjects they are taught. These three aims, if achieved, are achieved simultaneously. Wisdom is the complete understanding that it does not so much matter what men do as how they do it, and it is taught, as far as it can be taught, equally well or equally badly in all schools, whether public or State-owned Fearlessness is the perfectly free attitude towards other human beings which it should be the desire of all schools to give their children. It is the only final law of behaviour and the only line of conduct which

can produce perfect manners. It denotes a perfect sense of 'being at ease' in all environments, a perfect frankness and openness, without boldness or importunity—in fine, a feeling that, wherever we are and whatever we are doing, we are 'at home.' It is to be found in some public schools, but by no means all, and possibly in fewer of our secondary schools. In the elementary schools it has hardly yet appeared, and cannot appear while the teachers have to struggle with large classes of forty or fifty children, and frequently are thereby compelled to make use of an iron discipline. For its growth there must be complete trust and confidence in all concerned—no obsessions of inferiority or injustice—and authority willingly accepted. It is to be doubted that our elementary schools are yet free in this sense. And yet fearlessness is steadily growing Such institutions as the Duke of York's Camp, the Boy Scout movement, and the British Legion are fostering it, but if only we could produce a common elementary education for all classes the greatest step forward would be made. Where there is perfect fearlessness there will be no lack of good manners.

Lastly, there is tolerance, perhaps the great and unique virtue of the English race. In no country are the rich so easily and with such good-humour tolerated by the poor as in England. In no country, in the face of startling contrasts of wealth and poverty, is there less envy of the successful by the unsuccessful than in England. In Russia the Bolshevik will not tolerate the prostrate bourgeois, but tramples on him with savage delight, even as he himself was trampled on. In France in their civil strife they indulge in mutual bloodshed beyond all need or comprehension, while in Italy, the converse of Russia, the Fascist holds his enemies down by sheer brute force. Only in England are humane relations preserved in the very heat of conflict and the beaten man allowed to rise again from the dust. England alone, with all her snobbery, her intellectual and emotional shortcomings, has known how to reconcile conquered enemies after a bitter fight and asked them to forget as she herself forgets It may be we are losing this virtue, as the world seems to be losing it. We claim it as a virtue of our race, but we are aware that it is not preached everywhere. It is not impressed sufficiently on our schools, and above all on the pupils of the public schools, that intolerance of others less fortunate is the greatest of sins and the least justifiable. Let all of us who care for education remember these three—'wisdom, fearlessness and tolerance'; and the greatest of these is tolerance.

F. McEachran.

THE PIED FLYCATCHER

THERE are five species of flycatcher on the British list. Of these the spotted is by far the commonest and best known Of the others, the brown has only occurred once, the collared four, and the red-breasted over twenty times in England, and none of them has been known to breed in the British Islands The pied is a regular summer visitor, but its distribution is curiously uneven In three or four districts it is common and nests freely. Mr. Walpole-Bond, in his *Field Studies of Some Rarer British Birds,* says that he has known over a dozen pairs to breed in one wood, and other observers are lucky enough to have a pair or two patronising the nesting-boxes in their gardens. But away from such favoured haunts it is somewhat of an adventure to find the nest of this most attractive little bird One may come across an odd honeymoon couple, or even a small colony; but even so it does not at all follow that you will find them at home there the next season, or ever again in subsequent years They seem to be capricious in their likes and dislikes, as, indeed, when one has watched them for long, one would expect them to be, for their erratic flight and inconsequent songs mark them as birds of a volatile temperament.

My acquaintance with pied flycatchers began many years ago in a wood in North Wales. To see an unknown bird for the first time always sends a thrill down the spine of a Nature-lover. It is a lifting of a corner of the veil which hides the unknown. And in this case the thrill was intensified by the fact that I could not at once identify this unfamiliar species: I knew that in some parts of Wales they were present in some numbers, but I was not then aware that they had occurred in that particular piece of country And added to curiosity was delight at the charm of the bird itself: I was first attracted by a song that was strange to me, then I caught sight of the singer—he was, of course, the cock. Though not much larger than a marsh or coal tit, and not very dissimilar in general appearance, his spruce black and white plumage marked him out as distinct from either of these. Breast, waistcoat, wing-bars and forehead were of a sleek and shining white which contrasted finely with the glossy black of his other

feathers. His song, too, was a far more elaborate affair than anything a tit could ever imagine, and his spasmodic flight suggested at once kinship with his cousin, the spotted flycatcher.

Soon his mate appeared—a dingy, drab little person beside her smart, well-groomed spouse; where he was white she seemed powdered with dust of a buffish tinge, and his black feathers she had replaced with dull brown. Both were busy carrying food to what was evidently their nesting-hole in a birch about 20 feet from the ground

Since then I have had many opportunities of becoming better acquainted with the pied flycatcher. He occasionally assumes that humped-up attitude in perching which makes our common flycatcher look so lazy and lethargic, until stirred into galvanic activity in the chase of a fly; yet, being smaller, and neater in build, the pied is a much more sprightly person, and for that reason far more interesting to observe. Few of the plates which one sees in bird books succeed in conveying this sprightliness, and yet it is perhaps the bird's most striking characteristic. As this quality depends chiefly upon its swift and erratic movements, the task is, of course, one of extreme difficulty for the artist Yet it has been successfully attempted by Mr Seaby and Mr. Thorburn. Bewick's woodcuts, as Mr. E. M. Nicholson has pointed out, are usually most vivid and life-like, but his illustration of the pied flycatcher is a caricature. He depicts the unhappy bird in a crouching position with its beak wide open and its tail slightly raised. Apparently it is intended to be in song, but when the real singer warbles he throws back his head and holds himself upright. On the other hand, when he crouches it is before he launches himself upon his prey, and in that case, as Miss E. L Turner has observed, the tail is depressed. The reason of Bewick's failure is obvious: he tells us that his cut was made from a stuffed specimen; evidently the taxidermist had never seen the live bird. And this appears to have been the pathetic case with some of the compilers of other bird books—at least, so one judges from their reticence. They faithfully copy the general remarks of previous writers, but beyond that are wisely silent.

Both spotted and pied flycatchers feed chiefly on insects, but the pied seems to have a more catholic taste and an especial weakness for ants: formic acid, which at one time I myself absorbed in considerable quantities under doctor's orders, has a distinctly spicy flavour. Certainly the black and white liveried gentleman drops to the ground for his food much more frequently than his sober-suited cousin. Some observers state that he seldom chases flies, but hunts for insects and caterpillars among the trees; it is true that the latter method of foraging is employed (I once saw a pied flycatcher clin to a tree and search for food

like a woodpecker); but all the birds which I have watched have invariably hovered and hawked for flies in the air, and in so doing their aerial curvets and caracoles have been equal to any evolutions performed by other members of this family.

Even at rest they are very wide awake; you can see them turning their heads from side to side, with their black eyes ever watchful for prey. The males vary much in colouring, some showing a good deal of brown on the mantle, which detracts considerably from their smartness; in such a plumage their garb is reminiscent of the rusty old black coats which confidential clerks sometimes affect in the seclusion of dust-ridden solicitors' offices. Such birds are probably young males in their first summer—though, like Jacques, 'ambitious for a motley coat,' they have not yet attained it; but, despite their dinginess, they sometimes manage to attract mates.

To attempt to describe in words the song of any bird to those who have not heard it is almost always a hopeless business I have read a good many forlorn hopes of this nature as regards the song of the pied flycatcher, and I cannot say that any of them are convincing. Several observers have noticed the resemblance of certain of its phrases to the notes of the common redstart and the great and coal tits.

My advice to an inquirer would be 'First catch your flycatcher, then listen to him.' But this is a counsel of perfection to most people 'Tree, tree, tree, each year I come to thee,' has been suggested, but to my mind it cannot be called more than a poor parody of the original. I have in my notes over a score of attempted sketches in prose of this song, which is indeed a lyric of great charm and elusive beauty: they were all taken down in the open air when the bird was singing. My persevering endeavours to collate these various and varying versions prove the versatility and infinite idiosyncrasies, not only of the songs of different singers, but also of the same bird, in the space of a few minutes It would be as impossible as tedious to set out the conclusions in detail; but a few salient and important points emerge from what at first appeared chaos, without form and void.

The first note has something guttural in its initial sound which is not represented with accuracy by the 'tr' in 'tree': it is more like 'ch,' or even 'tch,' and this characteristic is reproduced in some of the phonetic renderings of other writers. Also, it is more usually, though not always, dissyllabic, the first syllable being accented; at other times a sort of intensive 'te' is prefixed, so that it becomes trisyllabic, 'te-cheetle,' or something like it; and this first phrase may be repeated twice, or three or even four times, sometimes in its dissyllabic and sometimes in its monosyllabic form, and in each instance with or without its prefix.

This phrase is often, but by no means invariably, followed by a very delightful descending cadenza, but uttered so rapidly that it sounds more like a trill on some very delicate wind instrument; and this trill may be repeated twice. Sometimes there is substituted for it a short warble which recalls a robin's more mellifluous notes. Occasionally one hears the trill twice or three times, but alone, and not preceded by the first *motif* of the song.

Having abused the efforts of others, it is only sportsmanlike to attempt a rendering of the song myself, though at the risk of being subjected to the jeers of my fellow field naturalists. It is this: 'Tchéetle, tchéetle, tchéetle, diddle-diddle-dée' I am painfully aware of its inadequacy, and, as I have explained above, it is liable to all manner of variation, according to the caprice and vocal powers of the singer. But it has, at least, the virtue of having been learned, however faultily, from the throat of the bird itself.

To describe the charm of the song is even more difficult. In all bird music it is the associations which add so much to its beauty. Heard among scenes where Nature is at her wildest, with the wind in her hair and flowers scattered confusedly at her feet—where man and his works are no more than trivial incidents in a landscape which, in its essentials, has remained unchanged throughout the course of centuries—it is the artless beauty of this song which is impressed upon the listener. The bird spills those insouciant jets of melody so carelessly, as he flits and swerves in and out of the spring foliage, that they seem to express in song the spirit of burgeoning leaf and opening flower; you can hear them singing One June morning I was listening to a pied flycatcher in a North Wales woodland. Suddenly there broke upon my ears another strain, in its way quite as perfect A girl, striding up a winding path to her home in the farm beyond, was singing in a strong, clear treble some Welsh air whose words I could not interpret. But the throbbing pulse of her song needed no speech; joy and pride, love and hope and longing were mingled in it. It rang and echoed through and among the enaisled trees. Then, perhaps in answer, from a wood on the other side of the valley, a man's voice pealed out; it was a deep and sonorous bass, and in its own mode quite as wonderful as the girl's purer, more lyrical notes. And in and out, above and below, like a descant upon the theme of this duet, there rose and fell the desultory arpeggios and trills of the flycatcher's refrain, like the trickle of some tiny waterfall sparkling in the sunlight and dropping musically into a deep pool. Which part in this amazing trio was the most beautiful one could hardly say, even if one had thought of comparison; but no episode could have contrasted more vividly the artless overflow of song from this little bird and

the more sophisticated performances of the human singers. This is my ideal memory of the pied flycatcher's song, and it owes much to its associations.

The courtship is a very pretty piece of play-acting. But it sometimes has its tragedies. The cocks arrive before the hens, and at once begin prospecting for holes which they consider suitable for nesting. Near these holes they sing vociferously; but, alas, they sometimes fail to attract a mate. Of five cocks which I had under pretty constant observation during one summer only two appeared to find the right lady, and of the rest two failed to attract even temporarily any lady at all. The fifth was an unsuccessful suitor; when first I came across him he was busy going in and out of a hole which to him, and indeed to me, seemed ideal: soon she whom he hoped to persuade to share this desirable residence appeared. His deportment was perfect; he flew to the entrance, looked in, and then retired to make way for her. After some maidenly hesitation she took the hint and went inside; he followed her. What happened next I cannot say, but I imagined him pointing out with pride the advantages of the site for a perfect honeymoon. Perhaps her attitude was too critical, for after a few seconds they both emerged, and he chased her as she flew off. Not long after he returned to the same tree, but I did not see her again that day. It looked ominous, but I hoped for the best.

Four days later I found him still singing optimistically at the door. Soon she came too, and perched upon a branch near; he again showed her the way in, and tempted her to follow with a charming song of welcome and a lavish display of his resplendent white waistcoat. These cumulative attractions succeeded nearly, but not quite; she got as far as the doorstep, but then feminine perversity—or shall I say caprice?—supervened. She flew away in chase of a fly, and though she showed some signs of relenting she did not return again

I fear that all this persistent suitor's efforts were wasted. I paid several other visits to the tree. Once he was there alone, still singing, perhaps to keep his spirits up The next time both birds were in evidence, and the same pantomime was enacted. At its end another cock put in an appearance, but was at once furiously attacked and driven off: perhaps the fickle lady transferred her affections to the interloper, for, as Bacon sagely remarks, 'love is ever rewarded either with the reciproque or with an inward and secret contempt'; and after this I saw no more of her. Subsequently three male birds were challenging each other in vociferous rivalry in the near vicinity, but, though I spent many hours watching them, I could not see that any of them secured a partner. One of these was, no doubt, my unwilling benedict: perhaps he solaced himself with some trite reflection

about its being better to have loved and lost. If so, it can have been but cold comfort to so whole-hearted a lover.

But let us turn from this story of lost endeavour to a more cheerful scene. It was a May morning, and, as Herrick tersely puts it, the lovers had 'wept, and woo'd and plighted troth.' In fact, to speak prosaically, nest-building was in progress, and, as usual in household matters, the woman was doing all the work, though her activities were from time to time impeded by the well-meant attentions of the other sex. When first I caught sight of her she was carrying a straw to the nesting-hole, some 20 feet up, in an ash on the edge of a wood She was a fastidious housewife, for the straw was brought out again and rejected, but she soon returned with another more to her fancy. Her next contribution consisted of a couple of dead leaves on a stalk, but these furnishings were also ill-adapted for her purpose · she dropped one leaf, caught it in the air as it fell, changed its position in her beak, then dropped both in disgust, and gave up the attempt to fit them in as hopeless. Later she paid frequent visits to the nesting site, sometimes with bents, sometimes with nothing in her bill.

The cock spent his time singing and generally fussing about. Twice he chased her into the hole , once he hovered in the air over her; another time he descended towards her with wings outspread, like a tree-pipit. On one occasion on her return with nesting material the hen found him in the hole . this annoyed her intensely; it was bad enough to have him fussing, but to have him getting in her way was altogether too much. She chided him with acerbity, and he crept out of her way looking ludicrously ashamed of himself. A curious and charming love passage followed. When she was about to leave the hole the cock flew towards her, and, after hovering in the air, pitched below her—and their beaks touched Further advances she repelled: like the lady in Mr. Yeats's wistful poem,

> She bade him take love easy, as the leaves grow on the tree;
> But he, being young and foolish, with her would not agree.

He stood opposite her motionless for some seconds, and then she flew off with him in pursuit.

A Nature-lover cannot spend an hour more profitably than in sitting down within sight of a spotted flycatcher's nest when the pair are busy feeding their young. In my memory they are associated with mountains, rocky gorges, and the tangled confusion of neglected woodland Usually the tree which holds their 'procreant cradle' is within sound of running water: I have known only two nests, out of the many I have found, which were not near burbling streams, and even these were not more than half a mile from a river. Seated in such surroundings on a morning

in early June when the oaks are in their freshest green foliage, and the sky, blue as the sheet of wild hyacinths at your feet, is a limitless ocean, across which clouds sail like galleons carrying panoplies of snowy sail, with the murmur of wind in the trees and rippling water mingling in delightful harmonies, all the senses are attuned to the fullest enjoyment of beauty One's thoughts fly back to old Isaac Walton and his ' sweet content ' in fields and waters and angling, and recall his tale of how Diogenes at the fair said to his friend, ' Lord, how many things are there in this world of which Diogenes hath no need ! ' And as these flycatchers are almost ridiculously tame, the pleasure of intimate observation of their doings adds to one's happiness.

They are, indeed, charmingly confiding , there is no need to construct a hide or use any sort of concealment. You can sit within 10 yards of the tree and watch them going to and fro to the nest. More than once I have known the hen catch some insect almost at my elbow and take it thence direct to her nestlings. The cock is very attentive to his mate, not only during courtship, but while she is sitting on the eggs : usually there is a dead branch not far from the selected hole, and on this he will pitch with a beakful and flit down thence to feed her ; the same bough serves him as a perch from which to give relief in song to his pent-up emotions when this little attention is over. Later, when the eggs are hatched and both are bringing food to the nest, the same station is used by them as a resting-place ; but the cock has very decided ideas about parental responsibilities. Though presumably unacquainted with Wordsworth's *Ode to Duty*, he nevertheless lives in the spirit of that poem, for if, as sometimes happens, his mate, having fed her offspring, stays awhile to preen herself on the accustomed bough, he drives her off to get more food If she ' deferred the task, in smoother walks to stray,' he was ' a rod to check the erring and reprove ' In the earlier stages there was some excuse for his correcting her, for he then brought food as frequently as and sometimes even more often than she did , but, alas, it is to be feared that he wearied in well-doing, for later on his attention seemed to flag, and he left the greater part of the work to his helpmeet.

For the first few days after the young are hatched food is supplied at irregular intervals : on these occasions the hen sometimes remains as long as ten minutes in the nesting-place ; probably she broods the young, but this seems to cause annoyance to her partner, who, in masculine ignorance, is anxious to overfeed them As the nestlings grow larger more frequent meals are necessary. One pair, with young some six days old, fed them about every four minutes : ten days later, when the nestlings were on the point of leaving the nest, they were being fed every

[illegible]

[illegible] in this country, and [illegible] there can be [illegible] no accept in concert with his employer, whose interest [illegible] is as strong as his own. Hence, though co-opera[tion in] the more defined sense is absent, equally so is hostility. [L]abour has made this temporary sacrifice—and sometimes [it is] far that peace is a sacrifice—gestures have also been forth[comin]g on the other side. In most cases there are staff (called [emplo]yees') councils, and also workmen's councils, some of the [mem]bers of which are occupied whole-time at these appointments; [they] are all paid by the firm. In addition delegates both from [thes]e bodies and the company form a joint works council which [mee]ts once a month. All matters concerning the works come within [its p]urview. These organisations are set up under the law, and [app]ly to all industries above a certain size. Experience has [sh]own that the protection they afford is very considerable indeed [t]he main difficulty encountered being illicit strikes, due to the [fac]t that the rank and file in some instances refuse to accept the [lea]dership of their representatives on the councils. Every latitude [is g]iven to the propaganda propensities of organised labour leaders, [an]d a foreman in the employ of Messrs. Krupp was recently given [thr]ee months' leave for a visit to England for the purpose of [stu]dying British trade union methods. In the light of the General [Str]ike at home, one may regard this as very generous of the firm, [in] view of the risk of the introduction of subversive doctrines.

In the coal mines also a real effort seemed to be made by the [ma]nagement to get in touch with the needs and aspirations of [the] rank and file. When several hundred feet below ground we [wer]e delayed some twenty minutes while the manager discussed [wit]h a hewer his grievances as to wages and lack of bonus on [prof]its, which he claimed he should have as an incentive to further [outp]ut. So problems do not vary across the North Sea. As in [Eng]land, pit ponies, though still very prevalent, are gradually [bein]g replaced by electrical machinery, and modernisation is [mak]ing considerable strides. Curiously enough the pithead baths [cont]roversy has no echo in Germany, since for forty or fifty years [bath]s have been provided as a matter of course, and no legislation [has] been needed to cover them; the miner, one is told, would [neve]r tolerate the bicycle ride home, black from head to foot, [whic]h is seen so often in England. The shower-baths, with [hoo]ks for tying up clothes and suspending them by a chain [to] a high ceiling with lock and key, are models for such a [purpo]se. Here we have much to learn.

[B]ut if the aspect as to conditions of life is kept to the fore, in [m]ost tangible directions labour has had to make concessions [[illegible]], though based in nearly every case on piece work, [illegible]

other minute. But perhaps these were particularly good parents, for another observer records that young hatched nine days previously were fed only twelve times in an hour. The fare supplied is varied: flies of various kinds are provided, and the cock sometimes arrives with bunches so large that his burden might be taken for nesting material. Grubs, green caterpillars, and large moths also form part of the menu. Both birds remove the excrement.

The position chosen for the nest is usually a cavity in a tree, which may be either one due to natural causes or an old woodpecker's hole, sometimes a crevice in a building or stone wall is selected. The height from the ground is subject to considerable variation Nests have been found only a few feet up, but I have seen two in disused green woodpeckers' holes which were not less than 50 and 60 feet above ground level. The most usual height in my experience is from 15 to 20 feet.

So soon as the young have flown both they and their parents mysteriously disappear, and are seldom or never seen again in the vicinity of their nesting tree. This fact is curious, and has recently been the subject of correspondence in an ornithological periodical. One observer once came across a party in July about half a mile from a known breeding-place, and another bird, ringed in June, was found dead in August about a mile away from the site of the nest. But, except for these instances, all the correspondents agreed that the vanishing trick was performed with singular regularity and completeness My experience is the same. The year in which I had five males and two females under constant observation, all within a district comprising about a couple of miles, although two pairs bred, I saw nothing of either family after the young left the nests in mid-June, and the apparently unmated cock birds were not in evidence after that date.

The most probable explanation seems to be that pied flycatchers at this season are overlooked. the foliage is, of course, thickest in the summer months, and they feed for the most part among the leaves and high up among the tree tops. The young, who do not leave the nest before they can fly, are very like the dull-coloured hen in plumage, and so easily escape notice, or may be mistaken for any of the warblers; and the males, who no longer call attention to their presence by song, moult in July or August into feathers which are chiefly brownish and buffish instead of black and white Thus they are hardly more conspicuous than the other members of their family. Professor Eagle Clarke, writing in his *Studies in Bird Migration* of his observations at Fair Isle, says that 'all the old males have assumed their winter dress ere they appear in the autumn, and I have never seen a bird either at Fair Isle or elsewhere, during my many

autumn pilgrimages in search of migrants, which showed the slightest trace of the pied plumage which renders it such a beautiful and conspicuous object in the spring.' And again, recording his autumn observations at the Flannan Isles, he says of pied flycatchers, 'all were in the grey dress of autumn.' Though they are recorded in considerable numbers on the coast, and especially the east coast, during the autumn migration, few are noted inland at that time, and this may be partly due to the fact that on the coastline they are less concealed by foliage.

The migrations of this little bird are interesting, and in some cases peculiar. Its winter home is northern tropical and equatorial Africa. Its arrival in England takes place from the last week in April to the middle of May, but odd birds have put in an appearance as early as March 26, and one has been seen as far north as Lancashire by April 3 There is also a passage migration from the first week in May till the first week in June As to the route by which it arrives, the western part of the south coast seems to be favoured, and in some years the preference is most marked. Since it is a rare migrant in Devon and Cornwall, though regular in Dorset, it looks as if a fairly short cross-Channel route were preferred, as the old sea-shanty has it, 'from Ushant to Scilly is thirty-five leagues'—a long way for so small a voyager; and yet, strangely enough, some wanderers journey both to and from home by way of Ireland: one was seen at Achill Island, county Mayo, on the west coast, in May 1920 It would seem that this traveller must have lost his way, and yet in November of the next year another turned up in the same county (this date is very late); perhaps it was the same bird. In other western counties it has been noticed in spring, probably *en route* for its breeding haunts in Wales and further north, and there is a pretty constant stream of pilgrims along the east coast, but these are probably bound for Scandinavia.

Some intrepid wayfarers have come under notice both in spring and autumn in the Shetland and Orkney Islands, and at Fair Isle, which lies between them Others skirt the Outer Hebrides on their return journey, and there seem to be lines of flight at the same season along the east coast, rather ill-defined in Scotland and the northern English counties, but well authenticated in the more southerly ones, and so on to the Channel Islands A less crowded line of flight is along the east coast of Ireland and the west coast of England Truly a wonderful achievement in globe-trotting for a bird whose length is some $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, but the gold crest's migrations are almost as wonderful, and his length is a good inch less

The eggs, of which there are usually from five to eight, are of a very beautiful pale blue. Having said so much, no more is

needful; their measurements have been recorded with meticulous detail by those to whom such things are interesting, and, of course, exactness is a scientific necessity. They may be inspected, usually much faded, in museums, and, I am told, in quite unnecessary numbers, in some private collections. For myself I will say frankly, and I know many good field naturalists share my views, that eggs interest me only in their natural surroundings, which are the nests where they are laid. 'Oology,' as Mr. T. A. Coward has aptly written, 'presents many interesting problems, and some can only be studied by the accumulation of a number of eggs, even in clutches. But for the majority of those who profess to study oology the scientific claim is nothing more than a cloak for miserly accumulation' I entirely agree, and would only add that some of these people, who resemble carrion-crows in their wanton destruction of eggs, could spend their time much more profitably in trying to learn a little about the habits of the birds whose nests they pilfer. At present their knowledge is more often confined to the outside of the egg-shell, but of aught else they are ludicrously ignorant. And their unscrupulous depredations make it impossible to reveal in public the exact locality where birds so local as pied flycatchers may be found.

Perhaps some who read this essay may complain that in writing of birds I have adopted too humanistic an attitude. To them I would say that this is not, nor does it profess to be, a scientific treatise. There are many such for those who want them. I have merely attempted as a field naturalist to give my own impressions, and to convey to others some of the charm of these delightful birds and the pleasure which may be derived from the observation of even a small portion of their little lives, their hopes and fears, their loves and hates It is only by these means that one can ever learn something of what goes on in their small brains, and what is the personality hidden beneath their feathers. If the language employed seems inapposite when applied to birds, it has been used not because I am not aware that their feelings are more primitive and elemental than ours, but rather because if we are to try and express their feelings at all we can do it only in human terms; otherwise the only way would be to chirp, and have the result broadcasted to my audience. But I think that there will be some who will appreciate my intention and my meaning: if these random notes give any pleasure and satisfaction to them, I am content.

E. W. Hendy.

MANORIAL FARMING

At a time when the unsatisfactory position of British agriculture is arousing widespread attention and the land system which has emerged from a thousand years of slow development is challenged, it is opportune to recall the conditions under which farming was practised in the Middle Ages. The foundation of the English land system was the manor, as defined and organised under the form of feudalism imposed by William I. on the conquered country. The manor was primarily an administrative unit, but it was also an agricultural unit, forming the domain or estate of a single landowner. The essence of feudalism was the subservience, in greater or less degree, of all the inhabitants of the manor to the lord It thus gave to the lord the control of the land and the conditions under which it was occupied by the inhabitants of the manor. Feudal tenures were of various forms, all governed by the principle of payment by service, but they did not determine the methods by which the land should be cultivated. The system of co-operative, or communal, farming which was characteristic of mediæval agriculture was incidental to, and not inherent in, the feudal system. The common-field and the three-course system prevailed long before the Conquest, and were fitted by the stubborn traditions of the countryside into the structure of manorial organisation. In referring to manorial farming, therefore, we are speaking of methods which were almost universal under the manorial system and became entwined in it, but were nevertheless not necessarily imposed by it.

Manors were of various sizes, but from 500 to 1200 acres seems to have been about the average, though this reckoning would not include the waste or woodland which surrounded the cultivated land and was more or less utilised for the grazing of stock, particularly pigs. By far the greater part of the occupied land was under arable cultivation. Some calculations, based on deductions from the Domesday survey, of the total extent of land under the plough in the whole country reach astonishing, not to say incredible, figures, but there is no doubt that at that period the proportion of land under the plough to the aggregate area which could be described as in any sense under cultivation was

much greater than at any subsequent period. The reason is indeed obvious. Every community had to put under crop enough land to support the population, however unsuitable it might be for arable cultivation, or however much better suited for pasture. There was no question of putting the land to its most profitable use; there was one use to which it must be put—that of growing corn for bread

In the allotment of the cultivable land the lord naturally came first. He took a large slice—perhaps a third or fourth of the whole—for his use and profit. This was termed his demesne, and was usually a compact area around the manor-house forming a separate farm, although the demesne might also include strips of land intermixed with others in the common-field.

There was also a number of small inclosed crofts or holdings and a few inclosed paddocks or yards. Along the banks of the stream there were also the meadows, of no great extent, which would be fenced off and kept for grazing or for hay.

The main bulk of the land formed the common-field or village farm, which was the characteristic feature of manorial farming. This was divided into two or three equal parts, according to whether a two- or three-course system of cultivation was followed. From the Conquest down to the end of the eighteenth century the three-course system was practically universal, although instances of the two-course system—*i.e.*, a corn crop followed by a fallow—existed, and indeed, according to Lord Ernle, might be found in Somerset as lately as 1879—so persistent is agricultural habit. The three-course system was (1) wheat or rye; (2) spring corn—barley, oats, beans or peas; (3) fallow. Other field crops grown were vetches, fairly extensively, and hemp and linseed, occasionally. If, therefore, the village farm consisted of 1200 acres and it was farmed on the three-course system, it would be divided into three parts of 400 acres each. The holding of every occupier who held land in the farm would also be divided into three equal parts The actual extent of a man's holding varied, and measurements were in any case not very exact. The fiscal unit was the 'hide,' which, though it seems to have varied in different districts, was generally about 120 acres. This was the extent of land which was assumed to represent the amount which a plough-team of eight oxen could work. The more common unit, which may perhaps be termed the economic unit, was the virgate of generally 30 acres, which represented a pair of oxen. The holder of a hide would as a rule have his own plough-team, while occupiers of smaller holdings would combine for a joint plough-team, each contributing a number of oxen proportionate to the size of his holding. But in every case the holding would be equally divided between the three parts of the common-

field. Thus the holder of a virgate would have 10 acres and the holder of a hide 40 acres in each part. But the 10 or 40 acres would again be divided into acre or half-acre strips, distributed in various parts of the field. This distribution was based on the principle of equality so that every man should share the good and the bad land, the near and distant parts of the field alike.

The shape of the fields was affected by the physical conditions of the ground. A stream, a marsh, a pond, or a piece of rocky or hilly ground would naturally disturb the symmetry of the planning of the field, while it was necessary to allow for paths or roadways to provide separate access to each strip. But, however irregular the main divisions might be, the internal arrangement of the field followed a uniform and invariable plan. It was arranged in a series of strips or parallelograms, each strip being approximately a furlong in length and 4 or 2 rods in breadth, equal to an acre or half-acre. The form of the acre is very ancient The earliest English law fixing the size of the statute acre (33 Edward I.) declared that '40 perches in length and 4 in breadth make an acre', and Mr. Seebohm observes that more than 1000 years ago in Bavaria the shape of the strip in the open fields for ploughing was also 40 rods in length and 4 in breadth, though the rod was in that case the Greek and Roman rod of 10 feet instead of the English rod of 10½ feet Measurements varied in different localities, and up to quite recent date 'acres' of various dimensions were recognised in different districts, and indeed have not quite disappeared from local use at this day. The idea underlying the shape and the size of the normal acre was convenience of ploughing, 40 rods being regarded as a fair distance for oxen to go at one stretch, and perhaps also as far as an ancient ploughman found it easy to keep a straight line The word 'furlong,' it need hardly be observed, is a corruption of 'furrow-long'—that is, the length of the normal furrow.

The strips were divided, as a rule, by edges of turf, termed 'balks,' left unploughed as boundaries to divide the strip of one man from another. This, however, does not appear to have been the universal practice, and the boundary seems frequently to have been an imaginary line fixed by a stone or landmark at each end. This would explain the frequent reference to disputes between neighbours as to the boundaries of their strips and the fervour of the anathema against the man who removed his neighbour's landmark. In the great contemporary record of the social condition of the English poor-folk in the fourteenth century (*The Visions of Piers Plowman*) we find Avarice confessing:

If I went to the plough, I pinched of his half-acre
A foot or a furrow of my neighbour's land,
If I reaped I would reach over, or had them that reaped for me
Seize with their sickles what I never sowed.

This kind of encroachment would hardly be possible if there were a balk of turf between the strips. In one of the last survivals of the ancient common or uninclosed arable field at Elmstone Hardwicke, in Gloucestershire, there were no permanent turf balks between the various strips or holdings, nor are they to be found at Laxton.

The demesne lands of the lord, whether in a compact holding or scattered in strips throughout the common-fields, were cultivated mainly by the villeins, each of whom had to render a certain quantum of labour. This was of two kinds—' week-work ' (*i.e.*, regular work on so many days in the week all the year round) and ' boon-work ' (*i e.*, special services at busy seasons, such as ploughing or harvest). The cottars and other unfree tenants of the manor had also to render service on the lord's demesne, while any additional work required was supplied by serfs, or in the last resort by hired labour, though at the period we are considering the supply of mobile labour was limited and uncertain. The supervision of the work on the demesne was entrusted to a bailiff, who was responsible to the lord for the farming operations.

The cultivation of the common-field was carried out on a communal system, subject to specified rules and regulations under the general direction of a reeve or headman of the village. Although each holder had a separate right in the produce of his own strips, he was bound to cultivate them in accordance with the general rule. He must sow when his neighbours sowed, reap when his neighbours reaped ; and after the crop was harvested all the land was open to the common grazing of the stock, which were under the control of the village herdman.

Half the land under crop in the three-course system was sown with wheat or rye, which were the two kinds of grain of which bread was made. On the tenant's land rye usually predominated, as it probably formed a large part of the breadstuff of the English peasantry, as it still does largely in parts of Europe. It would seem, however, that, on the whole, wheat was more largely grown than rye, so it may be regarded as the chief bread corn. Sometimes wheat and rye flour were mixed, and the bread made therefrom was termed ' maslin '—a word still in local use in England to describe a mixture of corn crops. But all kinds of corn, and even of pulse, were made into bread. Langland, in *The Visions of Piers Plowman*, mentions barley-bread, oat-cakes, and ' loaves of beans and bran,' but probably these were only resorted to by the very poor in time of dearth. Wheat and rye

were sometimes grown together, and the practice was regarded as a preventive of mildew. The fallows were ploughed three times for wheat and rye, and sowing began on Lammas Day (August 12) and was completed by Halloween (November 1). For oats, beans and peas the land was ploughed and the seed sown between Candlemas (February 2) and Easter. Oats were best sown in March and beans between St. Valentine's Day (February 14) and St. Chad's Day (March 2). The land for barley was ploughed and sown between Hock Day (the second Tuesday after Easter, a festival long kept by the English to celebrate a great slaughter of the Danes) and Whitsuntide. Barley was mainly grown for making into ale (not to be confused with beer, which was not made until hops were introduced in the sixteenth century), which was then the almost universal drink, its chief competitor for popular favour being mead, a beverage concocted from honey, sugar, and ginger. To modern tastes both would probably seem equally nasty, but the consumption of them, when there was no control of the liquor traffic and every householder was his own brewer, was limited only by the amount of materials available for their manufacture.

Seed was, of course, sown broadcast, though beans were sometimes dibbled in. Two bushels of wheat, rye, beans and peas and four bushels of barley and oats was the usual allowance of seed per acre, and the yields were ordinarily from three- to four-fold in the case of corn—sometimes five-fold in the case of wheat—and from three- to six-fold for leguminous crops. It would therefore require the produce of rather more than an acre of corn on the average to afford sustenance for one person. There was very little drainage of land practised except that of the furrow and open ditch, and the agricultural authority of the thirteenth century (Walter of Henley) advises that to free the lands from too much water the marshy ground should be well ridged. For maintaining the fertility of the soil the year's fallow was mainly relied upon, the common method of manuring being the folding of sheep and the grazing of stock on the land Marling and claying for light lands and liming for heavy lands were the systematic manurial operations practised, but these only by the more enlightened agriculturists. Thorold Rogers mentions an estate in a sandy district of Surrey on which about 143 acres were gradually marled, the operation extending over thirty-seven years About 100 loads to the acre were applied, at a cost of nearly half the original value of the land. Near the coast sea sand was sometimes used, and the value of soot and street refuse was known and these substances utilised on the lord's demesne when they were available.

The ordinary plough-team was eight oxen, though sometimes

horses were used, either alone or jointly with oxen. Horses were bred extensively as they were essential for warfare, and the cavalry horse of those days, having to carry a knight in full armour, was necessarily a powerful animal. That there was even then some difference of opinion among practical men as to the relative advantages of oxen and horses for farm work is indicated by the argumentative manner in which Walter of Henley states the case.

> A plough of oxen [he says] will go as far in the year as a plough of horses, because the malice of the ploughman will not allow the plough of horses to go beyond their pace, no more than the plough of oxen. Further, in very hard ground where the plough of horses will stop, the plough of oxen will pass. And the horse costs more than the ox, for he is obliged to have the sixth part of a bushel of oats every night worth a half penny at least, and twelve penny worth of grass in the summer. Besides each week he costs more or less a penny a week in shoeing if he must be shod on all four feet. But the ox has only to have 3½ sheaves of oats per week, worth a penny, and the same amount of grass as the horse. And when the horse is old and worn out there is nothing but his skin, but when the ox is old with ten pennyworth of grass he shall be fit for the larder.

I have heard almost precisely similar arguments used by a farmer in Northern France, where oxen and horses are frequently used on the same farm for different classes of work.

Both horses and oxen were taken great care of, and Walter of Henley defines the duties of waggoner and oxherd with minuteness. The man slept with his charge every night, a practice which still survives in some countries to this day.

Harvest on the manor was the great time of the year. The petition of the Prayer-book—'Preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth so as in due course we may enjoy them'—had a poignant significance in those days, when a good crop meant plenty and a bad crop starvation. Therefore the time of the in-gathering was a social as well as an agricultural festival. All the inhabitants of the manor clustered in the fields, reinforced, if the manor were near a town, by the townsfolk, many of whom came to assist at the harvest. The long vacations at the universities and the law courts originated in the practice of mustering all hands to the fields for harvest. I read Piers Plowman's vision of 'a fair field full of folk' as representing the world of his day, like Bunyan's vision of Vanity Fair, but if, with Mr. Seebohm, we regard it as representing the common-field of a manor, it might well, with its motley collection of 'all manner of men,' stand for a picture of the busy and merry crowd assembled at harvest time. An example on a demesne farm of 250 acres in Suffolk towards the end of the fourteenth century may be cited. The crops were wheat, oats, barley, peas, and 'colymong,' a mixture of tares and oats. The corn crops were cut and housed in two days. On the

first day thirty tenants attended to perform their 'boon services,' together with 244 reapers; on the second day there were, in addition to the tenants, 239 reapers, pitchers and stackers. These would consist largely of the cottars and other smaller tenantry of the manor, with the farm servants of the lord and wandering bands of 'cockers' or harvesters, who had at that time begun to travel the country at harvest time. Reapers were organised in bands or 'setts' of five, and it was reckoned that each band could reap and bind two acres a day. Barley, oats, peas and beans were generally mown and wheat and rye reaped. In reaping the corn was cut high up the stalk, so that only the ears were gathered, the straw being left to be mown later for threshing for fodder or litter for cattle, or for bedding for men. Frequently it was so short and thin, and also so full of weeds, that it was left for grazing. In any case, it may be assumed that there was a good deal of promiscuous feeding on the stubbles when the stock were turned in.

There was a gathering of the great folk as well as of the lesser folk at harvest time, for the lord with his household would come to take audit of his bailiff's accounts. The parson, too, would be busy reaping the crops of his glebe and collecting into the tithe-barn his tenth of the year's produce, while if the great tithes were impropriated the representative of the abbot would be looking after the interests of the abbey.

After harvest, when the last load had been safely housed and the whole community had celebrated the harvest home and offered pious thanksgiving in the parish church, threshing and winnowing would occupy a long period. The men 'flapped away with flails, from morning to evening,' and the women winnowed the corn. The grain was stored in the barns and grange, and sometimes in the church.

The meadows were usually on a stretch of low-lying land near a stream, if there was one. Part was appropriated by the lord as a portion of his demesne and the remainder was divided into lots or doles among the holders of land in the common-field. The whole was put up for hay from Candlemas (February 2) or St. Gregory's Day (March 12) to Midsummer, when it was mown, the hay from each lot being the separate property of the holder of the lot. Sometimes the lots were, so to say, attached to the arable holdings so that each man had the same year after year, but on other manors they were re-allotted, each drawing lots. This practice of re-allotting was probably a survival from primitive or tribal days, and it may be noted that it existed in the village communities of Russia down to very recent times. From July to February the meadows were open to common grazing.

A large number of stock were kept, and their maintenance

lower, though not greatly so, than those enjoyed by Englishm similarly employed; also in most cases their hours are a litt longer, eight hours, and often nine, being the general rule. I the mines the eight hours is taken from pithead to pithead, b perhaps more often than in England distances are less, except the lignite areas, where the whole problem is different owing to t surface workings. The more enlightened elements, especially t 'moderates' among the politicians, agree that later on, wh perhaps in a year or two Germany has progressed further alo the road to industrial recovery (a process certainly expedited I our own troubles), working conditions, both as to hours a wages and in other directions, may be elevated on all sides I means of agreement under the International Labour Bureau of t League of Nations at Geneva. Apart from the value of th politically, as uniting international labour—one of the b guarantees against warlike policies on the part of Europe Governments—this will do more for stabilising Europe co mercially than anything else, and particularly will it assist Gre Britain in that the intense competition of cheaper labour wi longer hours will be removed, and with it one of the main sores the proper functioning of international barter.

Women are also a very big factor in the wage bill in Germa probably more so than in England, and in the war the factor were, as with us, almost entirely 'manned' by them. Th average wage now, of about 25 marks a week, is slightly lov than in England. As in the case of men, their interests are w safeguarded as to hospital facilities, often under the auspices their employers, and all the larger firms have special provis for infant welfare and crèches.

Garden cities—or workmen's colonies, as they call then are in evidence in all large industrial centres. For the most p they are not as attractive as the best of our own and apt to rather drab; also, they lack the recreational facilities to extent to which we are accustomed, although those provided such places as the remarkable 'Stadion' at Frankfurt-um-Ma indeed combine luxury and cheapness; there is no subscript and only 30 pfennigs (about 3½*d.*) gate money, with opportuni in ideal surroundings for the indulgence of every taste, to a deg unknown in England—at any rate, in so far as concerns the wa earning classes. Certainly, however, these 'colonies' are m widespread than in Great Britain. Except in the case of forem they usually consist of flats, which, speaking generally, would be so popular with us. The rents of the new houses are much same as in England, and repairs are done by the company. A rule no freeholds are given, the occupiers having to quit on lea the firm's employ. Messrs. Krupp house 11,000 in this way.

must have been a continual care. Pigs were probably at this period the most numerous, and they found their living largely in the woodlands and waste, under the care of the village swineherd. The stock of plough oxen had to be kept up, and cows were valuable not only for breeding purposes, but also for dairying, butter and cheese forming an important part of the dietary of the people. Sheep were perhaps not so numerous as they became after the fourteenth century, but they formed an essential part of the live stock of every manor, not only for their wool and mutton, but also for the milk of the ewes. With the limited resources available for carrying stock, rights of grazing were very jealously guarded, and any encroachment upon them by persons not properly entitled was promptly resisted. Any commoner turning out more stock than his proper share was hauled before the manorial court and fined, and he was strictly prohibited from turning out animals which belonged to other persons. The basis of the allotment of grazing rights was the amount of arable land held, the theory being that the amount of stock turned out was the number which could be maintained through the winter from the produce of the holding. At the end of the summer there was a general drafting of all kinds of stock for slaughter, so as to reduce the number to be carried through the winter, the meat being salted down. For five or six months of the year, indeed, the majority of the people lived on salt meat. The greater part, no doubt, was supplied by the pig; but beef, mutton, and even poultry were also preserved by salting—the only means of preservation then known. Butter was also salted down in large quantities for winter use. No doubt the large consumption of salted provisions, in the absence of any winter vegetables, except perhaps onions, was the cause, aggravated by the dirty and unsanitary conditions of life, of the prevalence of scurvy and leprosy in mediæval England. Salt was one of the few necessaries of life which had to be procured from a distance. It was, says Thorold Rogers, entirely produced, so far as it was an English product, by solar evaporation in the southern counties, as although the Romans made use of the brine springs of Worcestershire and Cheshire, they were abandoned after their departure and not again used until the eighteenth century.

Manorial farming in the Middle Ages was essentially farming for subsistence. The basis of the organisation, and of the cultivation, was the maintenance of the population settled within the confines of the manor. The lord on his demesne aimed perhaps at the production of a surplus for sale, though he depended probably more upon the live stock than directly upon the crops for saleable commodities. As urban communities grew, and trade and commerce developed, the demand for food extended,

but it seems probable that its supply was forthcoming from comparatively limited areas. The monks were leaders in agriculture, and no doubt from the well-tilled demesne of the monasteries much corn and other produce were sold. Most of the improvements in mediæval farming were of ecclesiastical origin. Rules for the management of an estate were written by a great Churchman, Robert Grosteste, Bishop of Lincoln. Walter of Henley is said to have been a Dominican friar, and his work was found in many monastic libraries. The monks built bridges, drained marshes, cleared forests, reclaimed waste, and improved live stock There were also enterprising landlords and farmers, in advance of their generation, who devoted their energies to the cultivation of the land in a commercial spirit. But of the large majority of manors scattered over the country it is true to say that they were no more than self-supporting as regards food. It is not difficult to imagine, therefore, their vital dependence on the seasons. The gaunt spectre of famine was never far distant. A failure of the crops meant dearth in the village, with little or no prospect of relief from the outside. Apart from difficulties of transport, there was no organisation of supplies, no intermediate class between the grower and the consumer to regularise the trade. If a crop was plentiful, it was lavishly used , if it was scanty, the people went hungry. Any person attempting to deal in corn was regarded as an enemy of the human race attempting to make unholy gains out of the poor. The Statute-book a little later bears witness to the strength of this sentiment in various enactments against the 'engrossing' of corn—*i e* , buying it in one market and selling it in another—which were not finally swept away until 1773.

The change in the value of money makes any statements of the economic results of farming, expressed in terms of currency in the Middle Ages, almost meaningless to the ears of the present generation. It conveys to us no conception of the cost of labour to learn from Walter of Henley that 'You can well have 3 acres weeded for 1*d*. and an acre of meadow mown for 4*d*., and an acre of waste meadow for 3½*d*.,' or to know that 'one ought to thresh a quarter of wheat or rye for 2*d*. and a quarter of oats for 1*d*.' Nor are we much enlightened as to the value of produce by the knowledge that the average price of wheat was 5*s* 10¾*d*. per quarter, of barley 4*s*. 3¾*d*., of oats 2*s*. 5¼*d*., of rye 4*s* 5*d* , and of beans 4*s*. 3½*d*., except in so far as we get some indication of the relative supply and demand of the various crops

That horses fetched from 13*s*. 5*d* up to as much as 5*l*. merely tells us that then, as now, the noble animal had very varying values according to his class and quality ; while the fact that one

could buy a working ox for 13s., a cow for 9s. 5d., and a sheep for 1s. 2d. is no measure to us of the value of stock.

Even when we come to quantities we have to be cautious, owing to the fact that weights and measures have not only, in some cases, changed, but that there were always local differences. It is by no means certain, for instance, that the bushel mentioned in contemporary records everywhere meant the same thing. Even at the present day in England, although there is of course only one legal bushel, the term is still locally used to denote varying quantities of grain. Nor are there any statistics from which a trustworthy calculation of average yields per acre can be made. There are many records for individual estates and for various years, and it may be assumed that they represented the best returns obtained. On one manor it appears that the average yield per acre in various years from 1290 to 1306 was wheat 10 bushels, oats 12 to 16 bushels, barley 16 bushels, peas 4 to 12 bushels. On another manor in the years 1243–8 the average yield was wheat and barley 5 bushels, oats 7 bushels. Another statement gives the average yield of wheat over a large area in 1298–9 as 4·3 bushels per acre. A cow was expected, according to Walter of Henley—who, however, seems to have been rather inclined to counsels of perfection—to yield 1 cwt. (112 lb) of cheese annually and about 2 lb. of butter per week. Cheese was mainly made of skim milk. The milk of ten ewes seems to have been equal to that of one cow, and the best practice was to cease milking the ewes at Lammas Day (August 12). In certain districts of the West Midlands the development of sheep for the fleece was studied, and no doubt the trade in wool even at this period was important. But generally it would seem that the sheep were poor and small, and the average fleece appears to have been only about 1½ lb.

The most that can be said for the economic results of manorial farming is that, on the whole, they sufficed for the needs of the people under the conditions of the times. The communal system on which farming was based had certain social and political merits which have been indicated, but it is clear that it was necessarily antagonistic to agricultural progress. All the improvements in farming practice, all the advance in agricultural knowledge, were made by individuals or communities (such as the monks) having exclusive occupation of the land. The holder of land in the common-field had no incentive and little opportunity for enterprise. He was bound to farm by the routine of the village, and his stock must be subject to the same conditions as his neighbours'. During the three centuries we have referred to the art of agriculture made practically no progress. This stagnation was not due to political, legal, economic, or social causes so much as to

the system of cultivating the land and herding the stock on communal principles, which crushed individual initiative and prevented any farmer, whatever his personal intelligence might be, from rising above the general level of the community. Only in the free play of individual enterprise is progress possible. Every tract of land brought under cultivation is a subject of experiment. The man who attempts to wrest from it its maximum produce must be free to exercise all his wits, to bring to bear all the intelligence, all the knowledge, all the experience he can command. He will make mistakes, for the man who makes no mistakes makes nothing else. But he will learn from failure as from success, for it is true of human enterprise, as it is of human character,

> That men may rise on stepping stones
> Of their dead selves to higher things

HENRY REW.

JOSEPH CONRAD

I

In one of his stories depicting the experiences of French sailors during the late war Claude Farrère has described the singular adventure of the stoker on a torpedoed vessel who alone survived when all the rest of the crew perished While all the men on deck, in the rigging, at the guns, and in the upper engine-rooms went down with the ship, one of the stokers working in the very bottom of the hull was caught up by the torrent of water which streamed through the torpedo-made rent Hurled from one corner to another, from narrow stairway to engine-room, from engine-room to ventilating fan, dragged from wall to wall, from berth to berth, projected by the mass of water which, like a fountain, forced its way upwards through every orifice, the stoker was swept from the lowest to the uppermost deck and from thence overboard among the untrammelled waves, where, uninjured in mind and body, he was rescued by strangers and conveyed to the haven of happy life.

This improbable, not to say miraculous, adventure of the French sailor comes to my mind when I review the life, the adventures, and the present position of Joseph Conrad, one of the best known writers of contemporary England. From his earliest childhood he was condemned to live in the abyss of Muscovite chaos: together with father and mother he passed days in the extremest recess of the ship of Poland's independent existence, and there seemed no hope that he would ever escape from that hell.

Apollo Korzeniowski, Joseph Conrad's father, was a stoker of the national spirit, one of those who have often been called 'the hot-headed instigators' of the rising of 1863. His brother-in-law, Thaddeus Bobrowski, has given the following account in his well-known *Memoirs*

My brother-in-law, Korzeniowski, was the first victim The leaders of the movement entreated him to come to Warsaw and he obeyed the call Literary pursuits and the projected publication of a monthly review in the style of *Revue des Deux Mondes* masked the real object of his presence. He already occupied a prominent position in the Warsaw movement,

when in October 1861 he was arrested and confined in the Citadel. He was tried by a commission under the presidency of Colonel Roznow, once the comrade of my brother Stanislas in the Grodno Hussars, and afterwards governor of Warsaw. To these ties which united him to my brother Roznow attributed the lenient sentence passed on Korzeniowski, who was 'only' deported to a distant government. Korzeniowski himself had begged to be sent to Perm, where the governor, Laszkarew, was a school friend of his, but the latter on hearing of this wish asked to be excused. In fact, Korzeniowski had already started for Perm with his wife and four-year-old son when he was turned back and sent to Vologda, the governor of which was a worthy White Russian, by name Chominski, who had formerly been *maréchal de la noblesse* in one of the districts of the government of Mohylew and knew how to fulfil with humanity the duties of his situation During the journey, at the last stage before Moscow, little Joseph Conrad fell ill the police escort refused to wait, although the agonised parents declared that only force should compel them to continue the journey A humane fellow-traveller, who was also on his way to Moscow, promised to send them a doctor, and Korzeniowski, remembering that he himself had an acquaintance there in the person of Dr. Mlodzianowski, a professor of the university, who had formerly been his tutor at Winnica, sent an appeal to him through this good Samaritan. Shortly afterwards the worthy doctor arrived and brought the child safely through a severe attack of brain fever thanks to his numerous connexions in Moscow, he obtained permission for the party to delay their journey for a few days until the boy was sufficiently restored to travel. Later on, as they were approaching Nijni Novgorod, my sister became so ill that the gendarmes took her out of the carriage and carried her, but even then they obstinately refused to break the journey At the posting inn in Nijni itself an officer who was passing was so disgusted at the brutality and roughness with which the gendarmes treated their charges, and also at their disregard of his own remarks, that he returned to the town and made a report both to the governor and also to the colonel of gendarmerie The latter hastened to the inn and put a stop to further travelling for the present

Apart from my sister and her little son the Polish colony at Vologda consisted of twenty-one men, mostly priests from the kingdom of Poland and Lithuania So far as the authorities were concerned, life there was quite tolerable, but the climate took its toll of the exiles Almost all the men developed scurvy, and my sister and her child, though they did not suffer from this disease, experienced the results of the unhealthy climate and altered mode of life in a diminution of their vital force

Did space permit, I might here quote from the pages of her brother's memoirs many details which would bring before our eyes Eve Korzeniowska as a type, admirably expressive in her moral distinction, of the national culture of that generation. Gladly, too, would I show my readers the portrait of that voluntary exile, one of those old but wonderfully life-like photographs which must have passed through the hands of a hundred policemen, the picture of a charming woman in whom all is beauty, but beauty outlined against the halo of misfortune. For love

she gave her hand to a poet, 'to Apollo Korzeniowski, who had idolised her for years and for whose sake she had at once discouraged all other suitors': him she followed to the ends of the earth, and his lot she shared in distant exile. Moscow killed this radiant figure, but we know to-day from his life and from his writings that Apollo Korzeniowski was worthy of her love.

Chained to the place of his exile, he had no part in the blood-stained tragedy of 1863: years passed and robbed him of his wife. In 1866 he addressed to some of his relatives in Poland the following words, which, in their directness and humility, sound like a continuation of the 'Polish Pilgrimage,' and ring in our ears as the profoundest and most genuine expression of that accursed period:

If anywhere among us a smile still lingers, may it shine on you, and may tears, instead of scorching your hearts, rather mitigate their anguish After more years than I can reckon of sorrow and pain ineffable, a new year is now at hand, and I pray that it may bring you not an increase of your grief, but rather the possibility of silently fostering with your love and hallowed longing those who are afar and those who, though asleep in the grave, live in the divine pity I have passed through heavy and even terrible days of brooding on lost blessings, and, if I have survived, it has not been through my own but through God's strength I know that I have not suffered and never could suffer like our Saviour, but then I am only a human being. I kept my eyes fixed on the cross, and with it I fortified my fainting soul and my reeling brain The blessed days of agony passed and I resumed my ordinary life, a little more broken, but with the breath still in me and still alive. But the little orphan is always at my side, and I can never forget my anxiety for him. And so, my friends, I still live and I still love what is left me to love as fervently as ever, but with this difference, that I can no longer either give or sacrifice anything to the objects of my affection In whatever I may still do in life there cannot be either sacrifice or oblation, for I have nothing to sacrifice or offer up Sad is the fate of that man who sees shut before him those two doors by which alone he may attain to the likeness of God, but such is the will of Providence. When bitterness chokes me, I read your second dear letter and the pride of despair melts into a divine sadness: tears flow, and in their fount is reason With recovered tranquillity I betake myself once more to my life, which all centres in my little Conrad I teach him what I know, but unfortunately it is not much. I protect him against the atmosphere of this place, and the child grows up as though in a monastic cell. For a conventual *memento mori* we have the grave of our dear one, and every letter which reaches us from the four points of the compass is as good as a day of fasting or as a hair-shirt and a discipline. We shiver with cold, we die of hunger, we are overwhelmed by the destitution of our fellow-men—of our brothers. but there is still prayer, and in that prayer I call God to witness that there is scarcely a word about ourselves. If I am to describe the place of my abode, I would say that on one side it is shut in by locked doors behind which the being dearest to me[1] breathes her

[1] 'It may be necessary for English readers to explain that by the being dearest to him who is dying Korzeniowski meant not his wife, who was already

last without my being able even to wipe the death-sweat from her brow, while on the other the door is open and, though I may not cross the threshold, I can none the less look through at what Dante did *not* describe, for in his soul, so Christian in spite of the terrors which appalled it, there was no room for inhuman visions. That is our life.

We are at the bottom of the pit. The lonely stoker of a lost cause in his vessel doomed to destruction does not even know whether the ship can still put up a fight, whether it has fired its last shot or whether it is already sinking. When we turn from the 'little Conrad' of Vologda, the fruit of his father's soul, in whom all that father's life centred, the child who was lulled to sleep by the poetry of exile, to the series of admirable works he has since given us with their wealth of pictures embracing continents and oceans and the various races of mankind, all knit in the manifold adventures which, on both sides of the equator, were presented to one who studied the riddle of humanity on the mysterious pathways of the sea—when we turn to these works in which the civilised world has found pleasure, we must indeed think of the wonderful adventure of the French sailor as told by Farrère.

II

When he abandoned the sea for good in 1894, the 'Master,' who for some twenty years had lived on the water, hardly knew what to do with himself on shore. Some years previously, in 1889, he had written *Almayer's Folly*, and he now submitted the manuscript to Edward Garnett. After some months of waiting it was accepted The publication of this book in 1895 meant the appearance in the English literary world of a new writer who soon occupied a prominent position. His next work was *An Outcast of the Islands*, the events of which are really antecedent to those described in *Almayer* and concern the same group of characters in the same neighbourhood on the river Pantai. Shortly afterwards, in 1898, the famous *Nigger of the Narcissus* appeared and also a volume of short stories entitled *Tales of Unrest* The year 1900 brought *Lord Jim* and *Youth*; 1903 *Nostromo*, an admirable creation, and the collection of stories known as *Typhoon* These were followed by *The Secret Agent* (1907), *A Set of Six* (1908), *Under Western Eyes* (1911), *'Twixt Land and Sea Tales* (1912), and *Chance* (1914). After the beginning of the war he published four novels—*Victory*, *The Shadow Line*, *The Arrow of Gold*, and *Rescue*, all of which have enjoyed immense popularity. In addition to all these novels and stories he has given us two works of a more or less autobio-

dead when the letter was written, but his country, then suffering under the repression which followed the insurrection of 1863 The hell on which the other door of his cell is described as opening is, of course, Russia '

graphical nature—*The Mirror of the Sea* (1906) and *Some Reminiscences* (1912)—besides a collection of articles, appreciations and reminiscences, under the title *Notes on Life and Letters* (1921).

Any reader who wishes to penetrate the creative processes of this writer should, in my opinion, begin with *The Mirror of the Sea*, a work which lives up to its title and does in fact reflect, in every detail and with incomparable precision, like the mirror in the periscope of the submarine, all that may be seen on the sea. The range of vision is so wide that the eye of a tranquil observer can embrace the whole ocean and even those parts which lie behind him. Before everything else Joseph Conrad loves the ship, that admirable product of civilisation and cunning masterpiece of man's industry which he has built to be a safe home and to protect his rest among untraversed oceans and appalling hurricanes. Conrad has trod many such ships . he knows them through and through like old friends, and can distinguish one from another as though they were living beings animated with a soul. 'Ships!' cries the old naval officer when he sees some vessels in harbour, and his exclamation depicts and embraces the sailor's whole life. Those ships are indeed living creatures with individualities of their own as much as human beings. Some carry with them over the sea power, heroism, nobility and a capacity for suffering, while others are comic figures, the sea's clowns, and still others mere brigands, endowed like human beings with cunning and obstinacy. Conrad gives us admirable descriptions of ports, of cargo-loading, of complicated adventures with the anchor—and it was the anchor which inspired his mind as a boy with such burning curiosity: he pilots us through a thousand details concerning docks until in his company we sail out to sea. This book, which is based on the experience of twenty years, shows us everything which its author, as a boy longing for the wide world, had to visualise with the eyes of imagination. It is, as it were, a summary of all the works I have already mentioned, whose theme is the sea and whose stories are woven out of what happens thereon. What is most striking in Conrad's confessions is that each of them represents an actual experience. There is not an impression, not even a description of landscape, which has not its firm and enduring foundation in some, perhaps long past, experience and which does not in consequence derive from the fount of truth. This is no poetic vision of the sea such as Arthur Rimbaud might write on shore, drawing on his imagination, ideas and suppositions to describe a colossus he has never seen On the contrary, Conrad's vision is made up of incontrovertible syllogisms, which he has wrested from his struggle with the elements or attained by prolonged contemplation of the sea in its periods of inactivity or

torpor. He has only one name for the sea—the Foe. With this enemy the sailor must cross swords in an heroic duel. With the help of singularly apt comparisons the writer analyses his enemy's character and measures the power of the forces at his disposal—the winds, whose various natures, or rather 'personalities,' he classifies in detail. We are called to witness how these winds, like hunters driving the grey clouds in leash before them, harry the wandering ship, be it off the Cape of Good Hope, in the solitudes of the Indian Ocean, or off St. Helena: how they pursue her with frenzy and churn the ocean depths into foam. Other storms arise from the midst of a great calm in the twinkling of an eye, and so unexpectedly that the ship is tossed from side to side or driven headlong with her stern in the air and her bows burrowing deep into the water. Half the crew are submerged and half hang in the air. Equally interesting are Conrad's descriptions of the calm and silent nights in the regions of the Azores. The steamer pursues its course over the level surface in unbroken stillness. the only sound is the monotonous voice of its own perfect engines, which chant in space the wordless pæan of their strength, allied with man, obedient to him and yet menacing in their independent power, the voice of one awakened soul to another. Many years before the Italian futurists Conrad listened to the language of the engines and expressed its meaning. When he describes the running of a vessel on a sandbank or a submerged reef, it is, he says, as though the feet were caught in an invisible trap or an impalpable snare: the sense of balance is interrupted, and there is an abrupt cessation in the sailor's brain of the equipoise he has created by bringing everything else into harmony with the shifting surface on which he habitually moves. This, it seems to me, is a piece of description at once entirely original and entirely beyond reproduction. These are no traveller's notes, jotted down to be remembered, which may be mistaken or definitely misleading, but facts absorbed into the subconsciousness of a sailor who has had to cope with that very experience and has sought, not for impressions or generalisations, but for a practical way of getting his ship off the rocks or the sandbank. Later on these recollections have been fished out of the depths and have been considered and reconsidered in cold blood before being admitted to take their place in the narrative as adequate expressions of feeling and certain psychological connotations of events. Here is neither glitter nor empty eloquence. Of Conrad's art it may be said that the rise and fall of the style is imperatively conditioned by the subject-matter. Hence the elevation of the style, when it occurs, is a very real force, being always supported by the matter. The active sailor could not fall into raptures merely through contemplating the beauty of the

The effect in general of the effort to come to a satisfactory *modus vivendi* between capital and labour is certainly successful; quite half the factories and works visited the relationship emed friendly, and at times cordial, though there were contrary stances. With Messrs. Krupp the workers certainly seemed on od terms. In one of the yards, surrounded by tall, dark ildings and furnaces, stands a tiny cottage, the home of the under, Friedrich Krupp, who worked in it until his death—a onument to all of the small beginnings of great enterprises, and tar for those of courage and character to follow. Perhaps the ect-lesson has its full degree of value in the liaison within the lls of Krupp's.

The general picture may seem rosy to an exasperating extent us so-called victors, but none the less it is abundantly evident, n at the most casual glance, that Germany lost the war. r memorials there certainly are, but there is no sign of their upying that place in the public mind that we accord them e. Germany looks forward. We draw our strength for future from each glimpse we have of a war cross or a statue khaki, and we get it in every village and hamlet. This is not with our late enemies. The Churches also are suffering from war, and in Bavaria much alarm among Protestants was essed at the dangerous threat of Romanism to their fine edrals and churches by reason of the far greater wealth of patrons. But perhaps an easier illustration lies in the fact numbers of Germans are always recalling how much more weighed in pre-war days—mainly by reason of their heavier ! It is clear that in this direction their sacrifices were fully par with ours.

rman thoughts, however, are not on these matters. The sue to-day centres upon the steps that can be taken, ing the lead of the politicians, to advance international ration in the field of commerce and in sorting out markets. he new international steel group and then the 'Romney' ence with the British have shown very decisively which way nd is blowing. The greatest hopes are attached to these dis- s and to their future expansion into definite arrangements ibly a better word than agreements. There is a feeling that must endeavour to become more of an economic entity to survive American and even Asiatic competition. Cer- verything seems to be working up to a European industrial against the United States. Nor, on reflection, is this as ble as it may at first sight appear. Passions have placed r in recent times between Germany and her friends and allies. But passions, whether in public or private life, are ally healed by a common bond, some mutual

sea, for the lurking danger would have shattered his reverie into fragments. Moments of crisis occur, however, when the soul of man exerts all its prodigious force and masters the sea. Then indeed speech attains its utmost limits, and the sailor becomes the prophet of an infuriated element whose beauties are inaccessible to the rest of mankind. English critics have not hesitated to compare these pages to *Paradise Lost*.

We shall not be far from the truth if we suppose that these feelings animated the young man when he left Cracow, old and fallen on evil days, to seek food for the youthful passion within him. His soul longed for the sea, and cherished for it, once found, an undying affection. Instead of the simple course of entering, as an officer, the Austrian navy, he struck out a lonely and difficult path, the devious windings of which would have been too much for a weaker will. All the countries of the world passed before his eyes, mountains and deserts, uninhabited promontories fading into sand dunes, pestilential bays where men contend for material gains and empty spaces, bare to the sky, scoured by the wind in its autocratic majesty and burnt by the sun into a gamut of fantastic colours. Dream-like, there passed before his eyes not only India and China, Egypt and Arabia, the foundries of our elder civilisations, but also great continents and islands inhabited by wild tribes whose hair is still smeared with mud and dung. He saw black races and yellow races, but everywhere there were a few representatives of that white stock which has steadily and imperceptibly imposed its civilising sway on all parts of the globe—at Gibraltar and Malta, at Suez and Malacca, in Australia and New Zealand, as well as in India or South Africa. His mind was filled to the brim until it overflowed with the mass of knowledge, with the wealth of pictures and memories, of colours and types, of imposing figures, with laconic utterances marking the victory over protracted and terrible dangers, or with epigrams summing up in a word the most complicated situations. Furthermore, in his long watches, in rain and storm, the young sailor, this wanderer from an inland country, saw before his eyes, chiselled as it were by the wind, all those mighty figures which he has since given back to us under the names of Singleton and Craig, of Wait the nigger of Donkin and MacWhirr, of Falk the Norwegian, and the brothers Jacobus. The eyes of the newcomer drank in these figures and assimilated all their movements, gestures and words. Little by little there grew up in him the desire to reproduce this multifarious wealth of things seen, and thus came into being the wonderful stories which belong to-day to the patrimony of civilisation. But it would be unjust to Conrad to describe his works as mere traveller's reminiscences or as the portrayal by an artist of th

curious types and occurrences he has seen during his wanderings. For instance, the story of *Lord Jim* shows us the problem of heroism and abject cowardice as it is enacted both on land and at sea. This unrivalled sculptor has wrought his figures so plastically that they may be compared with certain creations of Tolstoi and Sienkiewicz. For instance, what an admirable figure is that French captain, who, drunkard and sluggard as he is, performs a deed of most real heroism and, when praised for it, laughs to split his sides and declares that such actions spring from cowardice. In *Nostromo* we have to do with a huge anthill: there are unbridled passions and enormous accretions of wealth, there is greed treacherously abusing the pure intentions of patriotism, there is bestial cruelty and, above all, there are the basest of instincts and the noblest of motives set at war with one another. The admirable figures of the silent fanatical Gould, of the dictator Ribiera, of Decoud, the young journalist, and, finest of all, that of Nostromo himself, place this work in the first rank of artistic creations.

In this story most of the light is thrown on the figure of the Italian, Nostromo, but other skilfully drawn characters are made to subserve the development of the plot. In consequence, towards the end the book ceases to be the history of certain adventures and troubles in a South American town called Sulaco or in the silver mines of San Tomé and becomes a synthesis of revolution in general. Different as are the means employed and the countries described, Conrad's novel may be put by the side of the *Revolt of Islam*.

There is no doubt that Conrad's most splendid creations are his sea stories—the account of the nigger in the *Narcissus* and the description of the storm in *Typhoon*. The winds, about which we read in *The Mirror of the Sea*, are here shown us in their untrammelled violence. When the wave sweeps over the deck of the *Narcissus*, catches up the valiant crew like a scrap of waste paper and deposits them at the other end of the vessel in a confused heap of arms and legs, of heads and bodies, when the ship itself cracks and all its tackle is torn and twisted like a handful of rags, a vision rises before our eyes. In *Typhoon* we see Captain MacWhirr the man, and realise how a sailor may be called on to cross swords with his foe. In his leather hood, which recalls the helmet of the Vikings, his leather coat and boots up to the thigh, he struggles for twenty hours to save not only himself but also the crew and the crowd of coolies. Here we have, fished out by the author from his own forgotten experiences, a vision of what the sea really is. It needed this wanderer from the East to reveal to the English the terror and the beauty of that sea over which by right of inheritance they sail victoriously.

They themselves admit that in his written word he has presented with admirable plasticity what they have beheld for centuries but have never been able to express with the same force and mastery. The richness and perfection, the musical qualities of Conrad's prose strike the English reader, and the critic cannot but ask himself how it comes about that a Pole can write such English. Richard Curle distinguishes two periods in the development of Conrad's prose, and he attributes to the second the same importance in the development of English prose style as Flaubert's work had in France. 'His music,' he says, 'is not the mere enlargement of older English strains, it is a new music altogether—the romantic, mysterious and thrilling music of another race.'

It seems to me that there must be some truth in this. In 1914, when I had the honour to make his acquaintance at Zakopane, I perceived, not without surprise, that Conrad was a perfect master of our Polish language. Although for forty years he can but rarely have had a chance of speaking Polish, he had not forgotten a single expression nor even lost the pure accent of Cracow. From this I infer, though rashly perhaps, that this admirable English author thinks in Polish, especially in moments of difficulty and exaltation—for instance, during the process of creation. I am not inspired to hazard this conjecture by any Chauvinistic designs, for Conrad's purely artistic achievement has no connexion whatever with Polish literature. All I am concerned with is the psychological phenomenon. If I am correct in my assumption, we have to do with an author who composes his phrases in two languages. We who only employ our own language for speaking and writing do not pay any heed to the names of objects, to the history of words which often go back to an immemorial past, or to the dignity and mysterious power of expressions. For us they are as commonplace and as negligible as the pavement under our feet. As soon, however, as we have to think in one and write in another language, words rise out of their abasement, change, blend and swell—in short, reveal their dignity. It becomes necessary to hunt for synonyms, to choose words and to build the phrases differently. The language takes on colour and an unusual richness of lustre. In the case of Joseph Conrad we must also remember that he originally learned English from simple sailors, children of the people, and learned it, too, while sharing their hard toil. From this level he rose higher and higher, incorporating in his own vocabulary more and more expressions drawn from the literary language. But none the less he can never have lost the music of our Slav tongue. Up to his seventeenth year he had studied exclusively in Polish, and that too in Cracow, whence the literary language of Poland has

for so many centuries continued to spread over the country. In his childhood he read a vast amount of Polish. 'I read!' he says in his reminiscences of Cracow. It was in his father's Polish translations that he read many English works. Hence there lingered in his ears, as it were, a half-forgotten melody, something Polish in his way of joining phrases, a Polish capacity for admiring things unknown or mysterious, exalted or terrible. In his life of a wanderer from sea to sea there must have been moments of danger or enthusiasm when a whispered Polish expletive found its way across his lips or when he summed up a picture in the simplest and most available words of his original language. Later on, when he had to recreate these pictures and experiences, they came back to his memory accompanied by Polish words. Forced into the mould of another language, they sought appropriate forms and found them in expressions which, though possibly perfect, are by no means such as an Englishman would ordinarily employ. An altogether new note has been added to English literature, already so rich, and a stranger from Poland has come to be known as one of the greatest—some say as the very greatest—stylist in England.

III

Independently of his personal reminiscences Joseph Conrad twice during the war raised his voice on behalf of Poland. In 1916 he published in the *Fortnightly Review* an article entitled 'A Note on the Polish Problem,' and three years later in the same periodical another on 'The Crime of Partition.' In both these articles, which have been reprinted in the *Notes on Life and Letters*, he stood up in noble fashion for the Poles and their inalienable rights and demanded the reunion of the nation. The famous author did what he could for us at that time and threw the weight of his name into the scale of our fortunes Now, however, putting politics altogether aside, we desire to enrich Polish literature with a complete translation of all Conrad's admirable works—with a translation, moreover, which will commend itself to the author as adequately expressing the spirit and force of the original

Up to now Poland has only produced two sailors One was the half-legendary John of Kolno, and, though he was born among us, it was under an alien flag that he discovered Labrador. The other is Joseph Conrad Korzeniowski, who was also indubitably born in our country, but also scoured the ocean for so many years under a foreign flag. That he was born and bred in Poland may be regarded as an accident, seeing that he owes his fame to himself alone, to his own hard work and endurance,

to his own passion and will power. But, though we have no right to probe his motives, we may justifiably wish to profit by his achievement as by that of other famous writers. Nowadays Polish boys no longer need to run away from the country to gratify their longing for the sea or their appetite for adventures. We have our training ship at Tczew, and little by little the Polish navy is developing. I was myself fortunate enough to be present at the launching of the training ship *Lwow*, and to hear the word of command draw all eyes towards the Polish flag, the white eagle on the red ground, as it was unfurled on the Baltic. That vessel will shortly set sail and will cross the equator on its way to South America. The pupils in our naval school, the officers on Polish ships, and our younger generation need books dealing with the sea, and we cannot give them any better literature of the sort than the writings of Joseph Conrad.

We must make every effort that these translations may become, as it were, the Polish originals of Joseph Conrad's English writings, that this collective edition may be a worthy greeting to the master from the writers of the country where his cradle once stood. The Poland of to-day is beginning to collect and gather together the treasures which have been scattered, plundered and spoiled, and in this work, which is at the same time a passion, she cannot but show herself acquisitive, greedy, insistent, zealous, unyielding. She is in her rights, for she has too long had to submit to spoliation. First and foremost she must exalt and hold up to the admiration of all what is most precious in her history—the forgotten labours and sufferings of her martyrs.

Noble indeed was that woman of our race whose hand was rocking Conrad's cradle when the enemy hammered with brutal fist at her door. For the love and the truth that were in her she endured to the last breath, as did so many other women, whether they sprang from manor-house or from peasant's cottage or from workman's tenement.

'I kept my eyes fixed on the cross, and with it I fortified my fainting soul and my reeling brain,' says the great writer's father. This faith has had its reward, and now Poland shines forth once more, free, strong and immortal. Those two heroic souls who live not only 'in the divine pity' but also in the undying gratitude of the nation deserve all we can do for them. Let us give them the satisfaction of knowing that the admirable works of their beloved child not only belong to the common treasure of humanity but are also a jewel of that language in which their own sufferings, virtues, and hallowed hopes found expression.

STEFAN ZEROMSKI.

WILLIAM BLAKE AND SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS

A Contrast in Theories of Art

There was little in common between Blake and Sir Joshua Reynolds; in temperament and in artistic conception they form a sharp contrast. Indeed, the two men disagreed so widely that any attempt to reconcile their views is like trying to mix fire with water. The opposition found expression at an early stage in Blake's career, for while still a student at the Royal Academy he had an interview with Sir Joshua which was anything but harmonious. In later years he gave frank utterance to his opinions in his annotations to Reynolds's discourses to the students of the Academy. These notes, written about 1808, are of fundamental importance in any scrutiny of the relations between the two great artists.

Blake had a personal grievance, for Reynolds was rich and successful, while he was poor and struggling. An artist like Barry, whom Blake admired, was forced to exist on bread and apples, and Mortimer and Fuseli, whose work he also esteemed, found little or no encouragement, whereas Reynolds and Gainsborough enjoyed the affluence which their portrait-painting brought them.

> This man [says Blake] was hired to depress art. Having spent the vigour of my youth and genius under the oppression of Sir Joshua and his gang of cunning hired knaves without employment and as much as could possibly be without bread, the reader must expect to read in all my remarks on these books nothing but indignation and resentment.

From a man in this frame of mind it is obviously futile to expect a judicial appreciation of his adversary. One must therefore make allowances for the bias of Blake, who loses no opportunity of twisting Reynolds's words to his disadvantage. Often he deals telling blows, for his very hostility sharpens his eyes to any weakness or inconsistency in his opponent, but just as often we feel that his prejudice has got the better of him. He condemns Reynolds as a fool and a blockhead, one who has learnt all that he knows from others and entirely lacks originality. Some con-

temporaries had spread a report that Burke and Johnson were the real authors of the *Discourses*, but Blake says that the inconsistency of the views set forth by Reynolds is no proof against the authenticity of his speeches; for how could it be otherwise with a man whose ideas were a patchwork of borrowings? Of Reynolds's character also Blake has a low opinion. In one of his discourses Sir Joshua tells how, on perceiving in the works of Raphael principles with which he was then unacquainted, he felt his ignorance and stood abashed. Blake's comment is: 'A liar! He never was abashed in his life and never felt his ignorance' When Reynolds recommends catholicity of taste and the desirability of trying to learn what excellence lies in the various schools of painting, Blake denounces him as a hypocrite. 'He smiles particularly where he means to betray. His praise of Rafael is like the hysteric smile of revenge, his softness and candour the hidden trap and the poisoned feast.' In political matters also Blake and Reynolds were far asunder—the one a friend of Tom Paine and a keen supporter of the French Revolution; the other the intimate of Burke and a staunch upholder of the established order. In these circumstances Blake was at a loss to understand how a man like Goldsmith could associate with Reynolds. The great reputation of the *Discourses* was equally incomprehensible; he thought their success as degrading and insulting to true artists as the popularity of Reynolds's paintings. For the assembly of great noblemen who carried the pall at Sir Joshua's funeral Blake had only a bitter smile—it was in keeping with the ideals of the man who had turned his art into mere money-making. How, then, could he subscribe to Burke's statement that 'Sir Joshua Reynolds was, on very many accounts, one of the most memorable men of his time'? To Blake this was a manifest lie. His view of Reynolds's fame is found in the following lines:

> When Sir Joshua Reynolds died
> All nature was degraded;
> The King dropp'd a tear into the Queen's ear,
> And all his pictures faded.

The hostility of Blake to Reynolds was, however, not dictated merely by personal animus. Sensitive though Blake was both to kindness and discouragement, he was not the man to sit brooding continually over his wrongs. His attitude to Reynolds is based on a deep-rooted antagonism in their artistic creeds. To Blake it seemed that Reynolds embodied many of the false conceptions of art which he regarded with intense loathing. Now, Blake believed with prophetic fervour in the value of true art to the community at large and in his own mission to restore it to the right path from which it had strayed. Reynolds, therefore, was

powerful and dangerous leader who had caused people to bow down and worship at the shrine of idols, and Blake felt himself called to denounce his teachings. It is this which accounts for the vehemence of Blake in speaking of his contemporary rather than the fact that Blake remained poor and unknown while Reynolds was surrounded day and night by a universal chorus of praise.

Reynolds advocated the study of the older masters, not merely of one group, but of all. His ideas on this subject are closely akin to those of Burke in politics and to those of Pope in poetry. Before we attempt to set up something new we must discover what our ancestors have done and see what guidance they afford.

> The works of those who have stood the test of ages [he says in the second discourse] have a claim to that respect and veneration to which no modern can pretend The student who is unacquainted with the attempts of former adventurers will always exaggerate the importance of his own trifling excursions and mistake every coast new to him for a new-found country Consequently he must be afraid of trusting his own judgment, and of deviating into any track where he cannot find the foot steps of some former master.

But this is surely the attitude of Pope in his *Essay on Criticism* when, having admitted the theoretical possibility of genius striking out on paths unknown to the great poets of Greece and Rome, he cautiously adds a qualification:

> Moderns, beware! or if you must offend
> Against the precept, ne'er transgress its end;
> Let it be seldom, and compell'd by need,
> And have, at least, their precedent to plead.

Blake would have none of this, for he felt that such a servile frame of mind cramped the inventive power of artistic genius. Equally, he rejected the eclecticism of Reynolds which advised the student to familiarise himself with all kinds of artists and glean the best features from both great and small To consult many, not to follow one blindly, was the counsel of Reynolds, whereas Blake held that of the many most were fools and that hence salvation lay in the example of a few great masters.

Blake had no doubts as to who these should be. His enthusiasm for Giulio Romano, Raphael, and Michael Angelo bordered on idolatry, while among the engravers he admired Marc Antonio, Goltzius, Sadeler, Edelinck, and, above all, Dürer. Rubens, Rembrandt, Correggio, Titian, and Tintoretto he hated with a fierce hatred, while such smaller fry as Le Brun, Vanloo, and Salvator Rosa he regarded with contempt. It was his belief

that English engraving had been ruined by Rubens and Vandyke, and consequently he esteemed but lightly the work of such English contemporaries as Woolett, Strange, and Bartolozzi. To Blake it was inconceivable that Reynolds, while professing a genuine admiration for Raphael, should neglect to follow in his track. Reynolds confessed that on his first visit to the Vatican the works of Raphael had disappointed him, and conversation with other artists had revealed an experience similar to his own. Hence he maintained that it was the florid style of the Venetians which most easily captivated the eye, whereas the depth of Raphael could be only gradually appreciated. It was hardly to be expected that the mind, like tinder, should at once catch fire from the divine spark of his genius, and only 'those persons who from natural imbecility appeared to be incapable of ever relishing those divine performances, made pretensions to instantaneous raptures on first beholding them' Yet this was the claim that Blake made: 'I am happy I cannot say that Rafael ever was, from my earliest childhood, hidden from me. I saw and I knew immediately the difference between Rafael and Rubens.' He had never felt the slightest attraction towards the Venetian and Flemish schools, and attributed Reynolds's initial blindness to the beauty of Raphael to the spell that had been cast over him by the florid style. Even as a youth Blake had defended Raphael and Michael Angelo against the aspersions of Moser, the Keeper of the Royal Academy. When Moser, in accordance with the taste of the age, denounced the work of the two great Italians as 'hard, stiff and unfinished' and lauded that of Rubens and Le Brun, Blake raged until he could restrain himself no longer and exclaimed. 'These things that you call finished are not even begun; how can they, then, be finished? The man who does not know the beginning never can know the end of art.' Blake's enthusiasm, then, was limited and exclusive. He refused to believe that it was possible to reconcile allegiance to Raphael, Michael Angelo, and Durer with allegiance to the Flemish and Venetian schools. When he read how Sir Joshua in 1783, on a visit to Brussels and Antwerp, devoted several days to contemplating the work of Rubens, he felt that this was incompatible with his tribute to the greatness of Raphael and Michael Angelo Blake therefore concluded that Reynolds was foolish or insincere or perhaps both. He would not allow Sir Joshua to raise his voice in criticism of his own idols, nor in praise of those artists whom he despised. All attempt at discrimination between the good and the bad elements in the various masters was dismissed by Blake with scorn and contumely. In his eyes the one group could do no right, the other no wrong. He would admit no compromise.

There was, of course, a reason for this rigid attitude. Blake believed passionately in certain principles which, according to him, were inevitable conditions for great art. In the first place, he asserted that the basis of all art was drawing. He considered that anyone who pretended to be a painter or an engraver without being a master of drawing was an impostor. The opinion of Heath and Stothard, Flaxman and Romney, that drawing spoils an engraver seemed to him utter folly. 'He who thinks he can engrave, or paint either,' says Blake, 'without being a master of drawing, is a fool. Painting is drawing on canvas, and engraving is drawing on copper. He who draws best must be the best artist' Closely connected with this is the emphasis that he laid on the importance of outline. Clearness and precision of outline were in his eyes vital. A clearly-cut line is beautiful; only when it falters in its course is it ugly. Where there are no lineaments there can be no character, Blake contends, and again he says: 'The great and golden rule of art . . . is this. that the more distinct, sharp and wiry the bounding line, the more perfect the work of art. . . . Leave out the line, and you leave out life itself; all is chaos again' On this ground Blake criticises Rembrandt's device of concentrating attention upon points of light which are thrown into strong relief by deep surrounding shadows There is a suggestion of mechanism about it which he finds distasteful. 'To look for points of light in a great picture,' he says, 'is like looking for epigrams in Homer. A point of light is a witticism, many are destructive of all art' For the blurred outlines and the monotony of effect which, in his opinion, result from this practice Blake has nothing good to say. Emphasising as he does the all-absorbing importance of form, he argues that relatively colour is of minor significance. 'All depends on form or outline On where that is put, where that is wrong, the colouring never can be right' Again he says 'In a work of art it is not fine tints that are required, but fine forms; fine tints without are nothing. Fine tints without fine forms are always the subterfuge of the blockhead' Blake had but scant respect for the intellect of those who see only the colours, and not the forms, of things. Yet while holding that colour should be subordinate to form, Blake did not ignore its value. He would use it as did the Roman and Florentine painters. This may be seen from his commendation of the following passage in Reynolds's fourth discourse:

The distinct blue, red, and yellow colours which are seen in the draperies of the Roman and Florentine schools, though they have not that kind of harmony which is produced by a variety of broken and transparent colours, have that effect of grandeur which was intended Perhaps these distinct colours strike the mind more forcibly, from there not being any great

or practical interest which unites where differences have divided. If this involves the very natural and healthy development of commercial co-operation, in the effort to safeguard the trade of the Old World against the inroads of the New, is that to be reckoned a catastrophe?

Perhaps one of the most visible signs of the new spirit of reconciliation is the keen propaganda in Germany to secure the patronage of tourists. It is aimed particularly at England, and even at America. In this connexion Nürnberg is an interesting phenomenon. Here we have a large industrial centre—the largest in Bavaria—of over 400,000 souls, and yet no tourist in this atmosphere of opera would ever know till he looks down on the city from the Burg that he was among the furnaces and the lathes, and even then he would only have an inkling. Smoke is absent, and a week can well be spent in seeing the neighbourhood and the exceptional beauties of the ancient city, which, it may be remarked, has more the appearance of a town of the category of Oxford than of Birmingham. Attractive pamphlets are circulated on all sides, and the effect is already noticeable. Furthermore, German tourists have lately migrated in an avalanche to France, where they have been heartily welcomed. It is only right to record, however, that a certain bitterness against France does still exist in some quarters and may take a little time to disappear entirely, although it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the process is being expedited by the far greater and more widely held contempt, often but faintly concealed, for the Americans, despite their outward welcome. These acerbities, which may have their temporary value, will undoubtedly tend to disappear, and an important aid to this end exists in the most statesmanlike policy of some of the non-political sporting associations in securing visits from foreign teams—Rugby football and many others—to compete with those in Germany. In one instance this is being organised by a German-Australian! While recognising some qualifying influences, it is certainly true to-day that English visitors particularly, even in such a place as Berlin, when I was there nearly two years ago, are not only treated with courtesy, but with enthusiasm. Experience had to be sought of the German traveller outside his country before one could in 1925 detect the pre-war product. In Germany itself, to discover the familiar arrogance and 'Prussianism' is a task indeed. It was most marked this autumn in going round factories and workshops, not only how pleased the directors and managers were to give facilities and to show civility, but how many smiles one received from workers and foremen and the many indications of good-will that were evinced.

A great temptation exists to regard Locarno as mere politics. It lies far deeper. Difficult of realisation as it is for an English-

union between them; as martial music, which is intended to rouse the nobler passions, has its effect from the sudden and strongly-marked transitions from one note to another, which that style of music requires; whilst in that which is intended to move the softer passions, the notes imperceptibly melt into one another.

It was just this seductive harmony in which one colour is merged in another that Blake most cordially detested. He claimed that it destroyed all possibility of variety and compared it to the vacant smile of an imbecile.

Whenever Reynolds in his *Discourses* attached importance to any of Blake's fundamental principles he received hearty commendation. But this was rare. On the whole, Blake was inclined to class Sir Joshua with the Venetian and Flemish artists, whom he so often and so roundly abused. Blake refused to see that they were coping with new problems, attempting to produce atmosphere, wrestling with the problems of light and shade. For him they were mere bunglers, whom he detested because their practice was broken lines, broken masses and broken colours, a practice the very reverse of his own and, according to him, subversive of the sublime. Their art was to lose form; his to find and keep it. Of them he would hear no good. They could not draw: their men were like leather and their women like chalk, their work lacked originality, and the execution was often left to journeymen. It was in vain for Reynolds to speak of the senatorial dignity of Titian, in vain for him to praise the elegance of the Venetians: they were merely vulgar fellows. 'Why should Titian and the Venetians be named in a discourse on art?' asks Blake. 'Such idiots are not artists.' More than the rest perhaps Blake hated Rubens. He would not admit the beauty of hi colouring, which seemed to him contrary to real art or science 'His shadows are of a filthy brown somewhat of the colour c excrement; these are filled with tints and messes of yellow an red. His lights are all the colours of the rainbow, laid on indi criminately and broken one into another.' Elsewhere he term the paintings of Rubens 'the work of a blockhead.' 'Bloate gods, Mercury, Juno, Venus, and the French palace are throw together around clumsy and ricketty princes and princess higgledy-piggledy'

It was Blake's firm belief that these painters after their dea continued to govern mankind, and in their spiritual forms thwa those who otherwise would rise to fame. Such 'corpore demons, he maintained, often possess the body of the livi artists and clog the channels of inspiration. Blake tells how th had molested him, tempting him in particular to abandon principles by blurring the outlines Thus, when he was paint Satan rallying his legions, he had at one stage the lineame

perfectly clear, but succumbed to his tempters and obscured them. It was only with difficulty that he succeeded in restoring the original distinctness of outline. These strange ideas are set forth in detail in the catalogue of the exhibition of his pictures held in 1809. He tells how the demons tried to block up everything with brown shadows and made the artist doubt his own conception. The spirit of Titian was active in suggesting fears as to the possibility of executing without a model, and so weakened Blake's vision that it grew clouded with recollections of Nature and of pictures that he had seen. Rubens seemed to Blake a most outrageous demon who fettered individual thought by memories of his own technique. 'Though the original conception was all fire and animation, he loads it with hellish brownness, and blocks up all its gates of light except one, and that one he closes with iron bars' Another demon was Correggio, 'a soft and effeminate, and consequently a most cruel demon.' His subtle temptation inspires a love of soft and even tints without boundaries, and of endless reflected lights that merge into one another and make the most vigorous drawing nerveless.

The mention of these demons reminds us of the great gulf that yawns between Blake and Reynolds, for the latter dismissed such notions as madness. How could he follow the soaring thoughts of this visionary and mystic? He was as incapable of appreciating his art as Johnson would have been unable to comprehend his poetry. Blake conceived of art as divinely inspired and therefore essentially a matter of the spirit. There was a passage in a sonnet of Michael Angelo with which he was altogether in sympathy:

> Heaven-born, the Soul a heavenward course must hold;
> Beyond the visible world she soars to seek,
> (For what delights the sense is false and weak)
> Ideal Form, the universal mould.

In these circumstances Blake had little patience with the view expressed in the third discourse, that ideal perfection and beauty lie all around us and are to be sought on earth and not in heaven. The student whom Reynolds described as finding no divine inspiration within himself, and as never travelling to heaven to gather new ideas, but merely relying on common observation and plain understanding, was, in Blake's opinion, ill qualified to be an artist He would surely fall a prey to the wiles of corporeal demons Blake was confirmed in his creed by his conviction, contrary to that of Reynolds, that the great writers, such as Plato and Milton, sincerely believed in the visitation of God. He therefore asserted that the greatest masterpieces of art, whether music, poetry, painting or sculpture, could not be outdone. They were 'the gift of God the Holy Ghost,' and to suppose that these

can be surpassed is being blind to the gifts of the spirit. All art being thus divinely inspired, Blake felt that it should concern itself, not with mundane matters, but with the world of the spirit. 'Shall painting,' he asks, 'be confined to the sordid drudgery of facsimile representations of merely mortal and perishing substances, and not be, as poetry and music are, elevated into its own proper sphere of invention and visionary conception? Painting, as well as poetry and music, exists and exults in immortal thoughts.' Such immortal thoughts Blake could not find in the fleshly figures of a Rubens nor in the portraits of a Reynolds and a Gainsborough. Hence the disdain with which he viewed them. The art which merely reproduced natural scenery or the features of a model seemed to him too facile. Anyone with eyes and a little patience might do this sort of work, and Blake could not understand that it should awaken admiration, still less that it should be the pride and glory of a nation. For his part he always found that natural objects weakened and deadened his imagination, and therefore maintained that his wanderings in the realm of the spirit were on a higher plane. He was sure that by 'copying' the visions which he saw he could achieve more than all the copiers of Nature from Rembrandt to Reynolds. In his visions of angels and spiritual bodies Blake saw with a piercing intensity. The concentration of all his powers was such that he perceived everything far more minutely than with the bodily eye, and in this rapt state he gazed into the life of things and tried to reproduce what he beheld How characteristic of him are the words: 'He who does not imagine in stronger and better lineaments and in stronger and better light than his perishing and mortal eye can see, does not imagine at all' In a note on Wordsworth, Blake said that one power alone could make a poet—imagination, the divine vision; and he doubtless held the same of all art. With what superb pride did he not express his contempt for the realm of the tangible: 'Imagination is my world; this world of dross is beneath my notice'! It was this consciousness of his superiority to the bonds of the flesh which inspired his belief that art and artists are spiritual and laugh at mortal contingencies.

This way of looking at life was entirely alien to Reynolds, the representative of common-sense and shrewd observation. To him Blake must have appeared as a wild enthusiast—a poor, weak-brained fanatic. The man who claimed that vision and inspiration had always been and always would be his dwelling-place passed Sir Joshua's comprehension. Under the influence of Locke, Reynolds traced all knowledge back to experience, and therefore thought it possible for an appreciation of art to be taught and acquired. This was a process of long cultivation, and only gradually could an artist attain full understanding. Reynolds

scoffed at those who waited for inspiration to descend upon them, and pictured them as begetting with great travail, not masterpieces, but monstrosities. It will readily be perceived that in this respect he approached the position of Pope, who held that

> True ease in writing comes from art, not chance,
> As those move easiest who have learn'd to dance.

This emphasis on skill is characteristic of the earlier eighteenth-century poets, and persisted even in Cowper. Critical though he was of the industry of Pope in touching and retouching, he nevertheless attached great importance to the careful finish of his own work. This is well illustrated by the famous passage in *The Task*, where he shows himself in the act of composition, seeking

> To dispose his copies with such art
> That each may find its most propitious light,
> And shine by situation hardly less
> Than by the labour and the skill it cost.

Art, labour, skill, created the works of many eighteenth-century poets, and ultimately evoked Keats's denunciation of them in *Sleep and Poetry* as mere handicraftsmen, artificers rather than artists In this Blake was at one with the great poets who immediately followed him. Not that they or he ignored the necessity of that painstaking revision which should ensure that the best words were in the best order. The angels who prompted Blake and the muses who guided his successors did not always find the inevitable word at the first attempt. But they did lay the emphasis on inspiration rather than on skill, and hence the different atmosphere which enfolds the work of these later poets.

On all the points just mentioned Blake's opinion was diametrically opposed to that of Reynolds Far from it being true that 'nothing is denied to well-directed labour,' Blake believed that genius is born, and not made; it dies with its possessor and disappears from sight until a new genius is born. Unlike Reynolds, he held that man brings into the world with him all that he has or can have. 'Man is born,' he says, 'like a garden ready planted and sown. This world is too poor to produce one seed' The same view is revealed in his comment on Jan Steen. Reynolds had praised him as a most diligent and accurate observer, one who, had he come under the guidance of Raphael and Michael Angelo, would have developed into an eminent artist. Blake will not grant this—the task is beyond even these great masters, for Jan Steen was born a boor and a boor he must inevitably remain. Observation and experience are of no avail; of themselves they can never give the artist a knowledge of ideal beauty. The idea must be born in him, and then at the destined hour, when the breath of divine inspiration moves upon him, an immortal work

will spring into being. In this conception of art Blake was confirmed by a passage in the introduction to Milton's *Reason of Church Government*, where it was said that a masterpiece was 'not to be obtained by the invocation of memory and her syren daughters, but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge and sends out his Seraphim with the hallowed fire of His altar to touch and purify the lips of whom He pleases.' In Blake's eyes Reynolds committed the unforgivable sin of taking memory rather than inspiration as his guide.

Maintaining as he did that experience was all in all, Reynolds not unnaturally clung to the rules which had been handed down from generation to generation and seemed to represent the accumulated wisdom of humanity The students of the Academy were told that they should implicitly obey these rules as established by the practice of the great masters, who were to be regarded as perfect and infallible guides, as subjects for imitation, not criticism.[1] Reynolds thought rules for the judgment of art as indispensable as for its execution, otherwise all would lie at the mercy of individual caprice. In his respect for rules, as in his trust in reason, Sir Joshua was one of the Old Guard. According to him, taste was essentially a matter for the reason, and the pleasure derived from the resemblance of a picture to an original or from the harmony of music was allied to that produced by a demonstration in geometry. He considered also that the artist should always be controlled by reason even in the highest flights of imagination. Akin to this confidence in the power of reason is Reynolds's distrust of passion and enthusiasm. To preserve the most perfect beauty in the most perfect state, he claimed, one must not express the passions, which distort the most beautiful of faces. He informed the students of the Academy that enthusiasm would carry them but a little way, that enthusiastic admiration seldom promoted knowledge, and that they should always carefully ponder how much scope should be given to enthusiasm and how much to reason. Upon all these questions the attitude of Blake, the lonely zealot, the dreamer of dreams and seer of visions, was antagonistic to that of Reynolds. Rules he despised, for he was divinely inspired and above all precedent. Reason he rejected as useless in the uncharted regions where he voyaged. 'God forbid that truth should be confined to a mathematical demonstration,' he cried. Rather he relied on intuition and that imaginative knowledge which is superior to demonstrative science that is weighed or measured. This explains the aversion that he felt for Bacon, Newton and Locke, an echo of whose accents he

[1] Reynolds did, however, tentatively suggest the possibility of the master painter breaking the rules.

seemed to hear in the voice of Reynolds. In his notes on the eighth discourse he mentions that in his youth he read not only Burke's treatise on the sublime and beautiful, but also Locke's work on human understanding and Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, on which it was founded. On each of these books he wrote his opinions, and on looking through them found that his sentiments then were similar to his later feelings towards Reynolds —contempt and abhorrence, because they all mocked inspiration and vision.

Blake held that Bacon's philosophy, which was only that of Epicurus over again, had ruined art and science and had made both statesmen and artists fools and knaves. Far from being worthy of the title 'the great' which Reynolds had bestowed upon him, Bacon stood unspeakably low in Blake's eyes, because he said that everything should be based on experiment, and thus his first principle was unbelief. In the same way Blake denounced Newton, whose ideas seemed to him to result in atheism At his exhibition in 1809 Blake showed a picture where the Horse of Intellect was seen leaping from the cliffs of Memory and Reasoning, this rock he also called the Barren Waste of Locke and Newton Corresponding to Blake's suspicion of reason is his reliance on passion and enthusiasm. Passion and expression he regarded as beauty itself, and a face that was incapable of them appeared to him deformed For Blake enthusiasm was all in all, the first and last principle of knowledge; reason, on the other hand, had no concern with art The antagonistic opinions of Blake and Reynolds on this point are admirably illustrated in connexion with a passage in the first discourse. Sir Joshua, addressing the young students, impressed on them the necessity of unremitting toil. No part of the time of the great painters, he informed them, was spent in dissipation, and even an increase of fame served only to augment their industry. Blake replied that Reynolds was confusing two things, idleness and dissipation, and, far from his statement being correct, painters were notorious for wildness and Raphael himself died of dissipation. 'He who has nothing to dissipate cannot dissipate,' he says. 'The weak man may be virtuous enough, but will never be an artist.' The thought here is obviously the same as underlies some of Blake's *Proverbs in Hell*, such as 'Exuberance is beauty,' 'The road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom,' and 'The tigers of wrath are wiser than the horses of instruction.'

In view of what has already been said, it can occasion no surprise to find Reynolds insisting on the importance of technique and careful workmanship and inclined to cast a suspicious eye on the genius with a fertile invention. To his mind the only foundation of solid fame was labour and industry, and he feared

the ready inventor as being extremely apt to acquiesce in imperfection. He told the students of the Academy that to rely too much on their powers of invention was to court disaster, for nothing could come of nothing. 'The mind is but a barren soil, a soil which is soon exhausted, and will produce no crop.' It was but natural that Blake, conscious of the amazing fertility of his genius and of his untiring patience in execution, should controvert every one of these statements. The man who would propagate the view that great inventors cannot execute, or execute with inferior technique, he regarded as an impostor. Personally he held that facility in composing was the greatest power of art and given to none but the greatest artists. As for the mind, he asserted that, far from being a barren soil, it was the most prolific of all things and inexhaustible. Sir Joshua's remarks force from him the heart-felt exclamation, 'Thank God that I am not like Reynolds!'

It is noteworthy how the views of Blake and Reynolds diverge also on the question of generalisation in art One of the guiding principles which Sir Joshua repeatedly laid down was that the general idea constitutes real excellence, and all minor things, however perfect in their way, are therefore to be sacrificed mercilessly to the greater. The beauty of art consists in rising above all singular forms, local peculiarities and details of every kind. The painter must disregard all local and temporary features and consider only those general habits which are everywhere and always the same Peculiarities in works of art, Reynolds maintained, are like those in the human figure—they serve to distinguish, but are none the less blemishes. However difficult it may be to escape them, the painter must try to overlook these accidental discriminations of Nature and exhibit distinctly and with precision the general forms of things Only by concentrating on this central form and leaving out particularities can the artist arrive at perfection. Every natural object is full of defects, but the artist, by creating the type from these faulty individuals, rises to the grand style, which is independent of age and locality To this Blake answered that the minuteness, the individuality, is everything. Even granting Sir Joshua's assumption of the general or central form, he would not admit that any deviation from it is deformity. 'All forms are perfect in the poet's mind but these are not abstracted nor compounded from Nature, but are from imagination' Minute discrimination is not accidental it is the foundation of the sublime. As for distinct general form Blake denied its possibility, generalisation entails vagueness To lose sight of the parts in a striving after general effect was in his opinion folly. The term 'general Nature' he regarded as an absurdity, for all Nature is particular.

It might be argued that Sir Joshua's love of generalising is not unconnected with the scientific temper of an age that had reduced chaos in Nature to an ordered system of law, and that Blake's emphasis on individuality is appropriate to the generation which saw the birth of nationalism. But we will leave these speculations and confine ourselves to showing that the opinions of Reynolds and Blake on this matter are related to those of the earlier and later eighteenth century writers. There is a passage in *Rasselas* the thought of which bears a striking and at times a verbal similarity to Sir Joshua's views on generalising. In the tenth chapter the poet Imlac says to the Prince of Abyssinia:

> The business of a poet is to examine, not the individual, but the species; to remark general properties and large appearances; he does not number the streaks of the tulip, or describe the different shades in the verdure of the forest. He is to exhibit in his portraits of Nature such prominent and striking features as to recall the original to every mind; and must neglect the minuter discriminations, which one may have remarked, and another have neglected, for those characteristics which are alike obvious to vigilance and carelessness. . . . He must divest himself of the prejudices of his age and country; he must consider right and wrong in their abstracted and invariable state; he must disregard present laws and opinions, and rise to general and transcendental truths, which will always be the same. . . He must write as the interpreter of Nature, and the legislator of mankind, and consider himself as presiding over the thoughts and manners of future generations, as a being superior to time and place.

Although Blake himself paid little heed to inanimate Nature, his attitude on this question of generalisation was in full sympathy with that of Wordsworth. Even if he does not number the streaks of the tulip, the poet of the swaying daffodils, the violet by the mossy stone, and the yew-trees in Borrowdale had too keen a sense of individuality to allow the contention of Reynolds and Johnson.

The reader who received without cavil Blake's judgment on Reynolds's *Discourses* would carry away an impression very unfavourable to the older man. There was, indeed, little in them of which Blake approved; here and there he accepted a detail, but in the main his remarks were condemnatory. Only on one occasion did he learn anything from Reynolds, and then he refrained from pointing out his indebtedness. In the catalogue of his exhibition in 1809, anticipating criticism of the incorrect costume of his Brahmins, he pleaded the authority of the ancients, as exemplified by Laocoön, who, though a priest, is represented naked. Apart from this instance, which is mentioned by Reynolds in the seventh discourse, Blake derived nothing from these speeches. Others, who had not such preconceived notions, were perhaps more just. Cowper, for example, writing to William Unwin on February 27, 1780, says:

It is a just observation of Sir Joshua Reynolds, that though men of ordinary talents may be highly satisfied with their own productions, men of true genius never are. Whatever be their subject, they always seem to themselves to fall short of it, even when they seem to others most to excel. And for this reason—because they have a certain sublime sense of perfection, which other men are strangers to, and which they themselves in their performances are not able to exemplify.

Cowper here deduces from the *Discourses* that never-ending struggle for perfection which led Browning, according as the artist was or was not impelled by it, to praise Raphael and pity Andrea del Sarto. It would, however, be futile to scoff at Blake for not seeing what others saw. Art was to him a crusade; only one side was in the right, and that was his. He approached the *Discourses* not as an objective critic, but as a passionate partisan. With the burning conviction which, had he lived some generations earlier, would surely have placed him in the ranks of Cromwell's Ironsides, he swept onwards, his watchword 'The Lord of Hosts,' his battle-cry 'Smite and spare not.' In his encounter with Reynolds we see the clash of two ages. Sir Joshua defends the ideas of the passing age, Blake champions the new.

On whichever side our sympathies may lie, we are moved by the spectacle of Blake, poor and unknown, throwing down the gauntlet to the all-powerful Reynolds and the artistic creed which was then triumphant all over Europe. Thanks to his unfaltering faith in the divine inspiration of his work, Blake knows no doubts or fears. His self-confidence amidst dire poverty and bitter discouragement borders on the sublime. He boldly claims his engraving of Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims as the finest that has been or is likely to be done in England. To his rivals he cries 'I am mad or else you are so; both of us cannot be in our righ senses. Posterity will judge by our works.' He declares tha if all the princes in Europe were to patronise inferior art, he woul remain unshaken: 'I, William Blake, *a mental prince*, shoul decollate and hang their souls as guilty of mental high treason Referring to the patrons of art, he says haughtily:

I demand the encouragement which is my due, if they continue t refuse, theirs is the loss, not mine, and theirs is the contempt of posterit I have enough in the approbation of fellow-labourers, this is my joy a exceeding great reward. *I go on, and nothing can hinder my course*

The same spirit breathes from another passage in his catalog where he says with engaging candour:

If a man is master of his profession, he cannot be ignorant that he so; and if he is employed by those who pretend to encourage art, he w employ himself, and laugh in secret at the pretences of the ignora while he has every night dropped into his shoe, as soon as he puts it

and puts out the candle, and gets into bed, a reward for the labours of the day, such as the world cannot give, and patience and time awaits to give him all that the world can give.

These are proud words, but posterity has indorsed them.

HERBERT WRIGHT.

man who knows the very slow movements of public feeling in international relationships among his own countrymen, there is none the less abundant evidence that the 'Locarno spirit' has in reality spread to an amazing degree among the rank and file both in France and Germany. This is where its strength lies, even more than in the 'scrap of paper.' But we, too, play our part. It is only necessary to visit the British Army of Occupation at Wiesbaden. One can say no more than that there you see at a glance just exactly what every war-time soldier knows you would be bound to see. The 'liaison,' if not always intimate, is at least a wonderful tribute to those ambassadorial powers so amazingly and so exclusively exercised by the gentlemen in khaki, and it is in the complete ignorance of this fact that the true inwardness of the feat lies. Though the officer and his wife meet Germans at dances, it is by the rank and file that the work is done. I witnessed a football match between the K.S.L.I. and the Cameron Highlanders, and, apart from the regimental supporters, there were quite a number of German women and small boys watching with intense interest what was going on. Nine months had passed since the British advent, and with it the novelty, but I heard on all sides that the Germans preferred watching our Army football to their own local matches. It will indeed be a wonderful consummation of Locarno when the same thing prevails in the French zone, and one may hope that this somewhat ambitious endeavour may be realised before the time comes, urgently as that is needed, for the final evacuation to take place.

Whether it is worker or business man, the war is condemned—or, perhaps more, lamented—with equal emphasis. The latter, in particular, has in his own everyday life a constant reminder of how much it has hit him personally; I was surprised at the feeling of hate it evoked. One very definite form which this sentiment takes is the attitude to the Monarchy. In quarters where you would most expect to find support, in the upper middle classes and among the smaller business men, is found the strongest antagonism, and, even among the most unblushing Royalists, no word can be found in favour of the Hohenzollerns or of the readiness to have back that line. The strength of this new republicanism is apparent in endless little ways—for instance, the sacrifice in one very important city of the use of a famous lord-mayoral chain of great value and antiquity because of the crown engraved upon it! Indeed, every link with the old *régime* has to be severed. There exists, no doubt, the so-called Fascist Party, but even in his own country (Bavaria) the most bigoted supporter of Ludendorff, the party leader, admits him to be completely eclipsed in the public eye, and the already attenuated size in the Reichstag of that body which supports him is likely to be ——

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CLERIC[1]

STEPHEN EATON, the future Archdeacon of Middlesex, was born in 1737 at the family home, Deene Place, Deene, in Northamptonshire. He was the youngest son of Daniel Eaton, of Deene, who was agent to Lord Cardigan, of Deene Park.

Stephen was the youngest of three brothers. Daniel, the eldest, seems to have succeeded his father as agent to the great man at Deene Park. William, the second son, who died at twenty-four, passes, unhappily, straightway out of our history. He was, Mr Lamb tells us, remarkably handsome and a great singer. His beauty, his talent, his early death, and, not least, his occupation shroud him in romantic mystery. This charming and good-looking youth, the son of Lord Cardigan's well-to-do agent, was keeper to his father's employer. And while William was a gamekeeper, his younger brother, Stephen, went to Eton.

This curious anomaly, as it seems to our modern eyes, sets us wondering. We have all known sons of English country houses, bred at Eton, whose heart was in the woods, and who, had they been able to take the line they loved and exercise perhaps the only talent God had given them, would have turned gamekeeper gladly and fallen, perhaps not so gladly, to the level of the groom and the gardener. In those days before the Enclosure Acts of the later eighteenth century, when England was still largely a warren, was it as natural for the younger son of the lord or his agent to don the velveteen and shoulder his musket as it was later, when a Regular Army had been finally established to wear the King's uniform or take the family living? Or was William Eaton something of an original and sport?

We cannot say. All that we know is that while the sylvan William was, as we may imagine, completing his education in the gunroom at Deene Park, and wandered singing

> *In the elm-woods and the oaken,*
> *There where Orpheus harped of old,*

[1] This article is composed from data compiled by the late Mr. Edmund Lamb, Borden Wood, Liphook, Hants, whose mother was an Eaton. The article is published with the permission of his widow.

a brace of spaniels at heel, his younger brother, Stephen, was going to Eton.

One of Master Eaton's school-bills, dated 1754, is still preserved.

Master Eaton's Bill

1754.			£	s.	d.
Jan.	10	Paid for ye Cloke Bag from London		1	6
	14	a Pd. of Candles			7
		gave Master for ye Doctor's man		1	
		Post and news		1	
Feb	6	out of College 5 days		5	
		half a Pd. of Candles			3½
	17	A Pd of Candles			7
	22	A Pd of Candles			7
		Post and Bellman's Box		1	6
March	1	a Letter			3
	9	a Pd of Candles			7
		Soap			3
	11	gave Master for a Remove		2	6
		for Gun money		1	
	22	fire and school sweeping to ye Dr.		1	10
Ap	1	Chappel sweeping a qr			2
	5	Bed maker a qr to Lady Day		1	
	6	a letter			3
		pd for cutting Master's hair		1	
	8	Stage Coach and pocket money		6	6
	23	Stage Coach from London		1	6
		Bed and desk from and to college		1	
		Soap			3
		Half a year's Battling to June 21 1754	3		
		mending linen & stockins half a year		10	
		Allowance from Jan 14 to May 20 is 19 weeks		19	
May	20	Fetching bed and desk out of college		1	
		School sweeping to Dr Sumner 4d and gave Master for gun money		1	4
		Gave master for expenses on ye road		8	
			6	9	5½
		Dr Sumner half a year	2	2	
		Shoe Cleaner half a year		2	
		Booksellers Bill		3	6
		Shoemaker's Bill		4	6
			9	1	5½
May	18	Cutting Master's hair		1	
			9	2	5½

From the above we gather that Master Eaton was a colleger during the reign of Dr. Sumner, who was Headmaster of Eton from 1745-1754, at a time when there were 367 boys in the school.

We note that the boy's fee to the Headmaster for half a year was *2l. 2s.*, and to the boot cleaner for the same period *2s.* It seems that in those days an Etonian (or was the privilege confined to collegers ?), on payment of *1s.* a quarter, might keep a gun, with which we may assume he sported—that is to say, poached—in Windsor Park and the woods about Virginia Water. Our colleger (happy lad !) seems to have obtained his remove for *2s. 6d.* This well-spent sum appears to have been in the nature of a fee, as it is included in the bill, and not, as we had first fondly hoped, a tip to the master ingenious enough to arrange the boy's promotion. On the other hand, it was hard that when ill our Stephen should have been fobbed off with the doctor's man instead of his principal

After Eton Stephen—who was to prove the most considerable member of his family, as he was certainly one of the most lovable—pursued his adventurous career far from Deene and its farmlands and forests, going on to Oxford about the time that the Great Commoner was snatching North America from the Bourbons

Subsequently he took holy orders and became curate of Stanion in 1762 Three years later he was appointed rector of St. George-the-Martyr, Holborn, at the early age of twenty-eight—whether on his merits or owing to the influence of the Cardigan family, the head of which was about to be created Duke of Montague, we do not know. Stephen remained at St. George's till 1781, holding with that position other appointments, which may or may not have been due to the friendly duke, whose agent his brother seems to have been.

In 1781 he entered upon the work of his life at St. Anne's, Soho, where he ministered for a quarter of a century For the particulars of his life and his record as rector Mr. Lamb refers us to a series of articles entitled ' Men and Women of Soho, Famous and Infamous,' that appeared in the parish magazine in December 1900. When Stephen began his long reign at St Anne's he was in the prime of life and a man whose energy was only equalled by his benevolence. And it was well this should be so. For the parish had been neglected, and the flame of church life flickered feebly. He blew it into a blaze with the bellows of his tireless industry, unlike most of his brother clerics in that spiritually stagnant century, concerning himself with the physical as well as the spiritual welfare of his parishioners. Thus sanitary engineers, medical officers of health, and social reformers may be horrified to learn that the benevolent rector allowed his poor neighbours to use the well in his churchyard.

His capacity was recognised and rewarded. He became Archdeacon of Middlesex and domestic chaplain both to the Bishop

London and Princess Amelia. Moreover, his interests were by no means confined to his clerical duties. In 1778 he was made a member of the S.P.G., and in 1797 was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquarians; while a few months later he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society.

It is, however, in his family capacity, as brother and uncle, that his correspondence shows him to us in the most pleasing light His devotion to his elder brother Daniel was life-long.

Of this Daniel we know little save what we gather of his character and fortune from the letters of the Archdeacon. Born in 1732 at Deene, the eldest of the three brothers, Daniel seems to have stepped into his father's shoes as agent to Lord Cardigan. It would appear that he lacked alike his younger brother's energy and capacity. His health, moreover, was always precarious; and the Archdeacon shows himself continually concerned about it in his letters, offering his elder brother fatherly and somewhat fussy advice.

> I am much pleased at your expected commission from Mr Clementson [he writes in 1785], and wish you may have health to finish it: yet considering the state of your health the undertaking appears to me rather arduous, traversing wet and dirty woods must be very fatiguing; and repeated colds are the least evils you can expect When you meet Mr. Pywell to settle the plan, etc, if it be possible let everything be so arranged as to enable you both to dine and sleep at home, you will then be sure of being comfortable at night after the hurry of the day. the accommodation at Gretton, Weldon or Corby are not like those at Deen: and your health will always be a sufficient excuse for your going home.

In November of the same year he writes in a like strain:

> I am much concerned at the news of your late attack, and I pray that success may attend the issue in the thigh, but whatever new remedies you may try, you must never omit paying the most careful attention to Dr Heberden's prescription, *i.e.* to be temperate in all things.

It is from these letters, chiefly to his brother, that we obtain a clearly limned portrait of the good Archdeacon in his habit as he lived: his rather fussy kindness; that particularity in detail which perhaps largely accounted for his success in life; his keen family affection and delightful concern for his little nephew, and particularly his pet, Betty; his business acumen; the whole touched with the pleasant masterfulness of the successful man who knows his strength, and knows, moreover, that this strength must be used to bolster the weak, to whom the milk of human sympathy should be administered duly tempered with the lemon of acid criticism.

His attitude towards his elder brother—always affectionate, often fatherly—was sometimes sharp, even censorious. Daniel

seems to have accepted the position with resignation. He appears to have been weak in more than health, and clearly leaned through life on the strong shoulder of the younger brother. Stephen, we gather, suspected and feared a certain moral flabbiness in Daniel, and appears to have striven successfully to brace his brother against it. In this regard we wonder, perhaps unworthily, if the Archdeacon's reference to Dr. Hiberden's prescription, and the beauty of temperance, has significance.

Thus we find him writing to his brother at Deene a letter in which his perennial concern for Daniel's health is modified by his displeasure at the latter's slackness in carrying his hay. The slight tartness of his tone disperses, however, at once when he passes on to his favourite topic—his nephew and niece—with a characteristic plea that they should be allowed a half-holiday. It is characteristic too that the brother in business leaves to the brother in holy orders the task of investing his money.

July 10th, 1784

To Mr. Eaton at Deen.

DEAR BROTHER,—I was in Dean Street from Monday to Wednesday morning, and therefore did not receive your letter until I came here I rejoice at your safe arrival at Deen, an event I own beyond what I expected the constant rains and the uncommon coldness of the weather here were of themselves sufficient to render even a stout traveller an invalid : much more one in a weak recovering state

This is the thirteenth fine day during which everyone has been busy and much excellent hay carried the crop is extremely heavy, yet not the least injured by standing. You are later than I expected . I concluded you would be at Deen on the 29th, take a view of your fields on the 30th, and begin to mow on the 1st of July I am sorry you lost those three valuable days If Betty and Stephen go constantly to school, I think I may without offending Mr Oakley, desire that they may have half a holiday, and dine in the field (which I should much like to do myself) under a hedge or a haycock , they may drink my health at the same time in—water, unless they dine at the Common, where it is bad Your money is not yet laid out in the stocks, but as they are fallen near two per cent, Mr. Denyer will probably lay it out next week. I have heard nothing from Mr. Blake or Prater

With love to my sister and children,

Yours affectionately,

ST. EATON.

Fulham, ye 10th, 84.

Just before Christmas the Archdeacon writes again to his brother. Mindful of the time of year, he sends ingredients for 'the pie,' and dainties for his brother. Nor does he forget a pound of tea for Betty Knowles, doubtless some old woman in the village, a crony of his childhood, with a characteristic injunction as to who is to make the gift, and how.

In the latter part of his letter he shows himself uneasy at his brother's attitude in a business affair and critical of it. He is doubtful if Daniel is fitted for the position of receivership to which he aspires. Will it be to the advantage of his client ? asks the honest Archdeacon, obviously perturbed. Will it mean expense to Mr. Hotchkin ? Cannot Mr. Pares undertake the receivership ? At least he hopes that Daniel's connexion with Mr Hotchkin's affairs will terminate shortly—in the interest, we gather, of Mr. Hotchkin.

Many thanks to my sister for the cargo, it contained everything you mentioned, and excellent.

Pray tell Betty and Stephen that I desire my sister will pay a shilling for every tooth which they part with at your request, but as my debt will be gradually increasing, Betty must keep the account and deliver it to me, when we meet This morning I sent to the waggon for the raisins, etc, and a large pot of minc'd meat, which may be used whenever you bake, as it will keep these two months there is likewise a small paper of citron, etc, a little of which is to be mixed with the meat, before it is put into the pie The brawn, oysters, and mustard-flower are for you; but the pound of tea is for Betty Knowles, to be given her by the children in their own names

I propose to set out for Bath about the third of Jan and to return on ye 15th Of course I shall be here and glad to see you, but I am not quite satisfied about the cause of your journey, and I wish you would ask Mr. Clementson, whether your being appointed Receiver by Mr. Prater will be any benefit to Mr Hotchkin Your connection with his affairs will I hope cease in about three years and should you obtain this Receivership, that I hope likewise will cease at the same time the questions therefore to be proposed to Mr Clementson, are first whether you can be made receiver without putting Mr Hotchkin to any expence, and secondly whether Mr Pares can be reinstated in the receivership without expence; for if the expence of Mr Pares' appointment is to be repeated twice, it will very nearly amount to all the money, that will be saved by your being receiver

I wish you all a merry Christmas and tell my sister if she will but let the children manage the raisins, I do not doubt of its being a sweet one.

Yours affect

St Eaton.

Dean Str, ye 18th, 84.

Eight months later the Archdeacon shows himself genuinely annoyed. His brother has been pestering him with unnecessary correspondence, and as the postage in those days when forwarded appears to have been paid by the receiver of the letter, Daniel's epistolary diligence had cost his careful brother dear The Archdeacon is justifiably irritated There follows further advice on a business matter, still critical in tone, and then a note about a mare Stephen is buying for his own use: for in 1785 the gaiters of an Archdeacon were by no means decorative only, since, as Mr George Trevelyan has recently pointed out to us, it

was the era of the 'all-worshipped horse.' The mare is to be sent to Deene by some careful person, who, as the slack-loined Daniel is somewhat tartly reminded by his competent brother, will require to be paid for his trouble. He ends on his habitual kindly note.

DEAR BROTHER,—I am going to Northall this day to reside, and I think it necessary to apprize you of it, lest you should persist in the same constant correspondence, you have done for the last two months, and consequently put me to a great expence for postage If however you should write to me, and inclose Betty's certificate, you had better still inclose your letter to the Bishop here, who will send it to Dean Street

Mr. Turner has applied for the quarter's annuity, due ye 20th of August and I understand is not pleased at the half-yearly payment of the annuity. I conclude you have no money of Mr Hotchkin in your hands to answer this demand . but for the future I advise you always to keep some, that Mr. T. may have his annuity regularly, which he has lately insisted upon.

On Friday, I received a letter from Mr Eland, informing me that his brother has met with a well-bred mare which he thinks will suit me the colour is a deep black, the age five years . and the price twenty guineas. I have desired him to purchase her and send her to Deen by some careful person, whom I must beg you to pay for his trouble and expences The mare has been very little used (tho' she is quite temperate), and I would wish you would get Mr Marks to ride her every day once or twice in the Park but I apprehend it will be better not to keep her entirely in the stable My coming to Deen is still uncertain , yet you may as well tell me in your next, what the children desire me to bring for them. With love to my sister & children.

Yours most affectionately,

ST. EATON

P.S.—I have had half a fine buck from Whitehall

The half-buck no doubt is due to his patroness, Princess Amelia.

The old bachelor never writes home to Deene without messages to his little nephew, Stephen, 'born 1780 at 5 15 p m.,' and his niece Elizabeth, three years her brother's senior.

The children owe their first pony, bred, it would appear, in the New Forest, to their uncle.

Feb 1st, 1785.

The horse intended for Stephen is a brown one · should the colour not quite suit, please tell him that brown horses are always good ones I am afraid that he must not expect him before April if you have no objection I propose that the saddle shall have what I believe are called half Clogs instead of common stirrups.

The Archdeacon shows himself as careful here in matters of detail as in weightier concerns. The pony arrives in London two months before he is expected. On February 19 the Archdeacon writes:

Tell my namesake, that the Forrester is arrived in London: on Monday he will be measured for the saddle, and I shall send him to Deen by

the first opportunity: his colour is a beautiful brown, and his make is such as even the critics at Deen must allow to be handsome.

The Archdeacon is as excited as the children. He cannot contain himself, and the day after the pony's arrival in London rushes off to Smithfield hoping to find some drover from Deene to escort 'the horse' to his final destination. He fails, but can no more wait than the children can, runs a risk, and entrusts 'the horse to the father of the bearer, who will I hope deliver him safe'

His courage is rewarded. After a period of suspense he hears on March 3 that 'the horse' is safe at Deene. Five-year-old Stephen is now promoted to a saddle of his own, and no longer, therefore, rides pillion behind his father on Juniper. Betty is to take her brother's place in that post of honour, and perhaps danger, and in order that she may not feel injured and left out the old man buys his pet a new pillion.

March 3rd.

Your letter did not arrive before seven o'clock and I began to be uneasy about the horse I am glad he is safe at Deen, and I wish my namesake health to use him I presume he will now be above riding upon Juniper behind you, and that honour will of course devolve upon Betty, I desire therefore you will immediately buy for me a small smart pillion and give it to her with my love . . . The saddle and bridle would I expect be sent on Saturday they are neat but plain and intended for immediate and constant use The horse's name, which I forgot to mention before, is Sunderland

Betty had no real need for resentment, as her uncle's next letter shows Indeed, she had a place of her own in the old man's heart that no rival could usurp. At the same time we cannot but feel that the present we now find her devoted uncle sending her is not perhaps so much to the little lady's taste as must have been the pony to her brother's. The brushing of teeth as a daily exercise was just coming in; and the thoughts of the Archdeacon, as always in the van of progress, turn at once to his little niece. It is typical of the man that his instructions even in so small a matter should be precise and detailed.

On Saturday it possible I will send you some powder for Betsy's teeth; I suspect she will by no means like to use it, the powder is itself unpleasant, and the brush will at first make the gums sore, perhaps the most prevailing argument you can use with her will be saying I use it myself constantly The brush should be used every morning, dipping it first in water, and washing it well in water after using it, about every fourth morning wet the brush and put a little powder on it, the quantity need not exceed a small peppercorn.

Betty seems to have returned in full the old man's affection. Born in 1777 at Deene, and always a great needlewoman, we

discover her at the age of eight making shirts for her uncle. The nature of the work rendered it impossible for the child to keep it a surprise. So we find the busy Archdeacon taking a vivid interest both in the shirts and their little maker.

> Pray tell Betsy [he writes, presumably to the child's mother] I shall be very happy in wearing a shirt of her making, and when you go to Thrapston, you may provide the usual quantity of cloth: as to the length etc., I will either send you a shirt for a pattern or the measure of one which fits me.

A few days later he writes again on the same subject, showing particular concern, in the days before Factory Acts, lest the small seamstress should be overtasked by her exacting mother.

> A yard and four inches will be a proper length for the bodies of the shirts [the careful Archdeacon writes], but not less the wrist-bands you sent are long enough, but not if the ends are to be turned in. When the shirts are begun I desire that Betsy may by no means be suffered to work too much at them, and in order to prevent this when one is finished you may as well contrive to send it for me to try.

In May, when the great work is drawing to a close, he himself sends the material to complete it, with a reward for the worker.

> Inclosed in the hat are some shirt buttons, thread, needles, and a pair of buckles for the shirt-maker which I flatter myself will fit and please.

The good Archdeacon died in 1806 after an illness, so we are told in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 'as unexampled in its duration as in the meekness and patience with which it was sustained' The notice adds: 'Few have lived so universally admired and respected as a clergyman, and so entirely esteemed and beloved as a man.' We can well believe it

ALFRED OLLIVANT.

HISTORY AND POLITICS

It has become customary to describe the present period of civilisation as the Age of Science. This term is used, apparently with satisfaction, to distinguish ourselves from those more thoughtless and emotional mediæval people who lived in the Age of Religion, and from those earlier pagan Romans who believed in augurs and arms; and from those still remote and inferior creatures who were simply 'barbarians' There is much truth in this classification, though it may cause some embarrassment to future historians to explain how an age of scientific knowledge could have lived so often in slums and smoke-polluted towns, which could have been so easily rebuilt or purified. It will be still more difficult to give a plausible explanation of the fact that an age which prided itself on its scientific rationalism should have so much despaired of reason that it spent four years in mutual killing, as the only method of arguing the points at issue.

But while admitting that this is indeed an age of science, it is of great importance to note that there is one very large department of our affairs to which our boasted scientific methods have not been applied. Our politicians still, in the main, conduct their business, which is our business as well, in the same unscientific and unphilosophical manner as our ancestors did in the days long ago, when there were no text-books on social science, political economy, or the many kindred subjects which now can be found on the humblest shelves. There is, of course, a certain platonic homage paid to knowledge by the professional political class, but theory is not often allowed to encroach on practice. We apply the laws of science to the making of steel or the curing of physical diseases. But there is, as yet, slight indication that we use them in the making of laws or the curing of social disorders. A certain amount of science in the form of political economy is, of course, taught in our colleges; and the bolder professors even definitely suggest that their laws are applicable to political affairs. But political science is more ornamental than useful.

It is a serious mistake to consider the laws of political economy as the most important part of social science. After many generations of Adam Smith and Karl Marx and their fellows it is not as

further reduced at the next opportunity. [illegible] tion, indeed, have but a small appeal in post-war [illegible] certainly no sign—of the former in particular—[illegible] centres of industry, though its hold on the Reichs[illegible] may indeed cause alarm and call for vigilance on the part both of France, Belgium, and ourselves. It must not be supposed that in the growth of democracy the 'Bosche' has been completely eliminated. He exists, though he is fortunately not common. In the course of two days I met two—one a very important functionary of a large chamber of commerce. Every word he breathed was bitterness, combined, it must be admitted, with courtesy. His particular refrain was 'Give us back ——'; but, in accordance with the invariable disability of the German in hate, he was unable to avoid being foolish. Germany in 1914 had no thought of war, even ridiculed it. England—he was there in June—was seething with war talk! 'Why, not one man in a hundred was keen on war in Germany!' One in a hundred in a population of the size of Germany! Over half a million people anxious to fight! And this not in the heat of passion created by the crisis, but in the quiet days of peace. And then England: even in the first few days of August, could a dozen men have been found out of our forty millions who wanted war? But there was another. This was a leading director of an important concern. A window-sill was indicated where a few might-be pin scratches were just visible: the French troops occupied the building a few years after the war and installed machine guns there to command the road. 'You see' (pointing to the marks), 'we preserve these things just as they do in northern France.' Rheims—Verdun—Albert—Ypres! The French are indeed wonderful in accepting Locarno.

But if the new Germany is out to break away from this sort of poison it is equally clear that, at any rate among a very large section, there is a strong determination not to yield lightly to the yoke of Socialism, and this is undoubtedly a factor of considerable domestic importance to her. In certain areas even Communism is rife; for instance, in some works (one of which I visited) physical violence and rioting have occurred, and the danger of serious trouble is very real.

It is not easy at first for a foreigner to understand the inherent strength of the Left Wing in German politics. We in England know that it is broadly true to say that the allegiance of the industrial worker fluctuates election by election, according to his satisfaction or otherwise—usually otherwise—with the Government of the day. If things happen which he likes, he supports that party; if he dislikes the way of the world, he votes the other way. In Germany this is not so. If you are an industrial

certain as they imagined that the principles of their science are the key to human social organisation. There are some people who begin to suspect that Ricardo's law of rent concealed the truth rather than revealed it.

The real core of the science of politics is not political economy, but history. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that history alone gives the key to the statesman who is seeking for a political programme which will be for the benefit of his country; it is history that can alone guide the voter if he desires to take his tremendous responsibilities seriously

To attempt to settle a current political or social problem without a knowledge of its past growth in history is to repudiate science altogether For history is the basis of the science of human society, just as biology and geology are the basis of the science of life. If there is any meaning in the theory of evolution, it is that life is a continual ceaseless growth, controlled by ascertainable laws. To leave out history in social problems is to forget the most illuminating factor in the case.

There is not a problem of politics which is not clarified by the history of the facts which have preceded it and caused it to arise Indeed, there cannot be any full knowledge without this record of history; for there is no such thing as a stationary phase in human affairs—everything is a mere moment in a growth which is continuous To detach a social phenomenon from its history is like cutting an organ of the body away from its surrounding tissue—making it, in short, no longer a living organ but a dead specimen.

History is the story of what happened yesterday and the day before and during endless ages, and it is only when we have carefully observed the direction of this growth that we can gain any hint of what is likely to happen to-morrow. Further, if we are sufficiently puffed up by conceit to imagine that we, as statesmen or voters, or citizens in general, can in any way influence or control the conditions that will make the history of to-morrow and the days to come, then it is only by studying the facts of the past (as geologists and biologists study rocks and fossils and tissues) that we can get to know the laws by which the human race is governed.

It is only in history that we can find the clue to scientific legislation. To try to tamper with social problems without historical knowledge is nothing more helpful than throwing stones for fun over a cliff into a dark sea. A statesman who endeavours to govern without historical rules for his guide is likely to succeed no better than a dock labourer who was expected to edit an Egyptian papyrus-scroll. Without the facts and the laws of history for guidance there can be no more sense of direction than

when one is in the middle of the room as the momentary hero of blind-man's buff—a position which has its humours, but not much dignity. Which is remarkably like the position of many of our most famous statesmen, past and present.

History alone gives a sense of balance and proportion in human affairs. Without its restraining hand it is so easy to think that the essentially small affairs are something great, and, what is still more harmful, to overlook the great facts in history by imagining them small. History sorts out the great and the little by setting them against the measuring post of the whole race. The British Empire has to stand the ordeal, not of an enthusiastic dinner-party of its Colonial Premiers, but the more impartial standards of a world's chart that has on it also the empire of Rome (both secular and holy), the conquests of Napoleon, and the exploits of Egyptians, Assyrians, Tartars and Turks—all now dead and too often forgotten—until the very name 'empire' becomes rather a warning of inevitable disaster than a symbol of proud strength. It is possible to find many an Anglo-Saxon village still on the map; but the empires have all been wiped out as the chalk is rubbed off the lecturer's board It might be thought that it is safer to be a hamlet than an imperial palace.

There is poor satisfaction in being a patriot if the history of the rest of the world is not our standard of measure A career of some success in the lower forms of a school may end with the hasty impression that Englishmen have won all the great battles of the world. But even the undeniable fact that Wellington did win the battle of Waterloo gets out of proportion unless we realise that, measured against the vast background of history, the bickerings of the Napoleonic wars have as much insignificance as the grains of sand in the desert. Set against the majestic scenery of history the most heroic combats of the nations will often be revealed as the follies of mental degeneracy.

There is that great story of Napoleon Bonaparte. Read in the lucid and masterly narrative of Professor Holland Rose's great biography, the emperor seems a perfect figure of intellect and courage, a superman of supermen. That is only the impression on a mind that forgets the full historical standard. In the judgment of the longer ages this career of a man who tried to conquer the world will be the passing shadow of a madman, who tried to do the impossible—worse still, who tried to do what no decent human being would ever have thought of doing in his moments of sanity. For insanity is the outraging of human laws, and the greatest madman is he who defies society. To imagine oneself the Emperor of China is a comparatively harmless pastime, played in many asylums. To drive an army over the fields of Europe, in a hysterical attempt to conquer and

rule mankind, such was the act of a man who had made insanity a profession.

A more general knowledge of history would serve as a useful warning of the habits of the governing classes when they are allowed to get beyond control. It might have been imagined that such a carefully educated people as the Germans would have known enough of the Napoleonic disaster not to allow their own emperor to repeat that act of folly. It can only be concluded either that the history taught in the German schools was deliberately 'doctored' for the purpose of concealing undesirable truths, or that the education was not as good as we were led to believe. The former reason is probably truer; for too much history has been written with the deliberate purpose of stating a case which will support the theories of political parties or the acts of faddists and madmen

For example, turn to the case of 'patriotic' historians who have concealed the scientific truth about the battles of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. They were all part of an attempt to impose English dominion on France. It had been already made obvious to all sane men that England could not even continue to rule Normandy. These three battles and their accompanying campaigns were a prolonged act of consummate folly and a purposeless waste of life, inasmuch as it was against the possibilities of history that England could have conquered France permanently in this unnatural manner. And those rulers or peoples who try to do the impossible are of no more serious importance than children who cry for the moon.

Viewed in the balanced proportions of the whole historical picture, Agincourt is not a deed of which Englishmen should be proud, but one they should regret as a folly of their immature youth. A short course of history will give us better reasons for our legitimate national pride. At present the 'patriot' of the flag-waving type, when he intrudes into educated historical society, is apt to remind his hearers of a small child who is pleased with his successes over flies on window-panes.

A study of history would sweep out of the way such a deal of controversy which is a sheer waste of time in our political controversies to-day. There is, for instance, this amazingly erroneous idea of some schools of politicians that it is possible by sudden revolution or by drastic legislation to bring about that very desirable condition called 'reform.' The error of the revolutionaries, whether they be red flag Communists or grandmotherly puritans, is in imagining that there can be sudden and drastic breaks in the majestic panorama of history. The story of the human race is one long irresistible proof that man and his affairs cannot be hustled for good; though there is some evidence that

evil is not so conservative in its habits. If we examine the history of revolution in all quarters of the globe it is almost impossible to discover any permanent reform it has won for mankind.

An observer standing in the midst of the French Revolution of 1789 might have been excused for believing that he was in a period of tremendous changes which were turning France and Europe upside down. But we, who can look at the whole upheaval from the outside, now know—if we read the facts instead of the imaginary theories which so many historians have written round those facts—that the greatest revolution of history was only, in a very real and precise sense, a turning round, even as a wheel turns round and arrives at the same point where it started. By 1815 the Bourbons were back again in Paris, with all those evils of over-centralised rule, militarism and tyranny (which had caused the Revolution) accentuated rather than lessened Napoleon Bonaparte had continued, in all essentials, the main lines of the policy of Louis XIV. They shared the desire to dominate Europe The main difference between them was that Louis de Bourbon had by heredity many of the instincts of a gentleman and much of the experience of the governing class, whereas Napoleon had all the irrepressible and unscrupulous 'push' of the adventurer. Louis only wanted the Rhine boundary; Napoleon wanted the next step—beyond it They were alike imperialists; and Europe rose in arms, in self-defence, against them both.

Did the democracy of France do itself any great good, commensurate with all the bloodshed and self-sacrifice of the Revolution, by exchanging a Bourbon for a Bonaparte? To such a momentous question only history can give an answer. The first substantial triumph of the 'reformers' was the establishment of the Directory—probably the most corrupt political and financial Government the world has seen One can scarcely regard that as a worthy result of all the democratic rhetoric and the hysterical emotions of Marat and Danton and Robespierre. Think of these revolutionary leaders as you please in theory, in practice what they did was to behead Louis and crown Napoleon. They may not have meant to do it, but we can only judge by the results. It is not a question of argument. It is a question of fact. The French Revolution's chief products were Napoleon and his marshals and their army contractors. Does any sane man to-day call those products Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity? It was surely not worth all the turmoil since 1789 merely to arrive at 1815?

Again, it would be difficult for fair-minded Frenchmen and Germans to fight about Alsace and Lorraine after they had read

the history of these much-disputed provinces. If the Frenchmen declare that Germany stole them by force of arms in 1870, the Germans can reply, with equal truth, that the Bourbons had seized them 'by bribes, by intrigue and by force,' to quote a historian of repute. The rest of Europe can playfully knock the heads of both parties together to remind them that these central provinces were just as naturally, by history, an independent middle kingdom which belonged neither to France nor Germany.

History has a very soothing effect on all combatant persons who wave aggressive arms, declaring their intention to get reform or justice at all costs, even by international or civil war. To all such impatient persons history holds up the warning hand, as a sign that force settles nothing, and that the speed of the road cannot be exceeded beyond the rate which the normal traffic of humanity allows. No sane and righteous person would hesitate about starting a war or a revolution if he thought he could get justice and social good by such means. To all such generously-minded enthusiasts history conclusively proves that it is a pure delusion to imagine that good will come in any such way

After the English had fought a civil war to get rid of Charles I. they found Cromwell's gang of reformers so intolerable that they begged Charles II. to come back to save them The fact that brings all revolutions to disaster is success in placing the revolutionists in power. The only advantage of a revolution is that it usually proves that the new reformers are worse than the reactionaries they have replaced. It is one of the most depressing and also most useful laws of history, that one must never take reformers at their own valuation. Reform must always be judged by its practical results, not by its theoretical promises. Half history is the story of reformers who have set out with many promises to make the world a better place, and they have usually ended by leaving the world no better (and usually a good deal worse) than they found it. The only consolation the reformers have is that they have often improved their own private position—but that, of course, must be a poor comfort to men who wanted to save the world.

But let it be admitted that there have been many reformers who were perfectly sincere and unselfish. The sad fact is that they have not been more successful than the self-seeking adventurers. There was, for example, Joseph II , Emperor of Austria, who started his reign with the announcement that 'I have made Philosophy the law-maker of my empire.' He carried this virtuous principle throughout his life, and attempted innumerable reforms of justice and toleration and many other philosophical rules of unimpeachable value. Yet just before he died he drafted

ın epitaph for his own tombstone which ran : 'Here lies the man vho never succeeded in doing anything he tried to do.' It was 10 selfish disappointment, for he added : 'One thought oppresses ne, that, after all my trouble, there are few I have made happy, ınd so many are ungrateful.'

Of course there are very modern reformers, who follow the igid doctrines of the purest prophets, who will say that Joseph II. vas only playing at reform, and never did anything radical nough. This is very true ; but the calm, cold voice of history nay ask—is already asking—if Lenin was any more successful han the depressing Joseph. History has an impartial way of udging both sincerity and selfishness ; it attaches so much nore importance to the final results. Is there any sign that .enin's revolution is to end with a more democratic curtain than he imperial arms and eagles which ended the drama of Marat nd Robespierre ?

After all, the lesson of history is that it is not very material vhether the revolutionary reformer is sincere or not ; for the nly men who appear to come successfully through a period of ocial chaos are the rogues and the selfish men who turn the onfusion to their own ends. Take the case of Wat Tyler's revolt 1 1381 There is the best evidence that the peasants had a good ase, and such leaders as John Ball had the signs of the pure, nd even beautiful, heart. But when such recent historians as I Petit-Dutaillis (*Le soulèvement des travailleurs d'Angleterre en 381* and his *Studies supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional listory*) have rewritten this great rising of democracy, it turns ut that most of the revolt in London was the carefully planned ttack of a small group of wealthy City magnates who desired to rush their financial rivals, and so used a comparatively peaceful ıob to ıob and kill their inconvenient creditors and competitors. he history of 99 per cent. of revolutions is the same monotonous tory—the tale of how rogues duped the ignorant Besides, hat Walter Sybele and John Horn and William Tonge were gues who duped the English peasants is not so important as hat the ill-used peasants by their rebellion did not hasten their mancipation by a day. 'Les vilains n'ont rien obtenu,' writes 'etit Dutaillis.

Let not the orthodox ruling classes comfort themselves with e hope that history devotes itself to exposing the follies of the asty revolutionaries. It is far too impartial for that, and fills e greater part of its pages in relating the incredible stupidity nd selfishness of the men who have governed their nations and ties. The facts of history are proof that perhaps the greater umber of the lords and rulers of the world have done more to elay than to hasten the progress of their peoples. Like the

great doctor who declared at the end of his life that his cures and deaths about balanced, so the great legislators and political leaders might well be content to accept such a verdict to avoid a more unfavourable balance-sheet. But to prove such a point would mean the re-telling of history.

Yet if history has no love either for the extremists (whether Communists or diehard plutocrats) or for their rivals, the established governors and their political assistants, there is one great mass of mankind that history seems ever to treat with respect—that great bulk of our race, the normal men and women who are the solid base on which the fine figures of the governing-class world, the political adventurers and the statesmen, tower as a ship appears on the surface of the ocean. If history has any predominant lesson to teach, it is that the normal man is the chief factor in human affairs

It is this normal, everyday man who is usually right and sane in his judgments and desires It is the faddist and the extremist that history proves to have been wrong almost every time Florence was not well led either by Savonarola or by Machiavelli, who were both full of theoretical opinions and social and religious tricks by which society could be made perfect. The men who made Florence great, and preserved her balance, were the common citizens, who did not waste their time on theories, but spent their days in the work of the arts and crafts and industries which are the basis of civilised life.

History turns its back with contempt on extremists at both ends, whether of the left or the right ; it teaches that the sane, wholesome, normal man is the most stable and permanent fact in human society It is an unpleasant thought that this ordinary, everyday creature is by no means the highest expression of his race. *It would be in many ways more agreeable to deal with* a society of geniuses and philosophers, or even with fellows of the best colleges. But we have not been consulted by the cosmic forces as to what we would prefer We must take the world as we find it ; and we find it unalterably committed by destiny to the principles of the normal man. The reason for this may be nothing more profound than a mere matter of numbers. It may be that it is necessary to give way to the normal being because there are so many of him and her. That may be the reason why it is so useless to legislate for philosophers when most men are something very different. It would be useless to pass laws for lions when they were to be applied to rabbits.

The Communists—many of whom are of the middle class, not unknown at Eton and Oxford—by a heroic act of self-sacrifice (so they say) wish to do away with the bourgeoisie. Now it is *impossible to deny that the world would be a far better place if we*

could do without lawyers and doctors and insurance agents and Government officials and all the rest of the people who live in respectable suburbs. But when the red-hot thinkers shriek to have them all abolished, history steps in with the pertinent remark that she can produce no instance of any society that could stand the shock of such a major operation. The French tried the same cutting in the case of their aristocrats—far fewer than the bourgeoisie—and the patient society of France was so shaken by the operation that for twenty years its blood was poisoned by ruthless militarism which killed off the best Frenchmen like a plague

The 'right' extremists, again, who wish to make millions for themselves—whereas the 'left' want to distribute them to others—have a disagreeable fad for abolishing the working classes, because they get in the way of financial arrangements for making large fortunes by the use of machinery The modern industrial scientist's ideal is to work the world by pulling one crank These plutocratic extremists apparently intend to abolish the peasant also, because the factory town yields a higher percentage of interest on capital

But it is naturally beyond this short paper to discuss the lessons of history in detail Its main purpose is to point out that without a knowledge of the history of the past our political schemes are only the wildest of plungings in the dark. History is the basis for all sane political thought. It is therefore necessary that the intelligent citizen should read the story of the past if he desires to take the dangerous liberty of making the future. Is it possible to give the average voter a useful knowledge of such a vast specialist field as the science of history? It is not only possible, but the pursuit of such knowledge may be made a pastime. There are scores of books which, with a little organised advice, might make the normal citizen capable of distinguishing between a political charlatan and a useful statesman. There are enough volumes of history in the market to turn all the political parties (with the assistance of this enlightened electorate) into scientific legislators.

The difficulty is to find a good elementary general history which will at once arouse an initial interest in the subject, and also give the reader a sound basis on which to build up the detailed knowledge that alone can give permanent results or lasting pleasure Mr. H G. Wells has recently written a *History of the World* for popular consumption. It is a great work in many ways, but, paradoxically, it is far more a book for scholars than for the common man Mr Wells challenges the historians and philosophers of the orthodox schools; and the simple-minded will not grasp in full the strategy and tactics of this intellectual

tourney. Whereas Mr. Belloc is scholar enough to understand what Mr. Wells is driving at, and gives signs of devoting the rest of his life to a somewhat frantic attempt—so far without success—to answer him.

The historical wants of the quiet, normal man—who desires to learn facts on which he can build his own modest theories—have been lately satisfied by Professors J H. Breasted and James Harvey Robinson, who have written two volumes [1] that give a brilliant outline of the history of our European civilisation, traced to its roots in the Oriental States of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine, and continued to the end of the recent Great War.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the success with which Professor Breasted in the first volume—*The Conquest of Civilization*—has handled the older civilisations, from Egypt to Greece and Rome. For example, his chapters on Palestine and Ancient Greece are so skilfully written that history becomes a coherent living subject instead of a vague glimmer of an indistinct dead past. Professor Robinson in the second volume, on modern European history (which he very suggestively names *The Ordeal of Civilization*), gives a well-balanced outline of the main facts, and finishes with just the right chapter to induce the reader to apply history to practical affairs To deal with these two volumes would need a whole article ; suffice it to say that every word of them is calculated to arouse that respect for history which will alone make the modern democratic constitution a workable social machine

It would be possible to draw up a list of a dozen or twenty books that would give a sound historical basis to anyone who would take the trouble to read them with tolerable care. Professor Breasted's and Professor Robinson's two volumes have been suggested as an admirable start Then, one immediately thinks of Dr. H R. Hall's entirely charming volume of expert knowledge on *The Ancient History of the Near East.*[2] I would recommend this book if it were for no more pious reason than to be able to talk intelligently at dinner every night Again, Mr. David Ogg's *Europe in the Seventeenth Century* will convince anyone that history is a whirlpool of human psychology of absorbing interest and practical applications, while its writing can be an opportunity for biting wit and brilliant character-drawing. But the suggestion in detail of history books for political education is beyond the scope of the present essay.

For those who are really serious in their intentions there is the great *Cambridge Modern History* in fourteen volumes, while the ancient and mediæval periods are now in course of publication. I can imagine no more meritorious public service than to

[1] Harper Brothers, 16s. each. [2] Methuen : 6th edition.

present a copy of these magnificent and most alluring Cambridge Histories to the local reading-room, with the smaller histories already mentioned above to prepare the way for the more massive works.

Surely in every parish, rural or urban, there is someone who could choose a set of suitable history books, get together a small committee that would raise the money to buy them, and take steps to persuade the neighbours to read them. It is one of the mysteries of life that Miss Marie Corelli ever became a best-seller while Froude's history of the Tudor period and his many sparkling essays were still in print. A generation of well-informed electors, bred on Gardiner's histories of the Stuarts and the Commonwealth and Lecky's *History of the Eighteenth Century*, would set the House of Commons tingling with the desire (or at least the necessity!) to live up to the new, if embarrassing, standard of political knowledge.

G. R. Stirling Taylor.

worker, you are a Socialist; the ebb and flow of popular approval of a Government passes you by. If compelled to show your feelings of disgust at a Socialist Government, you vote Communist; there is no third alternative. The unbridgable gulf between you and the Right cannot be crossed. This apparently is true of 95 per cent. Similarly, if you are an agricultural worker in the regions of the big landed estates, you are a Nationalist; if absolutely impelled to express disapproval of them, you vote Fascist. Right to more Right: Left to more Left. Hence there is never any striking change-over of public opinion. The existence of middle parties—*i.e.*, the People's Party (mainly clerks and staff of big industrial undertakings) on the Right, and the Democrats on the Left—*is only made possible by the operation of proportional representation. Were it not for this, these two parties* would be annihilated. As it is, however, all the remnants over a large area are gathered together and are thus able to return some members to Parliament. The Centre Party, which comes, as its name implies, between these two, is in a slightly but not altogether different position in that it has a Roman Catholic basis, which, in so far as it is a fact, exercises a degree of discipline and co-ordination on the voting of its adherents, which tends to stabilise its strength, though undoubtedly it has a broader basis than that of mere Catholicism. This electoral system of course involves votes being cast for parties and not for persons—a practice which has a great deal to commend it; individuals are selected later—a far more sensible arrangement than with us. As will readily be imagined, the probability of a coalition Government is always very great indeed in these circumstances, and the best opinion is that it will be many years before things are different; a tendency to the Right is most generally expected. As a further corollary, it follows that the rise and fall of Governments is in the main attributable far more to lobbyings and cartels within the Reichstag than to popular feelings registered by votes. One very frequent misapprehension in Germany needs clearing up. This refers to the assumption that the parallel of our Conservative Party is the Nationalist Party; as it stands to-day Mr. Baldwin's followers would cover the ground from the Democrats to the Nationalists, and not many of our members would find their spiritual home in the bosom of the German 'diehards.'

If, however, we may wish to decry German Nationalism, we none the less have it there as a most powerful factor to be reckoned with—the strongest individual party in Germany. It is by the recognition of this fact that Herr Stresemann has staked out so high a claim to statesmanship. The easiest course in the pursuance of his policy would undoubtedly have been to co-operate closely with the Left parties (Communists excluded), whose

FLAGS AND EMBLEMS

FLAGS and emblems are things easy to describe but difficult to define. They have, however, a common denominator in the idea of a symbol—that is to say, of a visible object conveying to the mind the semblance or suggestion of something not actually shown, but realised by association of ideas In its prime sense, therefore, a symbol is the visible expression of a common sentiment; in simpler language it is a thing easily shown to a crowd, quickly seen and endowed with a prearranged significance quickly and automatically grasped Very early in the history of mankind the value of such a means of preserving organisation and ensuring discipline in battle, and thus co-ordinating effort in the best way to a common end, was apparent. Banners became a part of military equipage borne in time of war to assemble, direct, distinguish, and encourage the troops The success often secured in this way enhanced the value of the symbol, for by reminding men of past resolves, past victories and past heroes, the mere sight of the symbols was capable, even in times of peace, of maintaining at a high level those sentiments of pride, honour, and self-sacrifice, which in turn directly contributed to further success when war recurred.

It was not only in war, of course, that symbols attained such importance and aroused such sentiments Religion, feudalism, later the guild, corporation or association spirit, later still the spirit of nationality, later again trade and commerce, were attracted by the idea of 'one-ness' and of 'advertisement' inherent in emblems. Nevertheless, it was in its employment in, or relation to, a common effort, accompanied by personal risk, against a physical opposition and to a common end—in other words, in war—that the symbol found fullest play, and it is that aspect with which this article is especially concerned

The literature and remains of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome abound in references to standards or ensigns of war, or in actual representations of them The infantry of ancient Egypt was divided into what we may call battalions, and each battalion, and indeed each company, had its particular standard representing a sacred subject—a king's name, a sacred boat, an

animal or some purely emblematic device. The post of standard-bearer was one of the greatest importance. He was an officer and a man of proved valour, and was sometimes designated by a peculiar badge of two lions, the emblem of courage. The remains of the Assyrians reveal only two designs for standards—one, an archer standing, with bow drawn, on a galloping bull; the other, two bulls galloping in different directions. As in ancient Egypt, the emblems were borne aloft on a staff, and were frequently ornamented below with streamers, which were apparently the origin of the flag as we know it. No representations of Assyrian or Egyptian naval ensigns have been found, but there are numerous emblems which were displayed on sails, a practice which continued till the Middle Ages. The Persians bore an eagle fixed to the end of a lance, and the sun, as their divinity, was represented on their standards, which were jealously guarded by the bravest men of the army The references to standards in the Bible are not numerous, but they are significant. 'Terrible as an army with banners' has a world of meaning. And Isaiah, prophesying the disorder and despair to which the Assyrians will be reduced, declares that they will be 'as when a standard-bearer fainteth.'

In the armies of ancient Greece the ensigns or standards combined utility and sentiment Sentiment was fostered by the fact that they were often adorned with the representation of animals or other things peculiarly related to the various cities. Thus the Athenian standards bore an owl, as sacred to Athene; the Theban, a sphinx in memory of the monster overcome by Œdipus Utility was secured by the extended signalling use made of these emblems Sometimes they were merely a purple coat on the top of a spear, the elevation of which was a signal to join battle and the depression to desist. Polybius, describing the fight between Antigonus and Cleomenes, mentions a white emblem as well as a purple one, the employment of a second colour being in order to extend the number of signals which could be made. Here, however, we begin to enter into the domain of signalling, and to get away from the sentiment bordering on reverence and devotion with which standards are as a rule associated

In the Roman army among the many military reforms introduced by Marius was a regulation which brought about a change in what we would to-day call the colours. The old method of aristocratic classification of the various portions of the legion was abolished, and thenceforth any legionary was available for service in any corps within the legion. In order to foster this legion, or 'divisional,' spirit the distinctive standards of the former corps of the legion were abolished; and in this way the emblems of the wolf, the ox with a man's head, the horse and the boar, which had hitherto been carried before the cavalry and the three

corps of heavy infantry, disappeared. There were now granted the ensigns of the cohorts or battalions; and to the legion, as a whole, Marius gave, as the new standard, the eagle. This emblem was made of silver or bronze and displayed the bird with extended wings. Apparently the emblem was small in size, for a standard-bearer of Julius Cæsar is said in a moment of danger to have wrenched the eagle from its staff and to have concealed it in the folds of his girdle. The ensign of a cohort was a serpent or dragon woven on a square piece of cloth and displayed on a cross-bar at the top of a gilt staff. The flags of the companies, or centuries, seem to have been purely utilitarian, bearing as they did the number of the century and of the cohort to which it belonged. The *vexilla* of the cavalry were apparently similar to these battalion and company colours

The devotion with which the legionary came to regard the eagle was no new growth, for the superseded standards had ever seemed in his eyes the very embodiment of the military spirit. To lose the colours was a terrible disgrace—*magnum perdere crimen erat* Regulus, nobly urging the Senate to decline the Carthaginian offer of peace and a mutual ransoming of prisoners, used as his most powerful argument the memorable words '*Signa ego Punicis adfixa delubris vidi.*' To follow the colours in battle was the first duty of the Roman soldier, and there are instances where the standard, boldly borne to the front by the standard-bearer or by the general in command, decided the fortune of the day. There is a case, too, where a standard-bearer whose pace was not sufficiently impetuous for the general in command was instantly slain and the colours transferred to other hands. Such confidence did the Roman generals repose in the devotion of the soldiers to the colours that on one occasion at least the standard was deliberately hurled into the enemy's ranks in order to fire the legionaries to a last desperate effort. Every schoolboy knows the story of the standard-bearer of the famous Tenth Legion in Cæsar's first invasion of Britain. The landing was opposed; the weather was rough; the soldiers were fearful of the depth and sweep of the waves. The standard-bearer made his way to the prow of his vessel, and, after a short prayer, waved his standard and cried aloud to the men behind him that they must leap and follow him unless they would suffer the shame of seeing their eagle fall into the enemy's hands: 'I, at least, will go in duty to Rome, and to Cæsar.' No stronger appeal could be made to the Roman soldier. Soon from ship after ship men were swiftly swarming overboard and staggering and splashing to the shore

Under the emperors the eagle often bore, displayed immediately beneath it, a representation of the head of the sovereign, and

became to the army an object of idolatrous adoration. When camp was pitched the placing of the eagle in a conspicuous position was the occasion for some ceremony, for, as Vegetius says, 'Nothing was more sacred to the soldiers than the majesty of the standards.' When the march was to be resumed and camp struck, all eyes were turned to the standard-bearer as he proceeded to pluck the staff bearing the eagle from the ground. Should the barbed point come out easily from the earth, a look of satisfaction came over every face; should the staff resist the efforts of the bearer, then dejection hovered over the legion, for this was a bad omen, and no Roman soldier looked forward to a day so inauspiciously begun

The eagle at last gave way to the emblem of the new religion which transformed the world In the fourth century of our era there was introduced into the armies of the Roman Empire a standard of imperial and sacred significance. In the night which preceded the last battle against Maxentius, Constantine was admonished in a dream to inscribe the shields of his soldiers with the celestial sign of God, the sacred monogram of the name of Christ The introduction of the sacred military standard followed; it was called *labarum*, a word the origin of which is obscure This banner was simply a Christianised form of the Roman cavalry ensign, and consisted of a long gilded spear crossed at the top by a bar from which hung a square purple cloth richly jewelled. At the upper extremity of the spear was a golden wreath encircling the sacred monogram formed by the two first letters of the word 'Christ' in Greek. A special guard of fifty soldiers was appointed to guard this standard In the second civil war the enemy dreaded the power of this consecrated banner, the sight of which in the stress of battle animated the soldiers of Constantine with an invincible enthusiasm, and scattered terror and dismay through the ranks of the opposing legions The *labarum* continued to be displayed so long as the Christian emperors appeared at the head of their armies, but when this custom ceased the standard was deposited as a venerable but useless relic in the palace of Constantinople

Speaking generally, it may be said that the difference between the employment of emblems in war of the heroic age and that of early recorded history lies in the fact that in the former case the symbols were personal and borne on the appointments of the heroes themselves, while in the latter the standard or ensign was intended for recognition by the whole force concerned and was carried by a subordinate especially detailed for the purpose. We shall, however, now see the contrary tendency and a reversion to the personal badge. This was due to the fact that in the Dark and Middle Ages the individual knight or lord became the basis

of military force. The reasons for this change are complex, but they are bound up with two important factors—feudalism and the use of armour. An important result was that the banner borne by the knight or lord himself, and a device peculiar to him and borne on his arms and accoutrements, replaced to a great extent those standards which had signified large corporate bodies and had claimed the devotion of each individual soldier in the ranks. It would, however, be quite incorrect to say that it was to such development of the use of the personal emblem in war that heraldry owes its birth. As a matter of fact, the idea of hereditary armorial symbols was conceived by kings and nobles without any necessary connexion with fighting, and the convenience experienced from the use of seals on deeds, charters, and leases had more to do with the recognition of the advantages of armoury than the use to be made of it in war.

It should also be pointed out that the idea of employing these personal devices in war developed much later than is commonly believed In spite of popular tradition to the contrary, and in spite, too, of some suggestive evidence from the Bayeux tapestry, it has been conclusively established that neither armorial bearings nor shields of arms were borne by either side at Hastings. That battle, however, shows the continuance of the idea of the *labarum* of Constantine—that is to say, a sacred banner indicating the presence of the sovereign in command The banner of William had been presented to him and had been blessed by the Pope That of Harold had also a sacred significance, and sparkled with gold and precious stones. Nearly a century later the employment of personal heraldic devices had yet to come, and at the Battle of the Standard the ensign which brought victory to the pro-Stephen party combined the characteristics of the *labarum* and the Roman eagle. This standard, which gave its name to the battle, was one of the most remarkable ensigns ever displayed in war. Upon the top of the mast of a vessel, strongly fastened to the framework of a carriage, was a cross, in the centre of which was fixed a box of silver containing the sacrament, and below waved the banners of three patron saints of Yorkshire. Round it the barons and yeomen of Yorkshire, mustered by Thurstan, Archbishop of York, stood in serried ranks and beat off again and again the wild charges of the Highlanders and Galloway men who formed the bulk of King David's army.

It was not until the thirteenth century that the possibility of employing in war the armorial symbols which had become fashionable was definitely realised Leaders in the field, whether of a whole royal army or of a dozen spears, saw the military advantages of displaying these individual emblems. With the growth of the use of armour, knights had become indistinguishable

one from another. Even before the close helm came into use, and when the Norman helmet with its nasal was worn, it was difficult to identify the wearer. As armour became more elaborate, and, especially when plates began to replace mail, knights were simply fighting men shut up in metal cases But friend and foe soon learned that the case marked outside with blue and gold checkers held a Warrenne, and that inside one marked with gold and red vair was a Ferrers The tactical advantage of a leader, thus enclosed, acting as his own standard-bearer was obvious, but there was a personal reason for the adoption of these emblems as well. Should knights be wounded and unhorsed, as of course they frequently were, the need of identification by the succouring parties, other than by prising open helmet after helmet, was no less clear.

There is no need to go into the science of heraldry and to trace the origin and growth of bends and bars, of gemels and scallops. With the departure of armour heraldry in war became of much less importance, and before the end of the sixteenth century a full suit of war harness became an antique survival One historic emblem, a survival of warfare of the Middle Ages, must, however, not be passed over. Amongst the insignia of heraldry there is probably none more widely known to-day than the plume of the Prince of Wales, although, unfortunately, the origin of this device is not quite clear The earliest explanation appears to be that given by Camden in his *Remaines*, edition of 1605, who says: 'The victorious Blacke Prince used sometimes one feather, sometimes three, in token of his speedy execution in all his services, as the Postes in the Roman times were *pterophori* and wore feathers to signify their flying post-haste' Nine years later, however, in another edition, Camden gives the explanation generally accepted to-day, in the following words: 'But the *truth* is that hee wonne them at the battel of *Cressy from John King of Bohemia whom he there slew*' It is to be regretted that Camden gives no reason to support this view, and against it must be put the fact that although Froissart mentions the death of the King of Bohemia at Crecy, he makes no reference to the Black Prince in connexion with it. Further, there is no proof whatever that the feathers were worn by John of Bohemia as a badge, while there is ample proof that they were not his crest. It is, however, absolutely clear that some time after Crecy the ostrich feathers were displayed by the Black Prince. There are most definite references to them in his will, dated June 7, 1376, where 'our badge of ostrich feathers' are to be borne by an armed man representing Peace, while another armed man displaying 'our entire arms quarterly' was to signify War This document seems to prove beyond question that the feathers were a badge and not armorial ensigns, and that they

had no warlike origin. Modern research is inclined to the view that the badge came from Queen Philippa's family. The first time the feathers are mentioned in any record is in an indenture, during the reign of Edward III., witnessing that the late Keeper of the King's Wardrobe had handed over to his successor at Windsor certain articles of plate, one of which is described as having a black escutcheon with ostrich feathers. From this it has been surmised that the feathers belonged to Queen Philippa, either as a badge of her family or as arms borne in right of some territory belonging to her house, and it is significant that ostrich feathers, with a slight difference, were borne by sons of Edward III. other than the Black Prince and by their descendants On the whole, the popular theory as to the origin of the badge at Crecy seems to be quite without foundation.

Before leaving the subject of heraldic devices in war mention should be made of the flowers which gave the name of the Wars of the Roses to the civil wars in England during the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV , and Richard III. The name, as is well known, comes from the 'white rose of York' and the 'red rose of Lancaster,' but these badges, although more or less recognised as party distinctions, by no means superseded the private devices of the various great lords, such as the 'falcon and fetterlock' of Richard Duke of York, the 'rose in sun' of Edward IV , the 'crowned swan' of Margaret, and the Vere sun. But although of comparatively minor significance at the time, and of apparently arbitrary selection, these emblems have lasted till to-day The white or red rose is borne by most of the regiments in the British army connected territorially with Yorkshire and Lancashire ; and in honour of the Duke of York H M S. *Renown* displays during her voyage to Australia the white rose and coronet of her royal passenger.

The decline in the use of armour was signalised by a reversion to the corporate colour, the regiment now becoming the unit. The corps, or unit, colour—as opposed to the mere personal distinction of the knight or leader—had, however, been kept alive by the occasional employment on the Continent of banners of corporate bodies such as trade guilds, which in the Middle Ages often took to the field as such ; and this rendered easier the transition during the sixteenth century back to the system by which the colour became again the symbol of the corporate life of the regiment, to be later blended with, and strengthened by, the spirit of nationality. Ever since that period tradition, sentiment, and *esprit de corps* have rendered to the colours the devotion which the Roman soldiers paid to the eagle and the veneration with which their successors regarded the sacred ensign of Constantine. Frederick the Great and Napoleon always attached the highest

importance to the maintenance of regimental colours at all costs. Generals have rallied their men in battle by seizing the colours themselves to lead the advance or form up troops. At Aspern in 1809 the Archduke Charles led his young troops to the last assault with a colour in his hand. Marshal Schwerin was killed at the Battle of Prague while animating his soldiers in a similar way

Even in comparatively recent wars colours have been carried, and by their presence have inspired those to whom they were a symbol to fierce attack and desperate resistance. In old country churches and in cathedrals throughout England can be seen many a colour torn by the bullets of Alma and Inkerman In the American Civil War the colours, in spite of the fact that they had not garnered the long traditions of the ensigns of regular armies, were regarded with devotion and enthusiasm by both North and South In the triumphal march of the German Army through Berlin in 1871 over eighty eagles and colours were among the trophies won from a vanquished France. In the twentieth century the Russo-Japanese War saw colours in action in the bloody battles of Manchuria. Desperate were the expedients at times to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy. During the Siege of Port Arthur the Russians managed to send off the various regimental colours by a destroyer which successfully ran the blockade and reached the Chinese coast At the Battle of San-de-pu, so precarious was the position of a Japanese regiment holding a village that the colours were burnt ; and at the Battle of Mukden, the surviving officers of the Russian 19th Rifle Regiment, after the last cartridge had been fired, took similar steps to avoid the dishonour of seeing the colours fall into enemy hands Only two colours were captured during the war, both of Russian units, taken during the Battle of Mukden.

The disaster of Isandhlwana in 1879, in which Lieutenants Melvill and Coghill met their death in attempting to save the colours of the 24th Regiment, led to the discontinuance of the custom of carrying these emblems on active service, so far as the British Army is concerned There was, however, another incident in South Africa connected with the saving of colours when a detachment of the 94th Regiment was ambushed by Boers at Bronkhorst Spruit about thirty miles from Pretoria in December 1880. Here the colours were concealed and saved by a young subordinate in the Ordnance department, Egerton by name, who received a commission in recognition of his courage and resource. A characteristic as regards colours which the British Army shares with that of the United States is that each battalion—except rifle battalions with us—carries two colours, the one peculiarly identified with the regiment and the other representing in the

British Army the connexion with the sovereign and in the American Army connexion with the nation.

So far little has been said of naval flags. Although in naval battles of ancient times the number of ships taking part was sometimes very great, the references to flags are few and obscure. The Romans were almost entirely a military rather than a naval nation. On the waters of the Mediterranean there was nothing to correspond to the legion on the frontiers ; and in such fleets as existed the eagle had no counterpart. Even in England the maritime spirit was one of slow growth, and although the post of Lord High Admiral was created about the end of the fourteenth century, Francis Drake, in charge of a national enterprise, was dubbed 'General,' and the like rank was bestowed on Blake. It was not indeed until later Stuart days that naval ranks were definitely disentangled from military and that the Navy assumed its rightful place as a distinct service separate from and senior to the Army. The leaders of a fleet and of its squadrons and sub-divisions became 'admirals.' The distinctive insignia of a King's ship became standardised. On the staff at the bowsprit end was the flag, which showed not merely her nationality, but indicated that she belonged to the King's own fighting Navy, and not to the merchant service On a greater staff which leaned over the taffrail was the ensign showing the squadron of the fleet to which she belonged—white if her place was in the vanguard, red if in the centre, and blue if her place was in the rear. Lastly, at her masthead she was to wear either a narrow pendant if she was a 'private' ship or a 'flag' if she had the honour of carrying an admiral.

But if for centuries there was no exact differentiation between the Army and Navy, there was from a very early date a definitely asserted supremacy claimed for the King's flag when displayed on a ship of war. The right of the flag was demanded from all nations in the British seas (which for this purpose came to be the waters extending from the Straits of Dover to Cape Finisterre) from a very early period in our naval history. The ordinance of Hastings made by King John in the second year of his reign ordered all ships laden or empty 'to strike their sails at the command of the King's governor or admiral or his lieutenant' Even foreign royalty had to acknowledge the sea supremacy of the English flag. Philip II was fired upon by the Lord High Admiral of England for 'wearing his flag' in the narrow seas when he came over to marry Queen Mary ; and in 1663 Sir R. Holmes, going down the Swin in the *Charles* and meeting the King of Denmark's brother coming up river with his flag flying, failed to order the foreign ship to strike, and in consequence was sent to the Tower. Twelve years later Captain Joseph Harris, com-

mander of the ketch *Quaker*, having struck his topsail to a Spanish man-of-war in the Bay of Biscay, was tried by court-martial and sentenced to death by being shot. He was accordingly brought on deck, and men stood ready with their muskets to shoot him, but he was at the last moment pardoned under the Great Seal in consideration of his former good service and known proofs of courage. Other instances of the determination of England to maintain her sovereignty of the seas may be quoted. In 1605 Sir William Monson met with a Dutch admiral in Dover Roads, and not only compelled him to strike his flag, but 'to keep it in all the time he was in company' In the Earl of Northumberland's first voyage to sea the *Happy Return*, meeting the Spanish fleet off Calais, made all its vessels strike their colours

In his declaration of war against the Dutch in 1671 Charles II. observed: 'The right of the flag is so ancient that it was one of the first of the prerogatives of our royal predecessors, and ought to be the last from which this kingdom should ever depart. Ungrateful insolence that *they* should contend with us about the dominion of those seas, who, even in the reign of our royal father, thought it an obligation to be permitted to fish in them' And in 1689 King William's declaration of war against France has these words 'The right of the flag, inherent in the crown of England, has been disputed by his [the King of France's] orders in violation of our sovereignty in the narrow sea, which in all ages has been asserted by our predecessors, and which we are resolved to maintain for the honour of our crown and of the English nation.' This claim was crystallised in the general instructions to the commanders of ships of war issued by Order in Council of 1734 in the following terms:

When any of his Majesty's ships shall meet with any ship or ships belonging to any foreign prince or state, within his Majesty's seas (which extend to Cape Finisterre), it is expected that the said foreign ships do strike their topsail and take in their flag, in acknowledgment of his Majesty's sovereignty in those seas, and if any shall refuse or offer to resist it is enjoined to all flag officers and commanders to use their utmost endeavours to compel them thereto and not suffer any dishonour to be done to his Majesty.

Curiously enough, when the great victory of Trafalgar had given England every justification for insisting on this right, it was allowed to lapse, and the new general printed instructions issued immediately after the battle dropped the article respecting the flag altogether

As ironclads replaced wooden vessels and fleets became smaller the inconvenience of three naval ensigns was made manifest. The Navy retained the White Ensign as its distinctive flag, and jealously guards its exclusive right to it. With the

foreign policy is essentially one of international reconciliation; but, seeing the danger of having a large party which possibly later on might form a Government, or at least be its controlling influence, not only royalistic and opposed to the Weimar Constitution, but militaristic in heart and mind if not in action, he had the genius to sacrifice even parliamentary convenience in determining to go to almost any lengths in an endeavour to link up the Right Wing with the new spirit, so that when its turn should come there should be no menace to Locarno or the League of Nations by reaction finding itself in the saddle. The extent of his success is as yet uncertain. In this connexion the flag controversy has awakened many misgivings among foreigners, but it will be appreciated that a number of ex-soldiers, though not Nationalist or Monarchist, may none the less be reluctant to see the passing of the flag they knew in the war. But Herr Stresemann's hold on thinking people, in spite of occasional '*gaucheries*' on such things as war responsibility,[3] lost colonies and other '*choses jugées*,' is great and growing. A widespread belief in the League of Nations is becoming manifest throughout Germany. Balkan peace is felt secure in its keeping, and Germany means to play her part. A curious side line is worth recording in the opposition of a strong well-wisher to Lord Cecil's representation of British interests at Geneva, in view of his war-time occupancy of the Ministry of Blockade. Nevertheless, pacific Great Britain is a lesser factor in healing war hatreds; France, Belgium (who has much to forgive), and Germany are the vital concerns, and one of the latter's most able Press writers told me that all his country, in her admiration of her own Foreign Minister, was not only willing but insistent on coupling M. Briand with Herr Stresemann as the greatest statesmen in the world to-day.

It is clear, then, that the soil is fertile; but if unconverted nationalism gains the helm in Germany, if the 'Bosche,' to destroy whom so many died, is resurrected—and he lies more or less dormant in those ranks to-day—Europe again will be in arms at the sound of the trumpet, and once more will the heathen Chinee laugh when he meets the Christian missionary from the West.

SANDON.

[3] For the most devastating proof of German guilt see the *German* official Foreign Office publications of the period of the last few years before the war.

exception of craft belonging to the Royal Yacht Squadron—which enjoy the privilege by a special grant made by William IV.—any vessel of any sort flying the White Ensign, or pennant, is committing a grave offence. Such offending ship can be boarded by any officer of the Royal Navy, the colours can be seized, the vessel reported to the authorities, and a penalty of 500*l.* can be inflicted on the owners or captain or on both. Of the remaining two ensigns discarded by the Navy, the Blue Ensign is now exclusively the flag of the public service other than the Royal Navy, and it is the flag of the Royal Naval Reserve as well. The familiar Red Ensign is the distinguishing flag of the British merchant service, the magnificent work of which in the Great War has invested its ensign with undying fame.

F. E. WHITTON.

TWO POEMS

[*From the Russian of the late Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna, daughter of the late Emperor of Russia, after a literal translation in prose by the Honourable Maurice Baring, published in* The Times, *January* 18, 1926 *The originals were found at Ekaterinburg, after the murder of the Imperial family, written in a copybook belonging to the late Grand Duchess*]

I

Before the Ikon of Our Lady

O, Queen of Heaven and earth, from our long weeping
Now give sweet solace in your tender keeping !
We pray to you—our hope and our salvation—
O, hear us in our grief and desolation !

Deep in the slough of passion we are taken,
And in the darkness of our sin forsaken :
O, look upon our country in her sorrow,
And save her from to-morrow—and to-morrow !

Our Holy Russia—your bright home for ages—
Is dying where red revolution rages :
O, be her Interceder, gentle Mother—
We, in our anguish, know not any other !

Hope of the desolate, we kneel before you—
Abandon not your children, we implore you !
Turn not away from us in our long weeping,
But give sweet solace in your tender keeping !

II.

Prayer

O, send us, Lord, endurance from on high,
  That we, in these dark days when all things fail us,
May suffer bravely—even if we die
  When our tormentors in their sin assail us !

O, God of Justice, help us to be strong !
   And with forgiveness, and with love, restore us
To bear the heavy, blood-stained Cross along
   The path of agony we see before us !

O, help us now, in Christ our Saviour's name,
   From those who in their hatred would confound us !
O, lead us through the insult and the shame
   Of all the evil tumults that surround us !

O, God and Father of the Universe,
   Hear, in this dreadful hour, our supplication !
And to our souls give peace from those who curse
   And crush us with profane humiliation !

Before the grave, with broken hearts that bleed,
   Your servants faint and fall in mortal weakness .
O, breathe upon their lips the strength they need
   To pray for all their enemies, with meekness !

CHARLES DALMON

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, 10 *&* 12, *Orange Street, Leicester Square, W.C.* 2.

Letters as well as articles will be considered for publication, but letters should be confined to criticism or amplification of articles which have already appeared in the Review. No anonymous contribution is published.

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FRANCE'S DIFFICULTIES IN SYRIA[1]

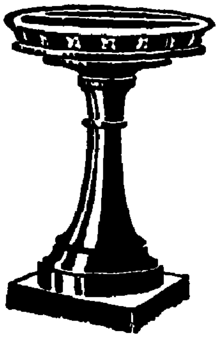
FEW situations have been more misrepresented to the British public than the revolt in Syria, which broke out in July last year and still drags on without any apparent prospect of peace in the near future. The position in this large area, mandated to France, is not what a great number of people in England believe it to be. Much of the news, extremely misleading, has had the effect of creating a quite false impression, for the reason that much of it is nothing more nor less than propaganda hostile to the Mandatory Power and calculated to influence the deliberations of the League of Nations Having acted as a special correspondent in Syria from the outbreak of the Druse rebellion until quite recently, and having followed closely each stage in the development of the situation, I feel that public opinion on this question springs from data which are in many cases not in accordance with fact.

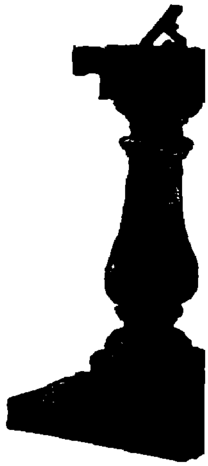
The whole policy of the rebels is to prolong the conflict until next year, when the Syrian question comes up again before the Permanent Mandates Commission at Geneva. They hope that France will then receive a most unfavourable report, which they think will be the end of France in Syria. Although they are profoundly mistaken in the attitude of the League of Nations with regard to France in Syria and the League's intentions ncerning that country, they are leaving no stone unturned to aintain the spirit of revolt. In this the rebels are undoubtedly pported by certain organisations with anti-European sentients in Egypt and Palestine. These bodies, with the help certain sections of the Arabic Press, are conducting a systematic mpaign of false news favourable to the rebels, which is intended encourage the resistance of the Druses, and to gain the support certain elements of the population which are waiting to see ich way the 'wind will blow.' Arabic newspapers, printed in rusalem and other Palestine towns, have been sent into the lages of the Jebel Druse and the surrounding districts with sational reports of French reverses and sweeping rebel victories.

[1] An article on the same subject entitled 'The Revolt in Syria' was contributed by the author to this Review in January, 1926.

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Unfortunately, a good deal of this propaganda, which is of course tissue of lies, has found its way into the London Press, and muc of the misleading news printed in London can be traced to th activities of the Syrian-Palestine Committee in Cairo and the Ara Executive Committee in Jerusalem. The result is that th Syrian situation is viewed by many people in this country fror the wrong angle altogether. The fact of the matter is that th French position is better now than it has ever been since th outbreak of the revolt, and the longer the revolt lasts the bette will become the French position.

France's difficulties in Syria are, in my opinion, due to thre distinct groups of causes: first, causes which arose prior to th war; secondly, those which are the direct result of the war; an thirdly, those which are connected with the French administratio of the country.

For a long time the French have had a very considerabl influence in the Lebanon, and since the statute of 1861 guarantee ing Lebanese autonomy France has been steadily increasing tha influence, which was in its nature both cultural and material By means of schools the French language was introduced into th country; hospitals, orphanages, colleges and seminaries wer maintained by the different religious orders; the mission fiel was exploited to the full extent; and French culture becam paramount amongst the Maronites. In other parts of Syri efforts were also made by the usual channel of religion to establis centres of French cultural thought, but it was only in the Lebano that it took much foothold.

Practically all the railways throughout the whole of Syri were operated by French companies; roads were built by th Société française d'entreprises dans l'Empire ottoman; ships o the Messageries Maritimes served the chief ports; concession were granted to French enterprises at Tripoli and Beyrout; an French companies were active throughout the country generally

To this must be added the armed intervention of the French army in 1860 to protect the Maronites from massacre by the Druses and Moslems.

At the same time it must not be forgotten that the Lebanon is only a small part of Syria, and that, as far as the rest of Syria was concerned, the armed intervention of the French in 1860 greatly counterbalanced any efforts in other directions and gave birth to a bitter hatred for France on the part of the Moslems and Druses. It cannot be too clearly understood that, while French influence is strong in the Lebanon, it is detested elsewhere in Syria. Religious antagonism exists to a marked degree, and in no case so acutely as between the Moslems and Druses on the one hand and the Maronites on the other. It therefore becomes

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

AND AFTER

XIX XX

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SECURITY

The acceptance by the British Government of President Coolidge's invitation to a conference on the subject of naval disarmament, in continuance of the arrangements made in the Treaty of Washington, seems, like that Treaty, to involve the abandonment, if not the reversal, of the policy pursued by Great Britain for more than three centuries. That such a change should have been quietly accepted by the people of this country is inexplicable except on the supposition that the traditional British policy in regard to the Navy and to foreign relations has been forgotten by the present generation. From the time of Queen Elizabeth until five or six years ago the great aim of British policy was security.[1] Its chief instrument was the Navy, its auxiliary instrument the

[1] The truth that security is the great aim of all national policies has been clearly stated and admirably illustrated by Admiral Sir Reginald Custance in his essay entitled *A Study of War*.

Army, and both were employed in the preservation of the balance of power in Europe.

The peculiar nature of warfare by sea is that it is carried on by special vessels, battleships, cruisers and destroyers, none of which serve any purposes but those of war, and that in presence of vessels of war merchant ships are helpless. Warships are costly in proportion to the importance of the class to which they belong. They take a long time to build and equip. Their numbers are therefore limited, and except the smaller craft they cannot be improvised. A naval war is decided by battle—the effort at mutual destruction of two fleets Once the balance of force has been upset the victor pursues his advantage until the weaker fleet is either destroyed or driven into port and kept there by a superior observing squadron threatening battle in case it should venture out. When that stage has been reached the position is the same as if one of the opposing Powers had a navy while the other had none. The victorious navy can no longer be resisted at sea. It can close the sea to its adversary's merchant ships, can protect transports conveying troops of its own army and can cover their landing on the adversary's territory. This state of things resulting from decisive naval victory, followed up to its logical conclusion, used to be described by a technical term, 'the command of the sea.' The security of an island State is conditioned by its ability in case of war to win such naval victory as to give it the command of the sea for the duration of the war. The consequences of naval defeat—invasion and blockade—are more or less disastrous according to the nature of the defeated country. For a continental State with a large territory and a great population, and therefore able to maintain a large army, invasion is one of the ordinary risks of war. Maritime blockade affects only a part of its frontiers, and is therefore not decisive But an island blockaded is besieged and deprived of every kind of supply from outside. Unless the island is self-supporting, blockade may be fatal. To avoid these dangers and to protect her sea-borne trade Great Britain has always maintained a strong Navy, and it has usually been thought necessary that the British Navy should be stronger, if not than that of any possible combination of Powers, at any rate than that of the most powerful rival.

This practice of the maintenance of the strongest navy has been supplemented by a peculiar policy, of which the purpose was to maintain the balance of power in Europe. The phrase describes the course adopted by Great Britain in relation to the Powers of Europe. From time to time one or another European Power has become so strong as to overshadow its neighbours and to threaten their independent existence. Great Britain has found

herself fighting in self-defence against the dominant Power and associated in that effort with other States engaged in self-defence against the same adversary. The victory of her Navy has enabled her to land armies on the Continent for the help of her allies, and in this way, by fighting in which Great Britain has taken her share by sea and land, successive efforts to overmaster Europe have been frustrated by a succession of coalitions. This is the history of the wars of the Spanish Succession, of the French Revolution and Empire, and of the last Great War against Germany and Austria and their auxiliaries. In all these cases co-operation between Great Britain and her allies has been forced both upon her and them by the aggression of the Power aiming at domination. The attitude of overlordship has sufficed, so soon as it was manifested in action, to create the coalition by which its ultimate failure was brought about.

The close of the Great War in 1918 revealed a new situation, due to the accomplishment of two changes which had long been foreseen and long been preparing. The first was the expansion of the theatre of international relations, in which the group formed by the European Powers had hitherto been a kind of close corporation or self-contained committee, into a community including all the States of the world. The second was the active entrance of the United States into participation in the affairs of Europe.

In 1918 the late President Wilson sent to England Professor McLaughlin, of the University of Chicago, with the mission of explaining in England the motive which had induced him to declare war against Germany. Professor McLaughlin came to Oxford, where on May 10, 1918, he delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre a lecture in which he gave what he declared to be the authentic explanation of the President's action. I listened with rapt attention to that lecture. The Professor recounted at length the wrongdoings of Germany. He began with the violation of Belgian neutrality and with the ill-treatment of the people of Belgium. These were bad, but they were no inducement to America to take action Later he touched upon the submarine war. The Germans began to sink American ships. This was worse, but President Wilson was not disposed to more than diplomatic intervention. Then came the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and I supposed that this would be the climax. Not at all. There were more sinkings of American ships, but President Wilson's attitude was still unchanged. At last the Professor reached his climax in these words:

> But when it came to this, that all these great world questions were going to be decided and America have no voice—that was more than flesh and blood could stand.

So, according to the account of his own missionary to the British

obvious that France's claims to Syria on the expulsion of the Turks were based solely on her previous relationship with and influence in the Lebanon.

In order to appreciate France's difficulties originating from the war it is necessary to go back to the year 1915 and follow the relationships between Great Britain, France, and the Arabs as a result of the British understanding with the Sherif of Mecca and the subsequent Sykes-Picot Agreement.

During the year 1915 Great Britain obtained the support of the Sherif of Mecca against the Turks. The sherif was already secretly hostile to the Young Turk *régime* and had refused to support the 'Holy War,' declared by the Sultan as Kaliph of Islam. He had already large ambitions for himself, his family, and the independence of the Arab race; and he looked forward to the creation of an Arab State, or a confederation of Arab States, embracing the Arab peoples of Ottoman Syria, Mesopotamia, and the greater part of Arabia, with himself as sovereign over all. The undertaking with the sherif was arrived at in a series of letters which passed between him and Sir Henry MacMahon, then High Commissioner for Egypt, and it pledged Great Britain to certain lines of policy with reference to the Arabs.

While undertaking to support the ideal of Arab independence, Great Britain excluded from its operation the Turkish vilayet of Adana and the Syrian districts lying west of the line Aleppo–Hama–Homs–Damascus, on the grounds that they contained a non-Arab population and that in these areas France had special claims. Subject to these reservations and to the Sherif of Mecca making an effective rising against the Turks, Great Britain pledged herself to liberate the Arab population from Turkish rule and to establish, not necessarily over the whole area, an independent Arab State. France subsequently joined in this guarantee, and important results were expected from an Arab rising led by the Sherif of Mecca.

But, although France concurred and gave her support to the rojected rising, she viewed with distrust and anxiety the prospect f far-reaching military successes being achieved by the Arabs hemselves, so when the rising seemed likely to take place she ressed demands upon Great Britain for an agreement regarding siatic Turkey. France wanted to obtain from Great Britain binding and definite recognition of French ambitions in Syria nd Cilicia, and she pressed her demands with much energy. eanwhile, the Arab leaders made no secret of their hostility to rance's pretensions in Syria, and they knew that Great Britain as favourably inclined to the policy of unifying the Arab race, which France was uncompromisingly hostile. They are

public. President Wilson entered into the war not to defeat Germany, except incidentally, but in order that he himself should dictate the conditions of peace. This account of his motive was confirmed by his subsequent action. He brought America into the war, not as the ally of France, England and Italy, which were bound together by treaty, but as an independent belligerent. He spoke of peace without victory. He formulated as the basis which he proposed for the general pacification fourteen points which were embarrassing—some by their vagueness, and some by their generality. One of them was the freedom of the sea, a phrase which represents or misrepresents the doctrine, at one time dear to American Governments, of the abolition of the right to capture private property at sea. This was, of course, unacceptable to any British Government. Then he took the extraordinary step of coming himself to Europe to represent the United States at the Peace Congress, where he absolutely refused to consider the terms of peace with Germany and her allies until the representatives of the Powers should have accepted that covenant of the League of Nations which he regarded as the means of preventing war. In accordance with the President's ideas, which found an echo in the philanthropic bosom of Lord Robert Cecil, the league of nations which had been formed to fight Germany, but which the United States had not joined, was transformed into the League of Nations which is to secure the peace of the world, and which also the United States have not joined. Unlike his great predecessor Lincoln, whose life was spent in contact with his fellows, and who therefore had an uncommonly shrewd judgment of men, President Wilson was something of a recluse He communed chiefly with his conscience, or, what was much the same thing, with his 'second personality,' Colonel House.[2] He lacked the saving grace of humour Accordingly he failed to check those impulses of his colleagues, due to the passions roused by war—passions which he does not seem to have shared—that led to the humiliation of Germany by requiring her to admit her guilt for the war and by imposing upon her an indemnity defined only by a note of interrogation. As a historian of the United States, he must surely have known how Napoleon's attempt to impose a limit on the size of the Prussian army had brought about an amazing increase of that army. Yet he was a party to the repetition of a similar experiment in the Treaty of Versailles. The terms elaborated by the Congress, from which Germany was excluded, were finally presented to her as an ultimatum which she had no choice but to accept.

President Wilson's ambition was to make a great name by

[2] 'Mr House is my second personality. He is my independent self.' (Wilson, quoted in Seymour, *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, vol. i, p. 118)

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doing right. The notes to which he responded were 'on earth as it is in heaven' and 'on earth peace, good-will toward men.' His collected speeches are redolent of good-will in the shape of faith in democracy, in the majority that elects the President of the United States. It seems to have escaped his notice that, as there is but one kingdom of heaven, it can have neither foreign policy nor foreign war, and that as its citizens, being perfect in character and intelligence, are incapable of wrongdoing or misunderstanding, it can have no civil war. But on this globe there are many kingdoms or republics, and in none of them are all the citizens perfect, so that both civil and international wars are possible. Perhaps, too, Mr. Wilson had forgotten that 'the kingdom of heaven is within you,' and that if things are to be on earth as in heaven the first step would seem to be to bring all the citizens of all the States to such a level of character and intelligence as would preclude wrongdoing and misunderstanding. It would then be comparatively easy to bring all mankind under one government and to make the whole earth one kingdom, one democracy—perhaps even one aristocracy. The problem of perpetual peace would then be solved.

What was wanted in 1919 was peace on conditions such that both sides could shake hands and be friends. This was perhaps impossible then, when all concerned were still possessed by the passions of the war. It is, however, the goal towards which the statesmen of England, France, and Germany have for the last eight years been steering to the best of their ability.

The historical significance of President Wilson lies, not in his failures, but in his achievement, which was that he set up and made good the claim of the United States to be one of the great Powers of the world. American patriotism has never, at any rate since the end of the Civil War in 1865, underestimated the power or the greatness of the United States. But it did cling steadfastly to the tradition of aloofness from the Old World and to Washington's idea of avoiding as much as possible political relations with the States of Europe. Apart from the belief in the peculiar virtues of the constitution of the United States, the leading idea of American policy has been the Monroe Doctrine, of which a perhaps exaggerated definition was contained in a despatch of Mr. Secretary Olney to the late Lord Salisbury to the effect that 'the United States are practically sovereign on this continent.' The war with Spain which arose as the outcome of disorders in Cuba was thought of merely as an expression or enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine. But it aroused American interest in the navy, and as it led to the annexation of the Philippine Islands, it drew the attention of the United States to the Pacific and to their relations with Japan. Friction with Japan, arising

from the growing Japanese immigration to the Pacific slope, gave an added stimulus to the interest in the navy and hastened the determination to make the Panama Canal as a passage for the navy from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. But America still regarded herself as politically aloof from Europe.

The part played by the United States in the Great War—that of a principal actor on the European stage—made an end of the Washington tradition of aloofness from European affairs. Even if the refusal of the Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles be regarded as an attempt to revert to the tradition, it did not in any way modify the new self-consciousness of the United States as a 'world Power.' The entrance into the war of Japan and of some of the South American States marked the end of the separation between hemispheres, between the Old World and the New, and revealed a community of interests or nearness of relationships between all the nations of the world as close as that which in the eighteenth century subsisted between the States of Europe.

It is to this world-wide extension of the theatre of international relations that the British policy of to-day must adapt itself. Its fundamental aim, now as ever, must be security, and for an island State security always depends primarily upon sea power and ultimately upon the patriotism of its people. The tradition of British policy was to maintain a navy stronger than that of any other State. At one time it was held that the standard of British naval strength ought to be equality with the combined navies of any two Powers; at another time that it should be a definite numerical superiority to that of the next strongest naval Power.

In the United States the events of the Great War produced two seemingly incompatible tendencies. American naval officers were impressed by the very great strength and efficiency of the British Navy, and went home with a natural desire to see the American navy as strong and as efficient. At the same time the country was permeated by pacifist propaganda on a great scale, lavishly endowed by at least one multi-millionaire There were thus in the United States two schools of policy, one of which advocated the expansion of the navy in rivalry to that of Great Britain, while the other pressed for universal disarmament. The wishes of both these schools were met by the action of President Harding, who invited representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan to meet representatives of the United States at Washington to discuss proposals for the limitation of naval armaments. The result of these discussions was the Treaty of Washington, by which the five Powers agreed that none of them during the next twenty years should construct any capital ship displacing more than 35,000 tons or carrying a gun of larger

calibre than 16 inches. It was also agreed that each of the Powers should reduce its total tonnage of capital ships to a specific limit, these limits being for the United States and for the British Empire 525,000 tons, for Japan 315,000 tons, and for France and Italy 175,000 tons. For aircraft-carriers also limits were fixed. It was further agreed that no vessel of war exceeding 10,000 tons, other than a capital ship or aircraft-carrier, should be acquired or constructed by or for any of the contracting Powers. But no limit was fixed for the number or total tonnage of ships of less than 10,000 tons. All capital ships of any of the five Powers beyond the total tonnage specified in the Treaty were to be scrapped. In execution of the provisions of this Treaty a large number of British, American, and Japanese capital ships have been scrapped. Complete programmes of further scrapping were arranged for each of the five Powers, and, for Great Britain, the United States, and Japan, programmes of replacement were drawn up of which the result will be that in 1942 Great Britain and the United States will each have fifteen capital ships, and no more, and Japan nine capital ships.

It will be seen that by the Treaty of Washington the British Government abandoned the traditional British policy of maintaining a Navy stronger than any other State and accepted as regards capital ships a position of equality with the United States.

Is this arrangement equitable ? Does it provide that security which ought to be the first care of any British Government ? These two questions are really identical, as is proved by the text of Article XXII. of the Treaty itself, which lays down that 'Whenever any Contracting Power shall become engaged in a war which in its opinion affects the naval defence of its national security such Power may after notice to the other Contracting Powers suspend for the period of hostilities its obligations under the present Treaty.' There could be no clearer admission of the all-importance to every Power concerned of its national security. The conditions of security in the two cases of the British Empire and of the United States are fundamentally different. The United States, with a home area of 3,000,000 square miles, embracing every variety of climate and producing a surplus of foodstuffs of every kind, cannot conceivably be reduced by maritime blockade to starvation and surrender—though no doubt an effective blockade, if it were practicable, would cause great inconvenience. It is true that in the Civil War the Confederate States were crippled by maritime blockade, but they were entirely without manufactures, and it was not the lack of food from which they suffered. Moreover, the blockade was rendered comparatively easy by the fact that the United States navy was in the

hands of the Federal Government, while the Confederate Government, after the defeat of the *Marrimac*, was without naval force. Of external possessions to be protected the United States have only Porto Rico, the Panama Canal, the Philippine Islands, and some other small groups of islands in the Pacific Of these possessions only the Panama Canal is of vital importance. The temporary occupation of the islands by an enemy during a war would be of slight importance, and their recovery at the close of hostilities would be almost a matter of course. The invasion and conquest of the United States, with their population of 95,000,000, is hardly a possibility to be seriously considered.

Great Britain, on the other hand, is a small island with an area of only 89,000 square miles, which produces only one-sixth of the wheat and perhaps not more than half of the other foodstuffs upon which the existence of her population of 43,000,000 depends. By maritime blockade the island could be starved. After the decisive defeat of her Navy a hostile landing upon some point of her very extended coast line could hardly be prevented, and, as no point in the interior of the island is more than seventy-five miles distant from the coast, an invading army might very well be able, before it could effectually be met, to dislocate vital communications In the case of Great Britain, therefore, victory at sea is in case of war the essential condition of security. Almost all the other portions of the British Empire, with the exception of India and of Canada, are subject to similar conditions of defence. They are accessible only by sea and depend for their protection in case of war upon the British Navy. It must be borne in mind that the limitation imposed by the Treaty of Washington on the total tonnage of capital ships covers not merely the Navy of the United Kingdom, but the naval forces of the whole Empire. The communications between all parts of the Empire are by sea. Naval defeat means their interruption and a resolution of the Empire into a series of scattered and disconnected units, none of which except the Mother Country has a white population much larger than that of London Great Britain herself depends both for her daily bread and her daily work upon her sea-borne trade.

There are in the world on all the seas altogether 32,600 sea-going ships,[a] of which 10,000 are British and only 4000 American. Of the 29,000 steamers 9900 are British, 3200 American. Thus of all the world's sea-going ships one-third are British. France,

[a] The world's total tonnage of sea-going steamers in 1926 was 62,000,000, of which 22,000,000 were owned in the British Empire, 11,000,000 in the United States, 4,000,000 in Japan, while France, Germany, and Italy each owned 3,000,000 How great the expansion has been in our time is shown by a comparison of the figures for 1888, which were for all the world 10,000,000 tons and for the British Empire 7,000,000, no other nation having so much as 1,000,000 tons.

Germany, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Italy, and Japan have each from 1000 to 2000. Of steamers of 12,000 tons and upwards there were, according to *Lloyd's Register* of June 1925, altogether 226. Of these 136 were owned in the British Empire, 32 in the United States, 16 in France, 12 in Germany, 9 in Italy, and 9 in Holland. Of 2700 British steamers of over 3000 tons one-half are at any time to be found on the great trade routes and the other half are in port at the home or foreign ends of these routes. Endless processions of these steamers move from the Irish Sea and the English Channel to New York, to the West Indies, to Brazil and Argentina, and to South Africa. A similar procession passes along the Mediterranean and the Red Sea either to Bombay, or to Ceylon and from Ceylon to Australia and New Zealand, or to Singapore, China and Japan.[4] In case of war with any maritime Power all these endless trains of steamers must be protected.

The protection of shipping in time of war depends upon two factors The first is the superiority of an undefeated battle fleet, and the second the escorting and patrolling work of cruisers and destroyers. The areas in which the trade routes converge need to be constantly patrolled by cruisers and destroyers. The steamers passing along the trade routes must be convoyed, and if specially swift ships seek safety by avoiding the normal routes they ought to find themselves, as they approach their destination, in a patrolled region. In any calculation of the number of cruisers and destroyers indispensable for a British Navy in time of war we have to consider, first the cruiser squadrons to be employed in conjunction with the battle fleet, and next those required to patrol the regions where the trade routes converge upon home waters and where they approach the principal ports of destination. To these must be added the forces required for convoy. How many cruisers and destroyers are required to escort the convoys into which must be grouped thousands of ships distributed over a dozen ocean routes? The experience of the last war has confirmed that of the wars of the French Revolution and Empire, for in both cases the number of cruisers employed steadily increased until the close of hostilities, when they were counted by hundreds. It is evident that the British requirement for the service of convoy alone must be three times as great as that of the United States for the same service.

Navies are built and maintained with a view to the possibilities of war, and each Power, in determining the standard of naval strength which it proposes to adopt, takes into consideration the hypothesis of possible conflict with any one of the other naval Powers or with any reasonably probable combination. This kind

[4] See Captain Thursfield's paper on cruisers in the *Journal* of the Royal United Service Institution, February 1927.

of consideration has never been regarded as unfriendly, though it assumes that existing political relations are not necessarily permanent and that the friends of to-day may be the rivals or the adversaries of to-morrow. The prime object admitted on all hands as fundamental is security. From this point of view the agreement made at Washington can only be characterised as inequitable. The security of Great Britain as an island State and that of her sea-linked Empire depends absolutely upon her naval strength. The dependence of the United States upon sea power is not absolute. There is no equality between the two sets of conditions. That this is the case would almost certainly have been admitted by the greatest exponent of American naval thought, the late Captain Mahan. It is hardly possible in reading the text of the Treaty of Washington not to feel that it has a background not expressed in the preamble. In the years that followed the end of the war, while Great Britain was reducing her Navy, the United States were building a series of battleships of unprecedented size and power. This was a course implying to any observer the intention to outmatch the strongest foreign navy—that of Great Britain That would be a perfectly legitimate intention, and might have been due in part to anxiety caused by the alliance between Great Britain and Japan, an anxiety which, it is needless to say, was entirely without foundation and must have been dispelled by the termination of that alliance. A great expansion of the American navy would naturally have brought about a corresponding expansion of that of Great Britain, and it is possible that the British Government of 1921–2, confronted with its own financial difficulties and with the very strong financial position of the United States, was willing for the sake of economy to accept the condition of naval equality embodied in the Treaty. Economy was no doubt necessary, but it can hardly have been right to seek it at the expense of security while millions were squandered to pay workmen and working women for doing no work and a host of new civil servants for doing work that had been better left undone The net result is that America has obtained equality of capital ships without the cost of competition, and that Great Britain has ceded it to her by accepting a programme for scrapping in which the substantial sacrifices were on the British side.

By the Treaty of Washington Great Britain is bound The practical question is that of the attitude to be adopted by the British Government in the conference proposed by President Coolidge.

The naval policy of Great Britain involving a Navy of very great strength was due to her insularity and to the competition of her European neighbours. It was fully justified by the event

of the Great War. Of competition with the United States there was no idea. If the intention of the United States was, as set forth in the preamble to the Treaty of Washington, 'to contribute to the maintenance of the peace and to reduce the burdens of competition in armament,' what more was necessary to that end than that the United States should limit their programme of shipbuilding ? The American shipbuilding programme was a challenge to Great Britain, a tacit claim to supersede her as the first naval Power, a suggestion that, not Britannia, but Columbia, should henceforth 'rule the waves.' In the known divided state of American feeling President Harding's invitation to the discussion of naval armaments was open to two interpretations. It may perhaps have merely veiled the challenge in the language of pacifism. The acceptance by the British Government of the ratio of equality in battleships was an evasion, a postponement, possibly a prudent postponement, of the issue. The invitation of President Coolidge to the Conference at Geneva may be read as a repetition—again disguised in pacifist forms—of the same challenge. The policy which it covers will be determined by the people of the United States. The British Government, which can have in view only one object, the national security, will explain at Geneva the vital conditions of that security. The response to be given by the American representatives to that exposition will remove all ambiguity and leave no doubt as to the policy of the United States.

There is to-day no more momentous question than that of the policy of the United States. There have been from time to time symptoms of a purpose, perhaps an unconscious purpose, to dominate both hemispheres. The construction put by Mr Olney on the Monroe Doctrine undoubtedly implied domination over the New World. President Wilson's attitude at Versailles savoured of domination in the affairs of Europe. A tendency of American policy in the direction thus suggested would no doubt be accompanied by a corresponding world-wide reaction. The principle of the balance of power holds good not for the European area alone. It applies with equal force and equal justice to the whole world—no longer two separate hemispheres, but a single sphere. An overbearing attitude on the part of the United States, if it should become a reality and be manifested in action, must sooner or later meet with its appropriate answer from the united States of Europe, from the united States of South America, and from the federated States of the Pacific.

SPENSER WILKINSON.

AUDIT THE PARTY FUNDS

On February 19, 1908—over nineteen years ago—I moved in the House of Commons that the secret party funds be publicly audited.

The opportunities a private member has of getting anything debated in the House of Commons are very few. But on this occasion I happened to have allotted to me by the fortune of the ballot the chance of moving a subject for debate and resolution. The odds are heavily against any man having this opportunity in the course of many years, and when he does obtain it he is supposed to propose some set subject which he has been ordered to put before the House by the professional politicians of his own party upon the front bench. I forget what in this case the set piece (which a private member was supposed to repeat like a parrot) happened to be; but in any case, it mattered nothing to me, for I had long made it clear that I would vote and act, not according to the orders of the machine, but as I had pledged myself at election, and as I thought best in the interests of my constituents and of the country. I must make it clear at this point that a resolution thus moved has no practical effect upon legislation. No private member has any power whatsoever. Legislation is arranged between important financial interests and the front benches. The only real value, therefore, of a resolution is to call public attention to a matter which the professional politicians desire to keep hushed up, but which, in the opinion of the mover, should be generally known. In my opinion, the already gross and increasing corruption connected with the party funds was a matter eminently deserving full publicity. Indeed, I judged that unless it were brought before the public in such a fashion as I should attempt, and unless it had the unlikely good fortune to rouse public opinion, the already extensive corruption of public life would rapidly grow, but certainly neither I nor anyone else then had any idea of its reaching the pitch it has during the last few years.

Since it could not be declared that the resolution was out of order, steps were taken to prevent a division. An amendment was proposed by the present Lord Buckmaster, whereupon there

was debated, not my original resolution, but some routine stuff or other about Free Trade and Protection. I urged the Chair, as the hour for the end of the debate approached, to allow the original motion to be put and divided on. The Speaker would not allow this, and therefore no division was taken upon the question whether the party funds should be audited or no.

At the time when they acted in this fashion the great bulk of the public were still ignorant of the conditions under which Parliament was working. Those who were acquainted with the sale of honours were comparatively few in number, and even among them most denied that anything beside honours was sold As a fact, of course not only honours but contracts and even policies were already affected by secret payments—the Marconi affair was only four years ahead—and it is probable that there had already arisen, side by side with the corruption of the secret party funds, private individual payments and promises to Ministers from rich men for various purposes. At any rate, my motion was confined to the party funds as being the most tangible and obvious point of attack. As I have said, it was shelved and not divided upon.

This reminds me, by the way, that lately Lord Buckmaster's Bill for protecting lapwings was up for its second reading in the House of Lords. Were I a member of that august assembly, it would give me great pleasure to move an amendment that the House of Lords should discuss, not lapwings on this occasion, but the secret party funds.

So much for the occasion which began that anxiety upon the stability of political honour which has now grown to such large proportions.

I propose in these brief pages to consider the arguments brought forward at that time (and since) against the action which took, and to ask the reader, *first*, whether those arguments have any real weight , *secondly*, whether, if something be not done and done soon, public life will not come to be regarded as so disreputable that men will cease to take it seriously.

The first and the commonest objection against any action for the purifying of public life is the contention that bribes have always been given, that venality is an inevitable accompaniment of parliamentary government, to be accepted as a necessary evil along with the inestimable benefits which men derive from that *régime*. Two contentions are particularly pointed out in this connexion—that the King's Ministers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries habitually bribed members of Parliament, and that the sale of honours (that is, the granting of peerages and inferior titles to men who had subscribed to party funds) was a practice reaching right back into the Victorian period. As it had

clearly that there was no harmony between Arab and French aspirations in Syria.

Honour demanded that previous British undertakings to the Sherif of Mecca and the Arabs should be duly fulfilled. It was at the same time very necessary to maintain concord and unity of effort between the chief European allies and—what was more difficult still—between European allies and Arab allies. It was also essential to harmonise the territorial ambitions of France and Russia with the vital interests of Great Britain, not only in the Ottoman hinterland of the Persian Gulf, but also in the international waterway formed by the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. The clash of interests thus produced led to the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which merely represented such compromises as could be reached at the time between almost constantly conflicting interests. Being a secret agreement, the knowledge of its terms, and even of its very existence, was at the time withheld from the Sherif of Mecca, but as soon as the Bolshevists came into power in Russia the details were published in a secret memorandum of the Russian Foreign Office.

The Sykes-Picot Agreement exercised a strong influence on subsequent events in the regions to which it applied, but the disclosure of its existence and terms had certain disturbing effects. Although the agreement provided a working arrangement between Great Britain and France and went far to easing the temporary friction between these Powers, it strained the loyalty of the Sherif of Mecca towards the Allied Powers and stimulated Arab hostility against the French. The admission of France to Syria, even as a Mandatory Power, placed the Arab peoples under the control of two separate foreign Powers and was a great blow to their hopes of Arab unity.

When French influence was definitely introduced into Syria the situation was, to say the least of it, peculiar. France was taking over a country which had been conquered almost entirely by British arms—a country in which she was heartily disliked by the greater part of the population, and where an Arab Government had already been set up in Damascus under the Emir Feisal. France anticipated in Syria nothing less than complete annexation. and in the mandatory system she was grievously disappointed. The Syrians wanted independence, and they too were disappointed. All foreign influence they disliked, but most of all that of France. The Moslems had evil memories of 1860 the people realised that French occupation was the death-blow to their independence; they saw in France a country with a low currency which was unpalatable to their mercenary minds, and they regarded France as an interloper, who had contributed little to their delivery from the Turks. If they had to accept a mandate

not hitherto produced any active evil in the State, it might well b*e tolerated indefinitely.*

To the first of these objections there are two answers which seem to me *conclusive: the answer that this present* bribery is of a different kind from that of the past and much more dangerous, and the answer that the *admitted* continuance of an evil is perilous.

In the past it was a responsible Executive which, finding itself hampered by the power of veto in the hands of the gentry (for that is what the House of Commons represented in older days), pushed through policies which it thought to be to the good of the country by the doubtful expedient of buying the votes of those who might have obstructed such a policy. In the modern form of corruption there is no question of this. It is not connected with bribery of individual members in order that a piece of good policy—or, at least, one approved of by the Executive—shall be put through. What we have *now* is the bribery of individual politicians by rich men to whom they sell honours (and much else) in order to accumulate a large secret fund in support of their personal power, and probably, in many cases, to increase their private fortunes as well.

But the other argument seems to me of even greater weight. The cry that a thing 'has always been done,' even were it true (and in this case it is only partly true), is the one fatal excuse of vice which leads individuals as well as societies and institutions to their ruin. It is the drunkard's argument. When a man is taking to drink there is a phase in which he pleads that he has always drunk hard and that it has done him no harm so far. We are all of us well acquainted with the end of that process.

The contention, however, that peerages and baronetcies have always been sold indirectly in the past, since at least the middle of the Victorian period, though erroneous, is more plausible. It is true that for a full lifetime past, and even earlier, an acknowledged custom arose that a man who had subscribed largely to the funds of his party should have a claim upon that party for recognition in the Honours List. Yet I call the contention erroneous because there is this capital difference in degree and manner between the old fashion and the new. In the old days exceptionally—and not as a matter of course—a wealthy man, having subscribed regularly for many years, and not originally with the avowed intention of social promotion (which in fact he often failed or disdained to receive), could towards the end of his career approach the chief of his party and say, 'After all, honours of this kind are intended for men of my class—that is, for the wealthy few. I have long been a loyal supporter of your policy, with which you know I am in agreement. I have regularly

sacrificed large annual sums towards it, and I think I have a right to recognition at your hands.'

I do not say that that was a good state of affairs, but it was quite different from what goes on to-day.

I doubt whether you can find one case before the last thirty years of a man given a peerage immediately in return for a single payment without other claim than its amount. Men at least served the apprenticeship, as it were, of long political service and subscription. The number even of those so rewarded was comparatively small; their social position was already assured. But what happens nowadays is that utterly unknown people of no public service whatsoever, whose only social asset is their power of putting great sums suddenly into the hands of a politician, are brought out of nothing and find themselves peers. There are differences even in this grotesque process. Some are a little better than others, some a little more worthy; but it is notorious and beyond contradiction that a regular flood of nonentities who happen to have been able to produce the money out of this or that form of industry are sold peerages 'across the counter,' as their subordinates have sold the goods out of which their fortunes have been accumulated.

The late Mr. Cecil Chesterton put it simply and well when he said, 'There is a market for peerages at Westminster as there is a market for cabbages at Covent Garden.' He could not have put it more tersely or more truly.

Here I know that my reader will say to himself, 'It was so in the last Administration, or the last but one, but it is not so under the present Government.' I will come to that in a moment.

The second main argument which I have heard against the public audit of the party funds is that honours are ceasing to-day to be of any great importance. If your professional politician chooses to sell them to men who are foolish enough to desire them, why, it is a good thing for the recipient, and it does no great harm to anybody else.

This argument has very little value in my eyes It is true that honours have much less value than they used to have, but it is also true that this slump (if I may use the term) is not due so much to a loss by English people of respect for social distinctions as to the contempt into which they have fallen precisely through this habit of sale and purchase. But the matter does not stop there If a very vulgar Mr. Buggins suddenly becomes Lord de la Warrenne there is something more than a grotesque piece of tinsel tied to the tail of an offensive nonentity. There is hereditary legislative power; there is, in the course of time when the transaction is forgotten, something of weight added to the man's position, and to his power of affecting the national councils

if he choose to do so. **But even granted that these things are comparatively unimportant and that most of us who have greater interests in life would not pay anything to be a lord, let alone a** baronet, what guarantee have we that such payments, once they are allowed to be secretly and corruptly made, concern themselves with honours alone ? My motion was not for an inquiry into the sale of honours, which I have never thought the capital point—my demand was for an audit of the secret party funds ; for I knew very well that, even in that distant day when things had gone nothing like so far as they have now, politicians sold things of far more national moment than titles and that the traffic could only be checked by exposure. They sell contracts at Westminster, they sell posts, and occasionally they will even sell policies. Of such actions some are common, some exceptional, some very rare ; but all are possible, because the principle of secret payment by rich men to the politicians is admitted.

A further argument, not in favour of, but in palliation of the evil, may be very briefly dismissed, though it is that one upon which the politicians who are most guilty insist most. It is the argument that no one person or team among the politicians—whatever his or its label—is especially to blame All do it, and therefore none should be singled out. I should have thought that, for a reasonable man, it would be enough to set such an argument down to have it immediately extinguished in laughter. But used it is. The politicians do not look at things as others do. They are so much convinced that the public is still deceived by the game, they are so confident that the average Englishman still regards a 'Unionist' as devoted to the government of all Ireland from Westminster, a 'Liberal' as a person devoted to 'Liberalism' (whatever that may be), a 'Labour man' as a revolutionary—they are, I say, so much convinced of some life still surviving the old trash that they think to throw our indignation off the scent by rousing what used to be called in the dear old days 'party feeling.' They are quite mistaken. The man in the street is heartily confident that a front bench man will take money quite indifferently to what side of the House he honours. What people see nowadays is not the imaginary distinction of party, which has ceased to make any difference in their daily lives, but the very real distinction between the professional politician in whom ill-doing goes unpunished and their own humdrum lives in which it does not. They know that if the manager of a company take a heavy bribe to buy goods to the detriment of that company he goes to prison ; but that a manager of all our most vital interests is much more tenderly dealt with.

An argument to which I myself should pay much more attention—one which, indeed, I did myself advance in the

discussion of this subject at its origin—is that the auditing of the party funds would not be of practical effect. What would happen would be (it is urged) the solemn auditing of a perfectly innocuous list side by side with which *another* secret fund of real importance would at once arise. Moreover, it is not only the secret party funds which are a scandal; it is also, and even more, the secret payments to individuals, the purchase of monopolies by the promise of directorships, and in general the 'financing' of the politician as a person and not as the head of a group.

There is something in this argument. The auditing of the secret party funds would not of itself, and automatically, stop the custom of wholesale bribery. It would not mechanically put an end to the arrangement whereby a man grants a monopoly in his public capacity and then as a private individual accepts a large salary from the monopoly he is thus creating. It would not check the generosity of acquaintances or the gratitude of those who benefit by such generosity. But it would have a very great effect none the less.

I doubt whether the most brazen politician would dare to put forward a sham party list in which the names of his principal rich men were absent, or in which their contributions were set down at an unimportant figure. We know roughly (within very wide limits) the minimum which a party fund must reach, though we have recently been startled by guesses at the maximum; and I take it that our worthies would have to set down at any rate so considerable a proportion of the real names and of the real amounts as would cripple the whole system. Moreover, the mere fact that corruption had been touched in one, though that be the least vicious, of its branches would tend to put fear into all the rest. The police do not catch every burglar; but the fact that burglars when they are caught are punished has a salutary effect.

This last sentence leads me to the consideration of yet another argument. I have heard it said (by the most zealous, of course, and by those few of the most zealous who know best what they are talking about) that the proper procedure is not so mild a one as the auditing of the party funds, but impeachment, a full trial and heavy sentence; such sentence being specially designed to withdraw from these gentry their ill-gotten wealth.

I agree that this would be much the most satisfactory process, and certainly men of a past generation would have taken it for granted. But we must begin by what is practicable. We cannot ask the politicians to destroy each other, and there is no machinery for setting up a tribunal (until or unless the power of the Crown be revived) save an appeal to the politicians themselves. But we *can* ask for the auditing of the party funds as a first step. For there is nothing unusual about the auditing of a fund, whereas

there is something very unusual indeed in leaving it quite unknown who has created a trust of millions and how and by whom it is controlled. There is literally no answer whatsoever to the demand for an audit save the answer of boycott by silence. That is why the House of Commons dared not divide on my motion. That is why it was resolved to side-track it by a ridiculous and irrelevant amendment. (Again! How I wish I were in the House of Lords to move that amendment to Lord Buckmaster's great measure upon the 'wanton lapwing'—I would suggest something about crests.) That is why the proposal to return to the real question was refused.

That is also why we have had so astonishing a silence upon Lord Rosebery's recent letters to *The Times* Lord Rosebery has been Prime Minister of England. He is also—what is rare in such a position as his—an historian of real eminence, competent to judge the development of national institutions. He has had practical experience of affairs. It is of common knowledge that he would demand nothing absolute, nor anything which his fellow-countrymen would regard as extravagant, yet when he makes, in the columns of a paper which is also in its way a national institution and a sort of forum for the gravest questions, a request that a piece of corruption, notorious and notoriously attached to a particular dishonoured name, and actually at this moment providing sustenance to a herd of hungry candidates, a piece of corruption actually grotesque in its enormity, not only of scale but of impudence, shall be duly exposed, there is an organised boycott. One or two newspapers timidly printed a few pale words; the great mass of the Press preferred to look the other way.

I am not sure that this is not the worst symptom in the whole affair; for it is true, without exception, in the history of nations that the breakdown of their institutions comes under the title 'Too late.' Societies go to pieces after repeated warnings, and only after the deliberate and cynical neglect of those warnings It is as though the same gods which had determined to prosper a people were willing to give it, in its last perils, every opportunity for belated wisdom, and abandon it only under the fatigue of finding themselves ignored.

But there comes along the man who tells us for our consolation that things no doubt were very bad a few years ago, nay, that they had (he admits) been getting worse for a long time, but that we must be thankful they have now ceased. The present Administration has set its face against all the practices of its predecessors. The last monstrous inflation of bribery has sickened everyone. Even the House of Lords itself plucked up the courage to protest against one of the most comic of the

proposed new peerages. The abscess (says our friend) has been lanced, and now we are all healthy again.

There is such a passion nowadays for feeling comfortable at all costs that this argument is being repeated upon every side in conversation (for when public affairs may not be discussed in the Press conversation takes its place), and it is received.

My answer to the man who thus consoles himself is—first, that the abscess is *not* lanced, it is still there—large, feverish, inflamed, pulsating, filled to bursting with some two million pounds; secondly, that a temporary cessation from any evil in society is of no effect whatever towards its eradication. You only eradicate, or rather keep within due bounds, the baseness and vices of men by punishment. Unless you have machinery whereby the revival of an evil after its temporary cessation shall be rendered difficult, certainly that evil will re-arise. You do not cure a thief of pilfering by a short term of imprisonment during which he cannot pilfer; still less do you cure him of pilfering by imprisoning someone else. And that is all an honest Administration such as we now enjoy can do. It can prevent its own body from selling contracts, corruptly accepting posts, huckstering honours and all the rest of it It cannot prevent those outside its body doing so prospectively. An honest Prime Minister can say to a would-be purchaser, 'There is nothing doing' But he cannot prevent the would-be purchaser approaching a less strait-laced character in opposition and giving him present value for future consideration, to mature when that easier conscience is in office.

Here it must be remembered that those men (and they are honest men) who have so many years kept silent upon the corruption of public life have condoned it; they are therefore in no small measure responsible for the dangers of which they are now very genuinely frightened. During the whole of the Marconi business, during the whole of the Indian currency business, during the 'dope' scandal—I am only quoting three at random out of scores—not one voice was raised from amongst the politicians of any shade or kind. When the worst culprits were actually rewarded with high office at home and abroad, not one single protest arose from any one of those hundreds of men who follow the common trade at Westminster, and hardly a protest from any of those wealthy owners of the Press who are so closely bound up with Westminster.

I do not desire to exaggerate; indeed, I am conscious that I am doing nothing of the kind. I know the difficulty men are in when they are asked to stand out against the interests, however base, of a corporation to which they belong. I am also aware of a factor in all this which is sometimes not sufficiently allowed

for—*I mean that sense of the invincibility, of the eternity and unalterable security of English institutions, which leads men by a curious association of ideas to feel it in some way impious that diseases in those institutions should be so much as mentioned.* It is the religion of patriotism which thus works; and that religion is high and good. But in its extravagances it may have mortal effects. If a man come to persuade himself that it is a sin against the nation to let its citizens know that their public servants are amenable to bribes, then he may be compared to one who should think it a beginning of suicide to medicine in his own body I admit that there are in all these things degrees. I do not say that the common habit of democracies whereby they throw a fierce searchlight upon every one of their servants and raise furious battle round every peccadillo on the part of delegated power does not disturb society and make it unstable. I would add that such a mood is, I agree, quite unnatural to England, which is essentially an aristocratic State, and the discipline and order of which depends upon the deference paid by the masses to the few. In America, in Ireland, in France, action can safely be taken that could not be taken here.

But precisely because the matter is one of degree is it important to note when degree has been exceeded, and there can be no doubt that the limit of safety has long ago been passed.

It is further true that in many departments of the State, notably in the civil, military, and naval services, the standard of probity is very high indeed—higher than it was a couple of lifetimes ago, and higher than it is in many of our rivals But, as in the case of disease in the human body, it is not the health of one or of many parts, but of the diseased part, with which any reasonable man must be concerned. It is bad enough that other organs of the national life, for example the Press, should have sunk in our time so heavily. But that what is, at any rate in principle, the chief organ of all legislative, executive, and in part judicial action should be admittedly subject to the disease which we all admit and all watch without attempting to cure it, is grave. It is exceedingly dangerous and may even in the long run be fatal.

I have said that in a State founded upon aristocratic traditions, such as have been the strength of England in the past and such as make her still unique in Europe, there is a comprehensible and, within due limits, rightful hesitation in exposing those at the head of government to the derision of the governed. But there is another side to that. If you admit into the category of those who, by office and title at least, appear as the powerful few, men whom the masses cannot respect, then, no matter how strong the aristocratic instinct be in society, no matter how thoroughly your

citizens may instinctively recoil from the democratic ideal, you will fail to preserve the due order of the State.

You cannot throw open the great public offices of England, the peerages of England, the political machinery of England, to random offers measured, not by the dignity of the claimant, but by nothing whatever save his immediate power of purchase or blackmail, without in the long run destroying that very quality whereby those great public offices, those titles, and that political machinery have in the past earned respect.

It is not only a question of morals; it is also a question of honour It is even more a question of dignity. And there is another aspect of the affair to which I will only make the briefest allusion because it is painful and arouses a very just and legitimate irritation It is this: we can no longer keep the thing to ourselves Our rivals are aware of this weakness The Press boycott reaches no further than the shore Beyond the seas, among our rivals, all is known which even the most honest men amongst ourselves think best to keep concealed from the bulk of their fellow-citizens. I am not speaking without experience. I have heard men accepting as a commonplace, I have seen printed as matter taken for granted, in the United States especially, but also in Spain and Italy, in France, in Belgium, a view of all this—sometimes exaggerated, often at fault, but produced by a knowledge of certain undoubted facts which in England itself had been half suppressed.

The opinion of foreigners, whether favourable or unfavourable, is of no very direct influence. The one does not greatly strengthen the nation nor the other greatly weaken it, but it has some little indirect effect when it becomes widespread and continuous; and it is of especial value to us in this—that by it we may judge the trend of our own development. What the foreigner notes about the weak points of a nation when that nation is unaware of them, or is kept in deliberate ignorance of them, is an index of what men within the nation will sooner or later discover for themselves. We have seen such a phenomenon in our own generation when the Germans, though exaggerating and misunderstanding it, did grasp (in the early 'nineties and onwards) what the average Frenchman had not yet grasped—the effect which political evils in France were having upon the military strength of that republic. Those evils were not of the same kind as ours; they were perhaps greater Our own evils do not affect so far the armed strength of the nation against its rivals. They affect rather its internal structure There is no exact parallel save on this point, that foreign opinion should be watched, for it is something of a guide. And I am afraid that foreign opinion to-day is under no illusions upon the decline from aristocracy to plutocracy in England

and the particular vicious effects of that transformation upon Parliament.

But, after all, such grave considerations, though they will remain permanently to disturb us, are not our immediate concern. To cleanse the whole affair there will be needed a social movement of long development and of slow achievement; but one first step can be taken and should be taken; one demand can be acceded to and should be continually reiterated until the public ear, which we are told is long and furry, begins to wag. It is the demand which I made by voice (where it was of little service, in the House of Commons), which I have reiterated (though I fear to only a small audience) by the pen and which I have put as a title to the head of these pages: Audit the Party Funds.

H BELLOC.

THE POLITICS OF A LABOUR MEMBER

THE very real possibility that within the next decade the official Opposition—known to its friends as the 'Labour Party' and by its opponents as the 'Socialists'—may be called upon again to assume responsibility for the government of the country makes it a matter of very urgent importance that some more clear idea of its principles and its methods should be obtained by the impartial inquirer than is to be gathered from current polemical argument It is difficult, it must be conceded, for any single supporter of any political cause authoritatively to expound the ideals or repulsions which may animate his fellows, and therefore, at the risk of being egotistical, the writer would claim for his views no higher an authority than his own judgment. Were he to add that such conclusions as he may have arrived at enable him conscientiously to remain in the political party to which he has given allegiance, he would ask his readers, of their charity, to believe that his convictions are sincere, and to that extent his views may be taken to be, if not representative, at least an element in that greatest common measure of opinion which enables men collectively to work together.

At the outset we cannot do better than ask what causes have been at work to produce a Labour Party at all? Since the failure of the Young England movement and the Chartists, until the twentieth century, English politics of every school were conducted upon assumptions almost wholly empiric; but, whatever be the value of the principles of Labour, it cannot be denied that the Labour Party is ideological—its policy proceeds from principles more or less defined; and this dependence on *a priori* notions at once endows it with a strength and a weakness both of which might otherwise be lacking. To say, however, that the politics of the Opposition are founded on theory, immediately places upon us the obligation to expound the nature of its fundamental creed; it is primarily to consider such assumptions that this article has been written

I would hesitate to employ the facile solution which consists uncritically in dubbing the Labour Party Socialist, first, because the word 'Socialist' is a word of such varying connotation that

they preferred the control of Great Britain or the United States—the former on account of her recent military action, her Imperial wealth, and her support of Arab independence; the latter because of the money which they anticipated would come rolling into the country.

Yet France persistently deluded herself with the false notion that the majority of the inhabitants of Syria regarded France with love and longed for French protection, whereas in point of fact the idea of a French mandate was the least acceptable proposal that could possibly have been made to the people of Syria.

It is unnecessary to go into all the disputes which took place over the question of Syria, but the political sequence of events for a time consisted mainly of a triangular struggle of conflicting interests. On one side was the Emir Feisal, who was endeavouring to strengthen and consolidate his position; on another side there was French hostility to the sherifian movement in the country, and later to the Emir Feisal himself; and on a third side there were British endeavours to honour the undertakings to the Arabs and to the French. A most unsatisfactory and unfortunate state of affairs continued until the autumn of 1919, when Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau reached a provisional agreement which was approved by the Supreme Council. In outline it provided that, until the Peace Treaty with Turkey was concluded, French troops should replace British garrisons in Syria, but it also provided that the area reserved by the Sykes-Picot Agreement for an independent Arab State—the area east of and including the cities of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo—should be occupied by Arab troops, and not French. It was intended, however, that this Arab State should look to France alone for support and advice.

While this provisional arrangement had the qualities of ulfilling British undertakings to France and British pledges to he Sherif of Mecca, its weakness lay in the obvious intention of rance to put her own interpretation on promises, actual or nplied, which the Allies had given to the Arabs. France aimed t annexation, and when she discovered to her disgust that this as not within her reach she tried to exploit the situation to her est interests. And so it happened that shortly after the arrival General Gouraud, as first French High Commissioner, the tuation became such that the French found themselves compelled occupy Damascus and Aleppo and to expel Feisal from Syrian rritory.

From the foregoing summary of the outstanding features [illegible] the establishment of the French mandate it will be [illegible] that France started her career in the Middle East

it is often almost meaningless, save as a phrase of encomium or abuse, and, secondly, because, whatever definition may be given to the word, the fact remains that the Labour Party is a vast federation of trade unionists and co-operators with but a small proportion of avowed Socialists added thereto. To become a member of the Labour Party it is not necessary that a man should declare himself *simpliciter* to be a Socialist. It is sufficient either that he should be or become a member of a body, either a trade union or co-operative society, which is itself affiliated to the Labour Party, or, if he join the Labour Party directly, that he should support the particular immediate programme for which the Labour Party stands and, presumably, be prepared to support any future consequential amendment.

It is therefore necessary to find some general notion, wider than that of State collectivism, to define the limits of Labour Party policy—some notion the absence of belief in which would make it impossible for a person to join the Labour Party. Speaking for myself, tentatively, I find this criterion in the opposition to that overpowering dominion of money values in social and economic life which we have come to call Plutocracy. There are those in the Labour Party, probably a majority, who believe that the morality of a society exempt from the imperium of Mammon is to be found in some progressive evolution in the future; there are others—in which latter category I do not hesitate to include myself—who believe that a sane human society was in process of being achieved in mediæval times, and that this development has been distorted by a false philosophy into a heedless materialistic pursuit of individual enrichment. Agreement between those who, for this purpose, we may describe as futurists and regressives respectively is to be found in their common condemnation of the acquisitive assumptions of the modern commercial and industrial world.

I speak with hesitation of the views and ideals of those who believe that nobler ideals of social justice still await discovery: from the point of view which I would advocate, in the recovery of which I believe the Labour Party should prove an effective instrument; just as it is generally admitted that great art reached its summit at the time of the Renaissance—an achievement only previously attained in the days of the city States of Greece—so it would appear that the most complete exposition of moral principles, both as regards the polity and the individual, was laid down by St. Thomas Aquinas in his marvellous and unique *Summa*, and as the mediæval painter completes the perfection of Greek sculpture, so has the great doctor and saint finally enriched the moral theses of Aristotle and Plato.

He has added to the masterly analysis of the natural law of

Aristotle and the social comity of Plato the complete application of the Christian ethic to all those social problems with which political parties should be concerned. Not less than in his analysis of personal value, of temperance, fortitude, piety and the rest, he has laid down the social criteria which constitute the fundamentals of the just State, and in particular, in matters of economics, it is but necessary to contrast his moral assumptions with the practice of the modern plutocratic State to ensure the condemnation of the latter.

Passing from St. Thomas to the general economic theory of the Middle Ages, we may say that three great necessities of a Christian economic are there laid down—the duty that industry and commerce should be carried on so that they should satisfy the requirements first of vocation, then of fraternity, and thirdly of justice in commercial dealing, and, consequently, that they must avoid the essentially commercial vices of covetousness, avarice, and usury.

The Labour Party, albeit unconsciously, in criticising the commercial anarchy of the age, in assuming a natural, if not a Christian, law transcending the purely legal regulation of contractual relations, displays a happy tendency to resurrect these mediæval standards. The attack upon the complacent citizen who, moved solely by economic considerations, disregards the nobility or quality of labour, who sees in continuous employment and the receipt of wages a final good apart from the nature of ie work or its conditions, rests upon a subconscious recognion of the mediæval notion of Vocation. Whether a carpenter e employed to-day on the construction of a town-hall or a orkman's dwelling on the one hand, or on the embellishment of ie mansion of a vulgarian or of a disorderly house, is as nothing those who would merely ask whether he be employed or not; ho possibly are sufficiently enlightened further to inquire hether his wages are or are not adequate, but who care nothing r the development of his dignity or talent.

The notion of vocation in mediæval thought was an outcome f the idea of the sanctification of the individual, a purpose held ith full comprehension of its ultimate Christian objective ; those ho oppose plutocracy can only do so consistently by assuming iat the individual human being has inalienable rights of development and culture which his mere employment as an economic or rofit-making expedient tends to defeat. A Labour Party based pon Catholic tradition (for so we may conveniently call the hristian mediæval economic) must needs be individualist—that , regarding each human being as a soul dependent only upon od and awaiting individual judgment, it cannot tolerate any of hose half-servile expedients for the compulsory betterment of the

poor which characterise so much of the programmes of enlightened capitalistic politicians, who tentatively endeavour to mitigate the deplorable results of the unfettered practice of commercial competition.

Inevitably the Labour Party, despite all temptation to secure speedy ameliorations by the collectivist discipline of the unfortunate, must be driven to oppose suggestions which impinge upon the dignity of the individual. Inspection, segregation, and the official coercion of human beings are inimical to its best interests At such a confusion have we arrived that some of the most ardent defenders of unfettered individual enterprise in the disposal of capital, such as Mr. Harold Cox or Dean Inge, frequently see no inconsistency in the most drastic curtailment of the liberties of human beings—I am tempted to say of the poor—in the specious name of eugenics in matters of matrimonial right or social liberty

Were the mediæval doctrine to rest content with vocation, it might well be said that its ideals were almost indistinguishable from those of the early Radicals ; but, as a corrective to the mere pursuit of individual development, we discover the great Catholic virtue of fraternity. The doctrine of Fraternity, of vocational co-operation, found, and should find, expression in the guild It is but partly represented in the trade union, for trade unions, both of employers and employed, represent respectively but a moiety of the industrial process The application of vocational fraternity would abolish the distinction between employers and employed by uniting both in one common operative entity. We must look with distaste, however, upon the Syndicalists, vast institutions, whether of masters or of men or of both blended, tend to offend against primary liberty in that there is a danger that they will unduly subordinate the individual to the whole thus imperiling his will. It is therefore rather the smaller form of industrial guild than vast and mechanical structures that the Labour Party, if it be persuaded to base itself on mediæval tradition, will be forced to advocate

In the third place, there arises the problem of justice in economic dealing, the doctrine of the Just Price. Very much confusion has arisen on this point Broadly speaking, it is the view of St. Thomas that it offends against justice for a man to receive more out of a commodity than the commodity is worth together with a reasonable remuneration for the labour which he spends upon it. The exact application of this moral theory is not important. What is vital is the view that the price of a commodity shall not depend upon its scarcity in the market, but upon the reasonable cost of its production. Here, again, of recent years we have seen signs of a reversion to earlier and better

andards. In the demand for the correction of profiteering, for ;asonable rents, and in the increasing dislike of corners and rings nd unconscionable money-lending, we see the mediæval principle gain emergent ; but, compared with the vast mass of commercial ndertaking which is based upon profit derived from the exigencies f scarcity, the tentative desire to control outrageous prices is ut evidence of the magnitude of the evil. In the days when anon law preserved its independence, when legislation proceeded rom Christian theory to political fact, we find statutes dealing vith forestalling, regrating and usury as the consequential xpression of the Catholic economic expounded in the spiritual aw ; the Labour Party, even if often it does not fully recognise or appreciate its indebtedness to the past, is endeavouring to egislate upon principles more or less akin to those of the canonists and fathers.

There is one particular development of the doctrine of the Just Price, the condemnation of usury, which demands attention. The principle that reasonable labour alone justifies an addition o the cost price of an article was thought to be the condemnation of the practice of lending money at interest, for, as it was said, money cannot breed money.' Here it may be conceded that the rigorist early fathers were perhaps over-pedantic, and by the time of St Thomas the remuneration of risk was recognised as a permissible transaction, assuming always that the interest paid for the use of loans was not exorbitant. Unfortunately, the whole condemnation of this practice passed with the dissolution of Catholic standards, and at length the money-lender and the banker came into their own ; but the suspicion of the power of finance which is displayed by modern Socialists is not a new or revolutionary idea—it is essentially an attempt to restore ancient and better conditions

Other instances of the dependence of labour philosophy on diæval doctrine can be advanced. Internationalism, which is offensive to a certain type of military mind, is but the ival of the notion of the universal empire True, Dante would ve commented, especially when confronted with the Socialist ernational or the League of Nations, on the want of divine iction, and no doubt would have said with disquieting force it just as the avarice or appetite of the individual cannot be hed without an adequate recognition of the ontological reality sin and judgment, so no vast body of persons of different ionality, subjected to the inevitable strains of racial and nperamental difference, can hope to survive the menace of integration, divorced from some such compelling sanction as nnot perhaps be discovered in the secular world. Into these tters it is not necessary to enter in any detail, for it would be

idle to suggest that the Labour Party to-day is consciously animated by any coherent desire to restore that dyarchic theory of the blend of spiritual and material kingdom which was displayed in the Holy Roman Empire; but if it is asked what is the underlying motive of the Opposition in Parliament, I would reply, despite all apparent aberrations and exceptions, that the Opposition fundamentally stands for the restoration of mediæval Catholic qualities, while the modern 'Conservative,' who must by no means be confused with the old Tory, is wedded on the whole to commercialism, to acquisitiveness in economics, and to imperial or national absolutism.

I do not deny for a moment that these criticisms are inadequate or, if pressed *à outrance*, might not be unfair. There are many members of the Conservative Party, I have reason to believe, who would accept the bulk of the propositions here maintained; there are members of the Labour Party who would, and possibly will, repudiate them.

If our present political groups do not correspond with our underlying motives and principles, they will sooner or later disintegrate and form into parties more consistent with the ideals which they are supposed to defend or to attack. In politics, as in other matters, we live, unhappily, in a state of extreme fluidity. The magnificent falsehood of Heraclitus, παντα ῥει, was never more apparently true than to-day; yet behind all there is an eternal value and a consequence in man's actions which will not suffer denial; in the end, despite protracted confusions, the apparent must give way to the real.

I would pass from these abstract considerations to the problems of concrete policy Those who have served the King in government can never, it is hoped, be wholly irresponsible This caution, which is often sarcastically called the Front Bench mind, undoubtedly has its faults; yet at the same time this may be said, that in criticism of governmental action the question cannot be evaded by those who have known responsibility, Would the Opposition in government have acted otherwise? This test, fearlessly applied, must necessarily result in an identity of policy in certain matters. The maintenance of the Constitution, the sanctity of law and respect for individual right and obligation, where they do not menace the social interest, must be the common characteristic of all government; and nothing is more disquieting than to observe the attempt of the Ministerialists (themselves, as we are forced to remind them, the only party who, in the case of Ireland, undoubtedly toyed with sedition) to claim a monopoly of organised traditional action. If the theses here advanced be true, that the Opposition should look to the past for the recovery of its standards, it follows that in many matters they should be

ore truly conservative than any opportunist commercialist lministration. The more ancient traditions descend from a me anterior to the inroad of plutocracy, and should therefore, r that reason alone, be by a Labour Party the more carefully ısbanded It is folly to allow those who are dominated by ımmercıal interests to arrogate to themselves a respect for ıcient usage which, properly understood, would run counter to ıeir own devices.

He who would understand the objects of the Labour Party ınnot do better than read *The Aims of Labour*, written by ıe Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., perhaps the most ımpetent of all men to state sound Labour opinion. In that ook he says, among other things:

> We are casting the net wide, because we realise that real political emocracy cannot be organised on the basis of class interest. . . . We ropose as a first step a series of national minima to protect the people's andard of life . . What the labourers want is freedom, a definite evation of their status . . . The interests of the professional and ouse keeping classes are identical with those of the working classes.

ınd again:

> Revolution is a word of evil omen. No responsible person can contemlate such a possibility without horror. The British people have no ptitude for conspiracy. They do not organise revolutions or plot the eizure of power by a *coup d'état.*
>
> We know that as the price of liberty is perpetual vigilance, so sure is he passion for liberty in the hearts of men and women. To save themelves from the moral and political servitude, which makes the mass of eople wholesale agents of their own destruction, is the resolve of organised lemocracy

As against those who state that the purposes of Labour are nechanical or irreligious, Mr. Henderson writes:

> We cannot afford to ignore the question of personal character in our fforts to reach the social ideal. The State must recognise the rights of its itizens Only a democracy built on the highest form of character will rove to be that instrument by which the world is to be saved.

No description of the Labour Party programme would be omplete which did not deal with the actual proposals for the eorganisation of industry, which constitute an important part f its programme. While the Labour Party cannot, in any true ense of the word, be said to have for its ultimate object universal ationalisation of the means of production, distribution and xchange, it is, on the other hand, undoubtedly true that the abour Party, witnessing the vast power which is being accumu-

lated by our great trusts and combines in the essentials of life, definitely has declared and made it its policy that such monopolies shall come under direct social control; but the whole tendency of the times is to abstain from dogmatic and rigid formulæ, and to look to each industry and consider how best it may be reconstituted to serve a social purpose, having regard to its own peculiar nature Thus, in the matter of transport, mines and the land, and in the control of food-stuffs, to quote some basic instances, the party has devised a policy of social contı which varies with each undertaking. Founding its general pı gramme on the belief that the purpose of industry is to ser social needs, and that where social needs are greatest they sh have the first claim—to which extent, in practice, it looks askan upon the multiplication of luxury industries while actual wa remains unsatisfied—the Labour Party calls in to its counci every possible expert informant who is willing to take a share devising the concrete applications of its policy.

Although opponents are still to be found who would, throu ignorance or malice, produce upon the public mind the notic that the Labour Party has one rigid formula for the solution social problems, the truth is that the tenacity of the Labour Part is to be found in principle rather than in application. Here, onc again, the Labour Party displays that tendency to proceed froı mind to act which is so characteristic of pre-Baconian though Labour is driven to regard all its political and social activity a the concrete realisation of idea. It is only when its advocate surrender to the spirit of the age in an uncritical belief in inevitabl progress that they become confused and obscure. The Communis and the Fascist are dogmatic and inflexible in theory and in act the Ministerialist of to-day is over-opportunist in both; bu Labour opinion at its soundest has found the happy mean Insistent on principle, it does not hesitate in a relative anc fluctuating world to use opportunity and expedient as circum stances may dictate.

It is the interest of the political Press to magnify the utterances of irresponsible people, while at the same time it would conceal from the ordinary citizen the essential sanity of those whom Labour has in the past entrusted with power. Confronted with the duties of government, it can hardly be denied that the Labour Party showed itself as concerned for the prestige and dignity of this realm as has any preceding Administration. There is no reason to suppose that if Labour be given another opportunity it will do otherwise than pursue the same objective. Bolshevism and Fascism, revolution and plutocracy are alike alien to its spirit, and signs are not wanting that, despite manifold misrepresentations and plenteous folly on the part of heedless

propagandists, the heart of England is turning to that party which so essentially represents the common sense and common demand for justice which characterises the English people. In a word, the Labour Party is not revolutionary; it is restorative.

HENRY SLESSER.

THE SOVIET'S WAR AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN

What has England made of China? Hand in hand with her accomplice, Japan, she has turned this immense country into a British colony; she exploits the population of three hundred millions and poisons them with opium. With the aid of her own and the Japanese troops, she suppresses, with incredible cruelty, the revolutionary tendencies which have begun to manifest themselves. She reinstates the old despotic rulers in office and honours, though they were overthrown by the people, and she uses every effort to keep the many millions of people under the yoke of despotism, in poverty and distress, in order to exploit them more successfully. . . . [1]

In January 1922, while standing on the platform of a wayside station in the Volga region of Russia, I had my first direct experience of the organised propaganda of the World Revolution. It presented itself in the form of a large railway van, on the sides of which were painted, in addition to the usual symbols of the 'R.S.F.S.R.,' captions to the effect that this was part of the machinery designed for the enlightenment and liberation of the peoples of the Orient. All around was death and desolation. The window-sills of the station were piled with dead, the toll of typhus and famine. The brightly painted van smote the mind with the lash of its challenge, and one recalled how, a week or two earlier, one had heard a people's commissar in Moscow say that it mattered not if twenty million Russian peasants died of famine so long as the cause of Communism could be preserved. The holy war of the World Revolution was in full swing.

Up to that time I had been somewhat sceptical of the common belief that the propaganda of the Third International was so intense and penetrating as to be universal. Since then the collection from all over Europe of Communist books, pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers and posters, numbering thousands, has provided me with overwhelming evidence of the amazing thoroughness, patience, and unscrupulous skill of the propaganda of the World Revolution. All holy wars of the past fade into

[1] From the Proclamation by the First Communist Oriental Congress, Baku (September 1920), to the nations of the East.

nsignificance beside the fanatical *Jehad* of the Red International. ?ailure daunts not its prophets; its zealots outvie the grim ›rder of the mediæval Assassins; its activity is sleepless, its spirit more ruthless than the Kaiser in his *rôle* of All-Highest. [t is the new *welt-politik*, whose imperialism makes pale that of ıated Britain, the proclaimed anti-Christ of the World Revolution. Given a sense of humour, it would be invincible—but then it could not be the fanatical religion that it is. Admit the accuracy of its premises, and we must grant the logic of its methods. Deny the possibility of the success of the World Revolution—the 'light upon the hill' to the faithful—and the new religion loses the inspiration and comfort of a Second Coming. Its deity is Lenin, its devil Great Britain. The quotation at the head of this article is but one small example of the unceasing propaganda of the Red International, from its inception, against the British Empire

From the first the Soviet saw that the best opportunities for the success of its revolutionary propaganda lay amongst the distressed peoples of Europe and the illiterate and backward nations of the Orient. With the latter it started with a considerable advantage, for the Russians, as Mr Kipling has said, are the most Western of Eastern peoples, even if they regard themselves as the most Eastern of Western peoples

For propaganda purposes Russia occupies a position of similar strategic advantage to that possessed by Germany in the Great War She is the natural bridge between East and West, possessing ı instinctive sympathy with the former and a critical underanding of the latter The ingenuity and power of her propaında may be divined from the following further extracts taken om the Baku Proclamation:

PEOPLES OF THE ORIENT

Many a time you have heard from your Governments the call to a oly War Many a time you took the field under the green flag of the ophet But all these so-called Holy Wars were only lies and frauds, ey only served the interests of your egotistical rulers You peasants ıd workers, however, were left after these wars in slavery and misery; r others you conquered the wealth of the earth, but you received nothing r yourselves

Now we call you up for the first genuine Holy War, under the Red Flag the Communist International

We call you to the Holy War for your own welfare, for your liberty, ›ur life

England, the last powerful imperialistic bird of prey who survives Europe, has spread her black wings over the Mussulman lands of the rient, and tries to make the Eastern nations her slaves and her prey

Slavery, intolerable slavery, ruin, oppression and exploitation—these e the gifts of England for the nations of the East

with the heaviest odds against her. She then proceeded to increase these odds by concluding the Angora Agreement with the Turkish Government, by which she not only restored Cilicia to Turkey, but surrendered 9000 square miles of Syrian territory entrusted to her by the Supreme Council. France actually abandoned the line laid down by the Treaty of Sèvres as the frontier between Turkey and territory mandated to France, and substituted a new line. In this way France settled her bill with the Turks, who showed no signs of acquiescing in loss of territory in Cilicia, however resigned they might be to surrendering the more strictly Arab countries. But what she gained in one way she lost in another, for her prestige was reduced to a still lower level than before, and her heavy burden of difficulties in Syria was still further increased.

Now let us examine the causes of difficulty which are connected with the French administration of the country.

When the French took over the mandate one of their first measures was to divide the country into separate states and to adopt the principle of *divide et impera.* The Lebanon was regarded as a political entity separate from the rest of Syria, and, in order to enlarge this area of strong French influence, General Gouraud proceeded to create the Greater Lebanon by adding to the original State the plain of the Bekaa and other territories with a large Moslem population. This step on the part of the French was alone sufficient to create an increased feeling of antagonism amongst the Moslem population. I do not propose to go into details of the ever-changing policy of the State administrations in Syria, but, owing to the vicissitudes through which Syria (the Lebanon excluded) passed during the earlier days of the mandate and the unstable policy of several successive High Commissioners, the people were merely providing the material for various ill-considered administrative experiments. In a country populated by an already very unsettled and heterogeneous mass of races and religions this policy was unsettling to the last degree, and it was obvious that although the Syrian States were to be officially ' autonomous,' yet the form of government was still to remain a ' shop window ' behind which French officials exerted complete control. This action on the part of the French was much resented by a people which was led to understand that representative government was assured, and sowed the seeds of mistrust which have since grown into a much more formidable living organism.

I am of opinion that the French fault lay, not in their application of a direct administration, which I think was then and still is necessary in Syria, but in its concealment behind a ' façade ' of representative government. If the French had made it clear

Save yourselves, nations of the Orient! Rise for the fight against the robber.

Arise like one man for the Holy War against the British conqueror.

Arise, thou Indian, who hast collapsed of starvation and superhuman slavery.

Arise, thou peasant of Anatolia, whom the taxes crush, whom the usurers exploit.

Arise, thou Persian raijat, who art being throttled by the Mulkadores

Arise, thou worker of Armenia, who hast been driven into the and mountains, you Arabs and Afghans, who are lost in your sandy deserts, whom the British are cutting off from the whole world.

Arise, all of you, for the fight against the common enemy, for the fight against imperialistic Great Britain

High waves the Red Flag of the Holy War It is a Holy War for the liberation of the nations of the Orient, a war to end the division of the human race into oppressing and oppressed peoples, a war to make all peoples and tribes equal, no matter what language they speak, what colour their skin, and what faith they confess.

Forward to the Holy War that shall abolish the division of countries into advanced and retrograde, dependent and independent nations, mother countries and colonies.

Forward to the Holy War for the liberation of all mankind from the pressure of capitalistic and imperialistic slavery, for the abolition of any oppression of one people by another, of the exploitation of one man by another.

Forward to the Holy War against the last bulwark of capitalism and imperialism in Europe, against the conspiracy of the robbers by land and by sea, against the century-old oppression of all the Eastern nations, against imperialistic Great Britain

Forward to the Holy War for liberty, the independent life and the happiness of all nations of the Orient, of all the millions of peasants and workers, subjugated by Great Britain.

Nations of the Orient, in this Holy War all the revolutionary workers, all the oppressed peasants, will be with you, they will help you, they will fight and die together with you.

This is the message of the first Congress of the representatives of the nations of the Orient

Long live the amalgamation of all peasants and workers of the Orient and the West, the association of all oppressed and exploited people

Long live their General Staff, the Communist International.

May it burn like the eternal fire, the Holy War of the nations of the Orient and of the labourers of the whole world against imperialistic Great Britain!

Six months later a trade agreement was concluded between the British and Soviet Governments It included these important conditions regarding propaganda.

That each party refrains from hostile action or undertakings against the other, and from conducting outside of its own borders any official propaganda direct or indirect against the institutions of the British Empire or the Russian Soviet Republic respectively, and more particularly

hat the Russian Soviet Government refrains from any attempt by military or diplomatic or any other form of action or propaganda to encourage any of the peoples of Asia in any form of hostile action against British interests or the British Empire, especially in India and in the independent State of Afghanistan. The British Government gives a similar particular undertaking to the Russian Soviet Government in respect of the countries which ormed part of the former Russian Empire and which have now become ndependent

From the very inception of this agreement protests from Great Britain against violations of its letter and spirit were made. They led only to an almost negligible diminution of Soviet propaganda Lord Curzon's Memorandum of May 2, 1923, presented a sort of ultimatum to the Soviet Government, threatening the termination of the Trade Agreement unless the propagandist activities of the Soviet in the Middle East and those esponsible for them were 'repudiated and apologised for' The Soviet Government replied, in its usual crude style, with counter-accusations in extensive detail.

The British Government then submitted a formula respecting propaganda for the signature of the Soviet Government, eiterating the undertaking of 1921 This the Soviet accepted. On February 1, 1924, the British Labour Government gave the Soviet *de jure* recognition Mr MacDonald entered upon a frank discussion of 'propaganda' and 'hostile activities.' M. Rakovski, in his reply, made the following statement .

> We have renounced the policy of conquest of the former Czarist Government, and we have annulled the old Czarist treaties providing for the partition of Oriental States into spheres of influence The Soviet Government has no intention of reverting to that policy It is absolutely excluded by the Socialist constitution of our State, which is based on the absolute equality of nations and the recognition of their rights of self-determination
>
> Other reasons, too, make the return to the old policy an impossibility. war has awakened national consciousness in the peoples of the East, any attempt on our part to obstruct that legitimate consciousness ld not only be a crime against our own interests but also a piece of ', seeing that in the long run such a policy must inevitably fail
>
> In consequence, so far as the British and Soviet Governments adopt as arting-point the principle of respecting the independence and sove-nty of the Oriental States, we shall be free from difficulty in settling juestions pertaining to the interests of Great Britain and the Soviet on in the East

In view of recent happenings in China, the insincerity of se observations needs no comment. Not only has the Soviet nly carried on intensely anti-British propaganda in China, it has retained possession of those northern territories of the nese Empire forcibly taken from China by the Czarist *régime !*

'Hands off China!' is a slogan apparently not intended for home consumption in Russia.

From the first the Soviet has planned an organised attack upon Western influence in the Orient through propaganda schools. The first Communist 'university' was established at Petrograd in the beginning of 1921. It is a propaganda school organised on a large scale for the training of the peoples of the East in Marxism, Communism, and Bolshevist statesmanship. During the first year of its existence 700 students, coming from all quarters of the Orient and speaking fifty-seven different languages, were enrolled as students The subjects taught at the 'university' are very much the same as those dealt with by the propaganda schools of Russian revolutionaries in France and Italy before the war. Particular attention, however, is paid to the fighting and propaganda methods adopted by the resolutions of the various congresses of the Communist International, and to the constitution, laws, and economic and labour policy in force in Soviet Russia In its details the programme is adapted to the particular qualifications and educational standard of the students. In view of the diversity of origin and language, the university council has made it a rule to group the students in their boarding-houses and study circles by nationalities, so that they may learn to know one another and to collaborate fraternally.

The courses last from eight to ten months. After a period of four or five months the students undertake practical work as propagandists, agitators, or organisers in their native countries. Of the 500 students completing the first term 100 remained as lecturers, organisers, and correspondents attached to the university, while the rest returned to their native countries to begin their practical tasks. The university has created sections in Turkestan, Baku, and Irkutsk. It has sent school organisers to Bashkiran, among the Tchouvashes, to Karelia (south of Finland), and other places. The 'best results' have been attained in Turkestan, where they have been able to organise a school counting 300 students, and where a school for women and one for Red soldiers have been established.

The university students undertake the publication of Communist literature in their native languages. The texts are translated and studied among the student groups. These translations introduce an appropriate terminology into the Oriental languages and initiate the students into theoretical problems. In the summer of 1922, 100 students organised a Labour Commune that was expected to give the university of the peoples of the Orient an excellent staff of young Communist educators. The

university has taken charge of the education of fifty children from the famine-stricken provinces.[2]

The Soviet war against Great Britain would be quite incomplete if it were waged solely in the outer world. It is waged with equal intensity within Britain itself, and particularly against the trade unions and their leaders. Just as Britain represents in the world the utter antithesis of Communism, so in her political constitution and social legislation she presents a form of evolutionary development and conscious progress which are anathema to the revolutionary. British trade unionism is as serious an obstacle to Communism as the British Empire to the World Revolution

Close attention has always been paid by the Communists to the problem of gaining a dominating influence amongst the trade unions in all industrial countries, and the farm workers in agricultural countries Hand in hand with these goes a systematic propaganda amongst postal employees and railwaymen, the army and navy and police, the civil servants and teachers, and last, but not least, amongst the women of the working class and the juvenile workers The nature and extent of the propaganda depends, of course, upon the form of government and strength of the Communist and Socialist movements in the countries concerned In quite a number of countries the Communist Party is an illegal organisation, and therefore has to do its work 'underground.' In others, however, where Labour may e in power and advanced Socialist legislation has been passed, s, for instance, in Germany and Austria, the Communists quite penly preach their doctrine of the violent overthrow of the isting Government, and they are aided in their task by the oviet system of works councils and similar bodies in shops, tories and business houses, and councils of soldiers, sailors and rents, introduced by the former Socialist Governments of these untries Though the Communist propaganda is concentrated the working class, it has also shrewdly exploited the bad osition of the middle class in the Central European countries, d tries to gain the sympathy of the large masses of suffering ople by advocating radical measures to reduce the cost of living d to resist any reduction in effective salaries and wages and y extension of working hours.

Pamphlets Nos. 5 and 11 of the Communist International ntain the general directions, from the formation of the 'cell' the smallest Communist unit to the activities of Communist ass parties. The executive of the Comintern explains, in the eamble to these instructions, that the organisation and activity the Communist Party must, of course, be adapted to the specific

[2] *International Press Correspondence*, No. 92, October 27, 1922.

political, economic, and industrial conditions of the country in which it is working, and that the ultimate aim of the movement must always be the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is also emphasised that in Communist parties there is no room for passive members Every member must do his allotted daily share of the party work, and to that effect he must be in one or several of the working groups of the party The smallest working unit is the 'cell,' consisting of one or several reliable Communists. The most important of these cells or nuclei are those in factories and workshops, trade unions, works councils, soldiers and sailors' councils, co-operative societies, armament and munition works, railway workshops, electric power stations, gasworks, waterworks, newspaper offices, and in any other enterprises and organisations that are vital to maintain the economic life and defence of a country, or that are important in influencing public opinion. These Communist nuclei may work secretly or openly, according to the special circumstances They may form an opposition together with other dissatisfied elements, or they may join an already existing organisation and endeavour to gain control of it. Each Communist working group is given routine work and extraordinary tasks within one of the many branches of the Communist Party organisations A member may be employed, for instance, in canvassing from house to house, in street organisations, in the distribution of newspapers, handbills, posters and pamphlets, in the information and mobilisation service, in propaganda at meetings, in parliaments and municipal bodies.

The Communists make no secret of the fact that they wish to create in every country, not only a political Communist Party, consisting of devoted and absolutely reliable members, but also a perfect spy service and a military organisation The Communist secret service collects detailed particulars of all buildings and their occupants, their social position and party allegiance,[3] the foodstuffs and commodities of all kinds stored in the buildings, of factories, workshops and mines, of the retail shops and department stores, hotels and places of amusement, administrative offices, hospitals, police stations, prisons, churches, telegraph and telephone services, railways, tramways and river services, numbers of motor vehicles and aeroplanes, situation of motor garages and aerodromes, banks, printing works, etc. Communist headquarters also keep detailed registers of the bourgeois party organisations, their newspapers and activities, the names and business and private addresses of their leaders, the organisation and headquarters of the political and civil police, the police spies, the army and navy

[3] See Pamphlet No 11.

detachments, special constabulary, loyal workers' organisations, etc. Communist headquarters further organise the connexions between various party groups and organisations, and endeavour to perfect this service so that it will work even under military dictatorship or similar difficulties. This service includes the secret courier organisation, the procuring of unobtrusive quarters, transport and passport facilities. All Communist workers are instructed to exploit to the utmost political, industrial, and economic situations during which the great masses of the working class are in a state of extraordinary irritation or excitement, as, for instance, prior to elections, during lock-outs, strikes, wholesale dismissals of workmen, rises in the cost of living, general reduction of wages, prolongation of working hours, or reactionary political risings.

In the practical execution of all the propaganda directions and instructions the principal thing, of course, is personal canvassing and verbal persuasion In the workmen's quarters of those large cities of Europe where the party is not illegal the Communist agitator goes from house to house, denouncing the Government of the country and the municipal authorities (unless the Communists happen to be in the majority) and the Socialist leaders, boasting of the great things achieved by the Communists in Russia, and the marvellous deeds they will do in other countries, once they can grip the reins of government. The same sort of argument goes on untiringly amongst the industrial workers and labourers on the large estates, in the army, navy and police. In his argument the agitator is supported by the Communist Press and the literature which is lavishly distributed, for which Moscow very largely pays. From the beginning Moscow has drawn a sharp distinction between three sections of Socialists:

(1) The true Communists, advocating the armed overthrow of existing government and society, Soviet rule as opposed to parliament, and the dictatorship of the proletariat;

(2) The Centrists, or Independent Socialists, revolutionary in their ideals, but moderate in their means, and

(3) The Reformists, also contemptuously called by Moscow 'social pacifists,' 'social patriots,' or 'social nationalists,' believing in the establishment of Socialism by evolution, reforms, and parliamentary action.

Of these categories only the second and third include any considerable number of British trade unionists Temperamentally and traditionally British Labour is and will remain essentially moderate Its official rejection of the Communists is, however, due not only to that characteristic, but just as much to the equally typical tactlessness and blindness of the Communist mind. 'Your truth is not my truth,' propounded a great prophet of the

East. This conception of such toleration and wisdom is utterly beyond the mentality of the Communist.

For victories in his 'holy war' against Great Britain he must rely upon mass misery, mass ignorance and inflammable mobs. Unfortunately, Oriental countries only too generally present these conditions, and the Bolshevik finds no difficulty in persuading the illiterate masses that the British are responsible for all their woes.

The larger aspects of the permanent war between Bolshevism and Western civilisation—and Great Britain in particular—can only be matter of uncertain speculation. There have been historic examples[4] of empires and peoples dragooned into the service of a fanatical religion, until their political systems and economic resources were shattered and exhausted. The Soviet Republic is at present the economically poorest empire of all, though potentially possessing enormous wealth. With no marginal resources whatever available from its meagre national dividend, it carries on an extremely expensive war of propaganda and interference. Even its local and temporary successes are only compatible with disastrous interferences with the economic machinery and social equilibrium of the countries which it invades. Can it bear the huge and ever-increasing strain upon its resources? None can say, but there is no doubt that the answer of the Communist will be:

> Forward to the Holy War. . . May it burn like the eternal fire, the Holy War of the nations of the Orient and of the labourers of the whole world against imperialistic Great Britain!

MEREDITH ATKINSON

[4] See Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs*, 1924, pp. 161 ff.

THE CHINESE PROBLEM THROUGH CHINESE EYES:

SUN YAT-SEN AND THE THREE PEOPLE'S PRINCIPLES

[*The first part of this summary of Sun Yat-sen's lectures appeared in the February number of this Review. Dr. Sun's writings are the most potent political influence in China at this moment, his book was published in China a little more than a year ago, and very large numbers were sold No English translation of these writings exists, and an understanding of Dr. Sun's teaching is necessary if the outlook of the Chinese is to be appreciated*—EDITOR, *The Nineteenth Century and After*]

II

THE second part of Dr. Sun's work brings him to the subject of Democracy As the first part, on Nationalism, was concerned more or less with China's foreign policy, so this second part will bear more directly upon her domestic programme The Cantonese revolutionists in their conduct—last year in Canton, and this year in the Yangtse Valley—have shown clearly that in their foreign policy they are prepared to carry out Dr Sun's principles to their logical issues. The anti-foreign strike and boycott, the repudiation of treaties and the general antagonism to all foreign interests, if they are not directly urged by Dr Sun, are at least logical deductions from his teaching In the same way, in their internal policy, there is no doubt that they intend to establish some kind of democratic communism, inspired in part by Soviet Russia, such as is outlined in the second and third parts of the 'Three People's Principles'

Dr Sun, like all modern educated Chinese, had a pathetic faith in democracy. To him, as to them, it is the panacea for all China's ills The tragedy of the fourteen years which have elapsed since the foundation of the Republic of China has no whit discouraged them. The fact that the bulk of China's population are still illiterate, and have no more idea of the use of a ballot-box than a cow has of a gramophone, does not trouble them in the

least. Democracy, and democracy, and yet more democracy, is their one prescription for all China's diseases.

It would be easy to criticise Sun's programme, and to show the utter futility of expecting the social reconstruction of China to take place in a generation, or even in a century. It is not so easy, perhaps, to do him justice in a summary of his views such as the following article attempts. The 'San Ming Chu I,' or 'Three People's Principles,' is printed in Chinese on paper which allows twenty-eight characters to the column and twelve columns to the page. The first part, which we have already dealt with, occupies 140 such pages. The second part runs to 200 pages, or more than 67,000 characters, in Chinese. The attempt here made is to summarise Sun's teaching, giving equal prominence to his wisdom and his folly, and especially not exaggerating the latter by any kind of caricature How far the attempt is successful can only be judged by those who can read the original work in Chinese. Meanwhile it is hoped that English readers will obtain a little insight into the political workings of the modern Chinese mind, and into the forces that are now trying to shape the Chinese nation.

PART II —DEMOCRACY

The first lecture defines government as the control of the affairs of a people Democracy is the control by a people of its own affairs The two functions of government are, first to protect, and second to feed the people. The earliest beginnings of the human race may be reckoned as being about two million years ago. The two needs for protection and nurture brought men into conflict with the wild beasts It was the period of brute force, and formed the first stage in man's long upward struggle towards self-government At about 200,000 years ago Sun places the dawn of civilisation The struggle against beasts was succeeded by the struggle against the forces of Nature. Men began learning to protect themselves against flood, fire, storm and thunder They commenced to clothe themselves, to build houses, and to prepare their food by the use of fire Religious ideas came into play when the powers of Nature were conceived of as being under the control of gods or spirits Prayer and religious rites were necessary in order to propitiate these gods, and priests were needed as mediators. Consequently this second age may be characterised as the age of Theocracy The third age, which succeeded, was the age of Monarchy. This commenced when men began to group themselves in nations and place themselves under the strongest or wisest leaders whom they could find. This age saw the struggle of men against men. It also had a religious background, for when monarchy became hereditary it was supposed to

be an institution of divine origin, and monarchs based their authority upon 'the divine right of kings.' The fourth period, of Democracy, means the overthrow of monarchy, and the power of the people to govern themselves. The struggle of this age is of people against their rulers. It is, says Sun, a conflict of justice against force, of good against evil. This period marks the highest stage yet reached in the evolution of government. Japan has not recognised this fact. There are many Chinese who do not yet admit it. But democracy is the only form of government efitting an age of progress in science and civilisation. Its value an be proved by tracing the history of its rise in other countries.

China has been governed by despotic rulers all through her istory. But the reigns of the earliest emperors, Yao and Shuen, ere equivalent to a democracy, for theirs was a benevolent lespotism which sought only the welfare of the people. Confucius leclared that the prosperity of the people is paramount in the ight of Heaven. Mencius taught that evil rulers may be resisted, nd even put to death. Consequently China has been democratic n theory for over 2000 years, whereas the ideals of democracy ave been known in the West only during the last 150 years. The irst experiment in democracy was made in England by Cromwell, just at the time of the rise of the Manchu Dynasty in China. It only lasted ten years. America declared her independence 150 ears ago, and became the first democracy of the world. Less han ten years later came the French Revolution. But the French evolutionists incurred the enmity of all Europe, and were put own in less than a decade.

Now, just as formerly a religious sanction was sought for the heory of monarchy, so to-day there is an attempt to found emocratic theories upon a supposed divine right of men. Rousseau, who was the 'Father of Democracy,' taught that Heaven as conferred upon all men equal rights and freedom. But this is mistake. The argument for democracy must be based upon cts of evolution and of progress. The type of government must ways correspond to the needs and spirit of the age. Theocracy as best for a primitive age; monarchy for the Middle Ages; but e modern age is adapted for democracy.

We must not reject democracy because some experiments have iled. The French Revolution bore fruit after eighty years. emocracy is the great need of China in her present period of volution. Since China commenced her revolution, Russia and ermany have both lost their emperors and become republics. e trend of the age is towards democracy, just as, in spite of ndings, the flow of the Yellow River and of the Yangtse is wards the east. Attempts to stem the current are bound to fail. uan Shih K'ai failed when he attempted to make himself

the Syrians from the outset that direct administration was ential for a beginning, they would have certainly met with position, but an opposition much less dangerous than that ed on mistrust. *The Oriental is inclined eventually to accept* *it accompli*, however distasteful, as long as he knows exactly now he stands, but anything with a flavour of camouflage creates n him a *feeling of* suspicious uncertainty which usually gives ise to the most protracted opposition. Our own unstable policy n Egypt is another example of the same principle.

There were four outstanding features which were largely esponsible for bringing to a head the general discontent in Syria. 'irst, French policy in Syria had been suffering severely from he fact that it was at the mercy of party politics in France. Each ligh Commissioner came with a new policy to carry out. General arrail's appointment was directly due to the coming into power of he Herriot Government, when M. Herriot stated in the Chamber f Deputies that 'his appointment to Syria was an opportunity or the Government to recognise this distinguished republican eneral.' General Weygand, who was doing the most excellent ork in Syria, was accordingly withdrawn, and this is where 'rance made her fatal mistake. I am strongly of the opinion nat, had General Weygand remained as High Commissioner, vents would have proceeded on very different lines. In fact, I m inclined to share the view of those who assert that under iese conditions the revolt would not have taken place. Secondly, ie naturally destructive influence of an almost wholly military dministration had the effect of cramping the economic progress f the country. Thirdly, the unstable currency, based on the uctuating French franc, which had been forced on the country replace the stable Turkish gold pound, greatly hampered trade cross the new frontiers by an essentially trading community, nd entailed severe loss to large numbers of merchants. This, my mind, is the most important consideration with a view a solution of the Syrian problem. Fourthly, the personal ifluence of a class of official who was in most ways ill suited to ie work which he was called upon to perform. Most of these fficials had spent many years of their service in Morocco, lgeria or Senegal, and had got into a regular colonial groove, hich made it exceedingly difficult for them to adapt their work the spirit of the mandatory system, which, being of an advisory ature, demands special qualities and the highest efficiency.

M. de Jouvenel was not slow to realise the difficulties with hich he was confronted, and he made every effort to rectify eficiencies in the administration. New officials were obtained om Paris and were drawn from the best French sources, with the sult that vast changes for the better took place in the Damascus

emperor, and Chang Hsuin failed when he tried to restore the Manchu Dynasty. South China has followed this democratic trend, and, in spite of setbacks, the Cantonese Republic is bound to succeed finally in its struggle against the reactionary Peking Government.

The Taipings were the pioneers of democracy in China. Many different reasons have been given for their downfall. Some say they failed because they did not understand foreign diplomacy; others, that it was because they did not press on immediately to Peking after capturing Nanking. But the real reason was that their leaders quarrelled with one another, and all tried to set petty kingdoms of their own In other words, they reverted monarchical ambitions instead of establishing a true democra Chen Chiung Ming's recent disaffection was due to the same cau He wanted to become emperor. In all China's history her perp tual wars have been caused by imperial ambitions. One dynas has succeeded another by means of strife and bloodshed But t ideal of the republic is a democracy in which every citizen has share of the government. China must have, not one emperor, bu 400 million emperors.

In the second lecture Dr. Sun states what he considers to b the difference between China and other nations with respect t democracy. Put briefly, his thesis is this: the people of th Western nations have been struggling for freedom, and have dis covered democracy during the course of their efforts after indiv dual liberty; the Chinese have no lack of individual liberty, bu China seeks democracy in order to attain national freedom. Thu in Western countries democracy has become a synonym fo liberty. In China, on the contrary, personal liberty needs to b restrained in order to achieve the end of democracy.

The reason for this difference, Sun says, lies in social condi tions. It is only 200 or 300 years since the peoples of Europe first began to struggle against the iron tyranny of the feudal system In the Middle Ages the liberty of the subject was a thing unknown They have had to spill their blood and sacrifice their lives in order to win this treasure. With them freedom is the goal, and demo cracy is only a means of realising their aim.

China, on the other hand, abolished her feudal system 2000 years ago. Since that time her rulers cannot be said to have oppressed the people, because they really had no direct relations with them. The only concern of the emperor was to protect his throne and to hand it on to his posterity. So long as the taxes were duly paid he left the people alone; and those taxes were never severe until recent times, when the commercial oppression of the foreign Powers has made them a heavy burden. The evil from which the Chinese suffer to-day is not the tyranny of their

own government, but the oppressive burdens laid on them by the foreign nations. Their trouble is not lack of freedom, but poverty. (We notice how Sun harks back to his old theme of the commercial oppression of China by foreign nations. He has not a word to say of the oppression of the people by the war-lords, of the likin duties, which throttle inland trade, or of the outrageous taxes imposed on the people at will by irresponsible local officials.)

Now there are Chinese students returned from Western universities who raise the cry of 'liberty,' and the people do not understand them. This is not because the people have no liberty, but because they have too much. The Chinese have never known what it is not to have liberty, and therefore they do not know what 'liberty' means. Liberty to the Chinese is like breathing. We take breath usually sixteen times per minute, or more than 20,000 times in the twenty-four hours, yet we are generally unconscious of it, because there is plenty of air all around us. If you shut a man up in a narrow airtight chamber he soon has to fight and struggle for air. That was how the Western nations had to fight for freedom, and that is why they value it so highly.

These same students go back to their schools and colleges and try to exercise their liberty there, with the result that they over-ow discipline and make a disturbance. As a matter of fact, nocracy in China will only be realised by a curtailment of lividual liberty. Students must learn to submit to discipline; diers will have to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the untry. Foreigners criticise the Chinese because they are like a ope of sand.' Sand is a proper symbol of liberty, for liberty is the wer of individuals to move about inside the mass. But sand n be made into hard concrete by the addition of cement. volution is the cement by which China must be held together, d made firm and solid to resist foreign aggression. The watch-ords of the French Revolution were 'Liberty, Fraternity and quality.' But China's three watchwords must be the Three ople's Principles of 'Nationalism, Democracy and People's velihood.'

In addition to 'liberty,' the question of 'equality' falls to be scussed in connection with the subject of democracy. Sun's ird lecture is a discussion of the meaning of 'equality.' Both nerican and French revolutionists have declared that equality a gift conferred upon men by Heaven. Thus Western democracies have been founded upon the belief that men have been ide free and equal by Nature. But this is not true. Nature ows no equality. No two flowers or leaves are exactly alike. en are created unequal—in strength, in ability, in cleverness. ogress is not to be attained by placing all upon a common level.

When virtue and vice, brains and stupidity, are all put on one level, then we get a false equality.

But there is a man-made inequality, and it is this that democracy seeks to abolish. It consists in artificial distinctions of rank and wealth. Rulers are chosen only from the higher ranks, and the lower ranks have no share in the government. The people can only have their proper share in the government when they possess equal political rights Political equality is the equality to be aimed at, and this is the equality which will be found in a true democracy.

The peoples of Europe have poured out their blood and sacrificed many lives in order to achieve this equality. Only 200 years ago they were at the stage of feudalism, which China abolished as long ago as 2000 years Moreover, Western tyranny was always much worse than Chinese, because of the hereditary system. Farmers were always farmers ; labourers were always labourers. In China only the emperor held his place by hereditary right ; under the system of public examinations a man of the common people might rise to the highest rank. But in the West every man was bound to his own station and class, and there was no freedom or equality The Chinese have never known the struggle for freedom, and sacrifice of hearth and home, which the peoples of Europe have had to go through to secure freedom and equality. Two thousand years ago the Chinese had alre visualised that ideal of equality which the West has never rec nised until recently. China's political theory so far outstrip the West. But it must be confessed that, during the last centuries, the Western nations have outstripped her in practic

Let us see what the Western nations have really accomplish The revolution in England took place at about the end of Ming Dynasty But it was abortive, for England is still monarchy. America's struggle was for independence, and af eight years of war with England she succeeded in throwing off English tyranny and in winning her freedom. In her Constituti it was declared that all men have equal political rights But practice this only applied to white men, for the black men we held as slaves. A second war was needed to abolish slavery. T first result of this war was misery for the emancipated slaves, a Lincoln was blamed for this, just as the revolutionary party h been blamed for all China's ills under the republic. But this w of emancipation, fought not for the freedom of self but for t freedom of others, has been the greatest glory in America history.

France also had a revolution and became a republic. Th French people have won their liberty only after many vicissi tudes. But even now France has only established the false kin

of equality, where virtue and skill are reduced to the same level with vice and stupidity. The Russian revolution took place only six years ago. It has been the most complete of all; for Russia has not only abolished political inequalities, but she has also succeeded in abolishing distinctions of wealth by overthrowing the capitalist system.

The democracies of the West have failed to establish a true freedom and equality, because they have not followed the right principles. Their Governments have failed to right the wrongs of the working classes, who are still suffering under the oppression of capitalism The working classes, as a result, have had to try to win liberty for themselves. They have to a large extent arrived at a corporate spirit, which is manifested in the formation of trades unions Their method is the negative one of non-co-operation, and their chief weapon the strike, which is more powerful than war Their leaders are able and talented men, who can truct and instil a corporate spirit into the majority But in ir zeal for equality the workers have in many cases thrown over se leaders, and so they have lost their power

In China also, during the past ten years, many workers' assotions have been formed Their leaders have not always been)sen from among the workers themselves Some of them are se and selfish. But many are true and unselfish The workers ed to distinguish between the true and the false Some of the our unions not only reject their leaders, but also wish to ignore litical matters They are ignorant, and do not understand that ght government is the only way to produce good conditions for our For instance, China's main source of poverty is that her ports far exceed her exports Yet in China labour is cheap and workers have long hours The cause is a weak Government. strong Government would be able to protect home products by ting foreign goods. From this it is clear that the workers' food pends upon questions of politics and of economics The workers ow their ignorance when they wish to have nothing to do with litics In a true democracy the workers would have equal polial rights with all other classes This does not mean that they uld be equal in all other respects In a social organism there must ways be leaders and followers, thinkers and manual workers. ch class must contribute its share to the progress of the whole. t if each class has the spirit of unselfish service, the result will a society in which the spirit of equality will rule

The fourth lecture enters into a more detailed discussion of democratic development of the Western nations America t of all succeeded in casting off the English tyranny and establing a republic Her Constitution was formed by the union of rteen independent States. The power of self-government of

each of the States was necessarily limited, because it had to submit to the control of the central Government. The latter direct all matters concerning currency, foreign relations, army and nav and migration ; only lesser matters were dealt with by the State separately. At first the members of Congress and a number of th officials only were elected by the people ; the President an members of Senate were elected indirectly, so that the power o the people was limited. Later it became the custom for the President and senators also to be elected by popular vote. But eve then the franchise was limited to male citizens. Female suffrag first came in England seven or eight years ago (Sun is writing i 1924). It came later in America. It was during the Europea war that women proved their right to the vote. So now in America a limited franchise has developed into universal suffrage Universal suffrage is the only real fruit of the struggle for democracy which has been going on in Europe and America for 200 o 300 years.

The French Revolution was accompanied by excesses which drove many people to fear democracy The cruelty and bloodshed caused a reaction which produced the Napoleonic *régime* Thus the over-success of democracy proved to be its own undoing Those who wish for unrestrained democracy do not contribute to real progress. But the tide of democracy could not be checked. It swept over the small nations of Europe, like Denmark, Holland, Spain, Portugal, and they were unable to resist it. In England, too, democracy has made some progress After the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 political power was all in the hands of the throne and the great aristocratic families. But in 1832 the franchise was given to the people ; and female suffrage came after the war. England's colonial policy has always been conciliatory. Ireland has at last been granted Home Rule Independence was promised to Egypt for her help in the war. After the war England tried to eat her words ; but the Egyptians pressed for their rights, and England gave way. In India the franchise has been extended. England has had a Labour Government, which shows how far the aristocratic classes have gone in yielding to the democratic spirit of the age. Her Government owes its security to the manner in which it has given way to the modern tide instead of resisting it.

The story of Germany is different. In the theory of democracy Germany has been foremost , but in her way of working it out, and in her results, she has differed from England and France. This was due to Bismarck's influence, extending over a period of thirty or forty years. Germany consisted originally of some twenty-odd independent States, more diverse in government than were the thirteen States of America. Bismarck succeeded in

niting these into one strong nation. For by successive wars ought against Austria and France he occupied the energies of he people, and left them no strength to fight against their own overnment. But this led to an economic struggle which caused he rise of Socialistic ideas. The struggle was not for political but or economic control. It was a war of labour against capitalism. But an economic revolution did not take place, because Bismarck ncouraged the Socialist movement instead of crushing it. He ationalised the railroads, limited hours of labour, introduced old ge pensions and State insurance. He thus prevented an indusrial revolution, stopped the tide of emigration, and even attracted mmigrants to Germany.

We have seen three different checks given to the progress of democracy. In America it was hindered by the policy of centraliation, in France it was disgraced by the excesses of the revolutionists; in Germany it was led in chains by Bismarck. But democracy cannot be hindered or assisted in its onward march. t is the trend of the age, the flow of modern progress, and neither Conservatives nor Radicals can stop or destroy it. Democracy has some trials to pass through before it can succeed. We must give it time It took tens of thousands of years to develop the stage of theocracy Monarchy was the result of thousands of years of slow progress. We must give democracy a few decades n which to settle her problems.

Now all these facts are a lesson to China There are some who would have China simply copy America by first aiming at provincial autonomy and then uniting the twenty-odd provinces under one constitution. This would be a great mistake, for there s no parallel between the present condition of China and the hirteen American States which emerged after the War of Independence China's eighteen provinces, together with the hree eastern provinces and Hsin Chiang, twenty-two in all, have been united under the Manchu rule for more than 260 years. Right back in China's history, except during periods of temporary confusion, the provinces have all been united under one dynasty. There is nothing to be gained now by trying to separate them. China's present divisions are merely temporary; they are caused by the strife of the militarists. Those who advocate provincial autonomy are self-seekers, who want to set up little kingdoms of their own Such were Tang Chi Yao in Yunnan, Chao Heng Ti in Hunan, Lu Yung Ting in Kwangsi, and Chen Chiung Ming in Kwangtung These selfish war-lords have no real patriotism in them Their day will pass, and China will become a strong and wealthy nation, united under one truly democratic Government. The road to this ideal will not be by imitating any other nation, but by learning from the faults of the Western nations and then

excelling their methods. This is the object of the Nationalist Party in propagating the 'Three People's Principles.'

In lecture five Dr. Sun commences to build up his theory of the ideal form of democracy for China. As he insists again, this will not be an imitation of any Western Government. The West has led the way in physical science and in mechanical inventions; but in statecraft it has not progressed beyond the mere elements. In military science progress is so rapid that a battleship becomes out of date in ten years. But in political theory the West has hardly yet surpassed the teaching of Plato's *Republic*, which was written 2000 years ago. The reason for this backwardness is that in the West the forms of democratic government have developed slowly and naturally in answer to practical needs. It is not based on theory, and consequently the principles of government have not been studied and are not well understood.

The attempt to transfer Western methods of representative government to China has proved a pure failure In consequence there are Conservative politicians who would like to give up the attempt to establish democracy in China, and would revert to despotism But this would not be in accordance with modern ideas. The trend of world politics is all in the direction of some form of democratic government China must go with the tide progress.

Now the great difficulty in the way of government is th there is always an antagonism between the people of a nation a its Government In general, the power of a Government weakened as democracy advances. After a revolution liber and equality are carried to excess, the Government becom helpless, and there is anarchy. A strong Government will ho democracy in check, as Bismarck did in Germany A rece Western writer has said that the thing most to be feared is omnipotent Government which will not submit to popular contr the most desirable is an omnipotent Government which can made an expression of the people's will

In China the people look back to the time of the earlie emperors, Yao and Shuen, as the golden age. These empero had despotic power, but they used it solely for the welfare of th people. Many later emperors, holding the same power, hal used it to injure the people. Since the revolution the people China have feared despotism in any form, and are prepared t resist any Government, however benevolent. What is needed then, is to change this attitude of antagonism of the peopl towards their Government. There is one way of doing this I is to make a separation between the controlling authority an the executive power.

Formerly the control of government was in the hands of the mperor. He rarely sought the welfare of the people. Emperors ke Yao and Shuen were exceptions. This control must be given o the people. In other words, the people must all become mperors. In the story of the 'Three Kingdoms,' Liu Pei when ying asked Chu Ko Liang to be the adviser of his stupid son o Tu Chu Ko Liang was to exercise the power while Ao Tu ad the control of government. Thus in the despotic period ven an incapable prince could inherit the throne while wise tatesmen exercised power. In the republic of China the bulk f the people are toilers. There are practically 400,000,000 Ao 'us But if there are capable and wise statesmen to carry out heir will China can have a true and efficient democracy.

Mankind can be divided into three classes The first are the eaders of thought, the inventors and originators of policy. The econd are the followers, who are capable of grasping and working out the schemes originated by the former The third class, to which the majority belong, are the toilers, who are only fit for nechanical employment In a State each of these three classes ias its part to play. Statesmen should be drawn from the first lass They must be men whom the people can trust They nust be the servants and not the masters of the people. Just as n primitive times the strongest and wisest men were chosen for ulers, to protect the people and lead them in the struggle against nemies, so now the best brains must be found to carry on the government of the democracy, subject to the will of the people. In China's legendary history her rulers were the discoverers of iew arts Thus Sui Jen discovered fire and taught men to cook heir food, Shen Nung discovered the use of medicines and was he first doctor, Hsien Yuan made clothes and became the first ailor, Yu Ch'ao taught the people to build houses, and was the irst carpenter Nowadays experts are needed in all enterprises. We need chauffeurs to drive our motor cars, engineers to look after machines The president of a democracy must be looked upon by the people as the directors of a company regard the nanager of their board. The statesmen are to be regarded as the chauffeurs, mechanics, cooks, doctors, tailors and carpenters.

In the sixth lecture Dr Sun still further develops his theory of the ideal democracy for China. According to Western writers on political subjects a Government is like a machine, and laws are the component parts of the machine. Now the West has made rapid progress in the invention of machinery, but is backward in methods of government. This is because machines made of iron, wood, and leather can be easily experimented with and improved. But the machine of government is composed of human materials, which are not so easily tested out, and cannot

be scrapped at will. As a rule it requires a revolution to change the Government of a country, and revolutions are costly things.

Dr. Sun proceeds to enlarge upon the idea of a machine as the image of a Government. The earliest steam engine invented had a piston which could only be driven one way by the steam. A small boy had to stand by the machine and pull the piston back after each stroke. One day, however, a boy who was employed to look after one of these machines in a cotton mill hit upon the idea of attaching a string to the piston, and connecting it with the engine in such a way that after each stroke the piston was automatically pulled back by the string. This led to the invention of the reversible steam engine, in which the piston is driven both forwards and backwards by the steam. Now a modern democracy is like the old form of unreversible engine. The people have only one kind of control, which is given them by the franchise. They can choose whom they will to exercise the power of government, but they have no power of recall. Thus the will of the people acts only in one direction, and then ceases to operate This is the reason why the people fear a strong Government. The primitive steam engine could only be of a small horse-power, for otherwise a small boy would be unable to control it. Now, in steamships for instance, engines are constructed of 100,000 or 200,000 horse-power, all under the control of one man

Under the old despotic *régime* all the power was in the hands of the emperor, and the stronger the Government the more advantage there was to him as ruler But in a democracy, if the Government becomes very powerful the people are afraid because they have no means of controlling it. Progress in democracy can only be made by giving the people more control over the Government. They must be able to stop the machine as well as to set it in motion.

The nations of the West are still using their old worn-out machines of government. China will gain nothing by imitating their methods It is possible for China to devise and set up a new and efficient Government machine for herself The first step is to make a clear separation between the control of the machine and its driving power. The control must be entirely in the hands of the people, just as a machine is controlled by an engineer. The engineer will make his machine do as he wishes by means of various handles or switches. The people, in order to make the Government an organ of their will, need to possess four rights. The first is the right of election, so that they may choose statesmen and officials who will carry out their wishes This is the only kind of democratic machinery known to the larger nations of the West. The second is the right of veto, or the power to depose officials. This is necessary in order that the

eople may be able to secure that those whom they have chosen o carry on the work of government may really manage affairs in ccordance with their will. The people who possess this right vill not fear to entrust a great deal of power to their Government. These first two conditions have to do with the personnel of the Government But government is carried on by means of legislaion. There are two further kinds of control which the people eed to possess in order to secure legislation in accordance with heir wishes These are, thirdly, the right of originating laws, nd, fourthly, the right of repealing or altering laws With these four rights established the people of a nation will have complete nd effective control over their Government.

The Government, so controlled, must exercise five kinds of functions The first three, which belong to all European Governments, are the executive, legislative, and judicial functions The fourth is the power of investigating matters which concern the public welfare This is done in England by a Royal Commission ; but in China it used to be done by officials independently of the emperor. The fifth is peculiar to China, but has been admired by England and to a certain extent imitated in her civil services. It is the function of examining candidates for public office. This also in ancient China was carried out independently of the emperor

There is no democracy in the world where the people possess these four rights and the Government exercises these five nctions In certain States in the north-west of America the ople have these four rights The only complete experiment in mocracy to be found in Europe is in Switzerland , but even ere the people only possess three out of the four rights, the cond one, of recalling officials, being absent It has been said at a form of government which is suitable for a small country e Switzerland may prove entirely unsuitable for such a large untry as China. But there is no reason to suppose this, as e following illustration will show Suppose a vessel with gines of 100,000 horse-power, giving her a speed of twenty ots per hour, to be plying between Canton and Shanghai. ithin two weeks she will make a return trip, and the profits of r owners may be something like $100,000 But suppose now e could construct a still bigger ship, with engines of 1,000,000 rse-power, and a speed of fifty knots per hour. She could make e return trip within one week, and, being able to carry so much ore cargo, she might bring in a profit of $1,000,000 at each trip.

China has the largest population of any country in the world. e ought to be able to set up the largest and most powerl Government With her 400,000,000 people, all free and joying in equality the four rights named above, with a strong

area. With the arrival of General Andréa and the setting up of the French provisional Government there was a great improvement in the situation at Damascus. At the end of 1925 there were few French troops in the city and, owing to the inadequacy of the defences, there was little security of any kind. On the arrival of General Andréa steps were immediately taken to defend the city properly. A large number of trees were cut down in the gardens adjoining the outer buildings, barbed wire entanglements were put up round the main parts of Damascus, houses were placed in a state of defence, and the garrison was considerably strengthened. The provisional Government under M. Pierre Alype created a feeling of confidence and much progress was made. The success of this direct *régime*, compared with the so-called representative Governments which preceded and followed it, showed how preferable it was in the present condition of Syria, but it was too late at this stage to say to the Syrians that the time for representative government was not yet. Direct administration could only be used as an expedient in case of emergency.

M. de Jouvenel was pledged to representative institutions, and he had to justify himself in the eyes of the League of Nations. Hence the camouflage continued in a less degree, but the more representative was the Government the greater was the inefficiency. In his efforts for peace M. de Jouvenel went to the limits beyond which he could go no further. On two separate occasions he offered an amnesty. At the end of 1925 he offered a complete amnesty to all rebels, leaders excluded, who should lay down their arms at General Andréa's headquarters in Damascus by January 8, 1926. To the leaders he promised their lives on the understanding that their cases would be tried on the conclusion of peace. Not one single man laid down his arms. Then again, in May, 1926, on the occasion of a visit to Damascus after the French recapture of Soueida, M. de Jouvenel announced the abolition of the indemnity imposed upon the city; he approved the programme [2] of a national Syrian Government which he had set up; and he accorded the Syrian President the right to announce a general amnesty until June 15, after which date no quarter would be given. As this generous offer was also rejected, the rebels thereby shouldered all responsibility for the consequences.

Hence the revolt still continues and the country remains in a

[2] The programme of the new Syrian Government, approved by the High Commissioner, included the transformation of the present mandatory system into a thirty years' treaty between France and Syria, with the preservation of French influence in political and economic spheres without infringing the sovereignty of the State; it included the formation of a Syrian army gradually to replace the French army of occupation; and it proposed the replacement of the present paper currency by a gold standard.

Government, subject to the will of the people and exercising the five functions just referred to, there is no reason why China should not become the greatest, wealthiest and most prosperous democracy on the face of the earth.

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(*To be continued.*)

PLATO, THE IDEA OF PROGRESS, AND INDIA

To teach Indian history for ten years, as I have done, and at the same time to teach European history side by side with it, is to become impressed with the fundamental difference between the two. That difference may be defined, in so far as definition of such elusive matters is possible, by saying that Indian history lacks the idea and the practice of progress, whilst European history is inspired by that idea and records an ever-widening success in the endeavour to put it into operation.

There are many noble figures in Indian history—figures of warriors, statesmen, and spiritual teachers, but the most mpathetic friend of India cannot but admit that these great ures are isolated phenomena instead of co-operators in an ever-creasing process of improvement and emancipation. It is gnificant that the most ardent Hindu culture-patriots look back r their golden age, not to the days immediately before the ming of the British, or that of the Musselmans, but to the far-istant period before Alexander. It is significant, also, that the reatest son of India is by common consent acknowledged to have een Gautama Buddha, in the fifth century before Christ. Oswald pengler, in his monumental analysis of the world's great culture-ochs, regards Buddha as coming at the very end of the great ge of the Hindu culture, and his conclusions are borne out by dian thinkers. New light is constantly being thrown on the onderful achievements in many spheres of that remote period; nd it is undoubtedly true that the Hindu genius then achieved perlative greatness, especially in regard to the things of the irit But what of the immense gap which separates us from at age? In the main the history that intervenes is a long cord of decay and stagnation. We see dynasties rising and lling with monotonous frequency We see a constantly creasing swarm of invaders overrunning the devoted land. We e violence and treachery, tyranny and massacre, in a dreary ccession of irresponsible despotisms, right up to the time of the ming of the British.

In the spiritual sphere, also, the greatest names are far back; d the latest period of Hinduism, before the establishment of

the British supremacy, was a time of dark corruption, when *thaggi*, infanticide, widow-burning, the horrors of Jagannath, and the gross superstitions of Tantric Hinduism marked clearly enough the wholesale decay of a great religious system.

To say this is not to deny that there were great and noble religious teachers, even in the darkest days, just as there were great patriots and statesmen; but one cannot teach Indian history for long without realising acutely the fact that there is no continuous and sustained progress connecting the great men. They are isolated pools in a thirsty desert, instead of the waves in a stream which gathers volume and beneficent power as it flows. In spite of their efforts, the general level of life and thought seems steadily to sink, until in the eighteenth century Indian history, apart from the beginnings of European government, is a hideous welter of violence, anarchy, and corruption.

It is of course true that European history has its lurid epochs. The feudal baron in the time of Stephen, for instance, was at least as unpleasant a person as any Oriental despot. There is nothing in Indian history so evil as the organised devilries of the slave trade. But anyone who has examined the two histories side by side must have realised that there is this fundamental difference between them: In the case of European history there is an invincible power of recovery even from the deepest morasses of iniquity and corruption. There is a mysterious capacity for improvement and progress, for which one searches in vain through Indian history. And the presence of this capacity renders European history entirely different from Indian.

In the case of Europe, although there have been periods of decadence and barbarism, there has been an unconquerable capacity for recovery. Even in the midst of the death-agonies of the ancient culture, the new ecclesiastical empire of the Middle Ages was born. In the darkest days of feudal anarchy the Church was busily at work laying the foundations of future enlightenment and peace, and the towns were becoming nurseries of freedom. The epoch of despotism saw also a steady progress towards the fulfilment of the revolutionary ideals of liberty and equality. Through eras of national selfishness and aggression there has come a new emphasis upon world-brotherhood and inter-racial reconciliation.

Here, and here alone, amongst the cultures of the world (for the Hindu culture, in evidencing a lack of the idea of progress, is merely in line with all other cultures except the European[1]), there is an apparently irrepressible urge towards betterment,

[1] Compare W. J. Perry, *The Origin of Magic and Religion*, p. 98, 'Every where it is found that the earliest food-producing communities, those of the archaic civilisation, were more advanced in culture than their successors.'

towards the wiping out of abuses, towards the establishment of conditions of life rendering happiness and freedom possible for wider and wider areas of humanity.

To say these things is in no sense to boast of the achievements of that part of humanity to which we ourselves belong. It is merely to take an obvious lesson from the study of parallel cultures, a study which the work of Oswald Spengler has shown to be fundamental to all right understanding of history. It is merely to point out an extremely important fact, a fact the recognition of which is essential for the survival of all non-European cultures. For the lesson of history is this, that unless the other cultures of the world can learn from the Western culture this secret of progress, they are bound to decay away and to disappear, though they may, as Spengler says, 'like a worn-out giant of the primeval forest, thrust their decaying branches towards the sky for hundreds or thousands of years, as we see in China, in India, in the Islamic world. It was thus that the Classical Civilization rose gigantic, in the Imperial age, with a false semblance of youth and strength and fulness' (*Decline of the West*, p 106).

It is therefore of the highest importance for the well-being of humanity that we should learn what is the secret of progress which in the West has enabled mankind to withstand catastrophe after catastrophe, to survive even the death of the classical culture, to remedy appalling evils and abuses, and constantly to progress towards a fuller realisation of happiness, of freedom and of brotherhood for the peoples War is an evil thing, and it is still with us; but how is it that no great modern war can be carried on unless the masses of the population on each side are persuaded that they are fighting for fundamental right and justice, and for freedom and a better world? How is it that a colossal abuse such as slavery has disappeared; that democracy and popular education are being extended to the ends of the earth, that the forces of Nature are being more and more effectively yoked to the service of mankind?

It is right that we should see the good in other cultures, and value correctly the contribution which they make to humanity as a whole It is right, also, that we should freely acknowledge the shortcomings in our own Western culture; and they are many and glaring. But this humility, excellent as it is, must not be permitted to blind us to the fact that there is in Western culture this precious thing—the idea of progress and its realisation, which is not to be found in the same way in any other culture whatsoever What is the secret of this idea, and how may that secret be imparted, as rapidly and efficiently as possible, to other sections of mankind?

The origin of the Idea of Progress in Western history is twofold, and is to be sought first in the teaching of Plato, and secondly in the interpretation of Christianity given to the Greek world by St. Paul and St. John and their followers. For 400 years the Platonic doctrines were preparing the mind of humanity for the reception of the Christian dynamic of Progress. St Paul and St. John, themselves evidently deeply imbued with Platonic thought, showed extraordinary genius in presenting their new faith to the Greek mind in a manner which rendered it possible for the infant Church, while taking up and carrying forward with tenfold impetus what was of permanent value in Platonism, at the same time to impart to these Platonic teachings an entirely new power and appeal—a power and appeal which were to be at the heart of all future progress

It is needful therefore, as the first step in any inquiry as to the manner in which the capacity for progress may be introduced into non-Western cultures, to find out what were the main features of Plato's outlook upon the world. Next we shall have to inquire how Christianity supplemented, empowered and inspired the ideas of Plato, and thus brought into existence an irresistible force of practical progress

The foundation of the Idea of Progress, as it is to be found in Plato, may be briefly summed up as the conviction that the fundamental reality behind the phenomenal universe is the Idea of Goodness and Beauty, which in the *Republic* (and elsewhere) is personified, and is regarded as an infinitely wise and good and beneficent God *striving ceaselessly to create His likeness under the conditions of this material world.* To achieve real life individual men in the world must see and know this God, and bring their wills into line with His will, so as to become like Him.

St. Paul and St John came into a world where for ages every educated man had been conversant with this magnificent view of the meaning of life Yet at the same time it was a world in which even this high and noble idealism had failed to prevent stagnation and degeneration The Idea of Progress was there Men beheld and approved it, but their wills were powerless to put into practical effect the truth which they accepted. The new Christian teaching gave exactly that moral dynamic which was required. The God of the Christians was in the main the Platonic God, except that they emphasised His love far more than Plato had ever done, and showed the outcome of that love in the Incarnation. Individual men existed, for them also, in order that they might bring their wills into conformity with the will of God, become like Him, and work for the creation of His ideal State amongst men, though for them this ideal State was not a narrow Greek city-State, such as Plato's republic was to have been, but

rld-wide community of those whose lives were ruled by the ine Will. But Christianity went beyond this teaching, and in doing transformed the Platonic idealism itself into a power hich could, and still can, effectually change the world. The ew moral dynamic was personal devotion to the living Person f Christ This devotion made all the difference between the ierely theoretical holding of ideals and the practical carrying f them out, in face of cruel and bloodthirsty opposition, even at he cost of the idealist's life.

To this blending of Platonic idealism and Christian devotion s to be traced the idea and practice of progress throughout Western history. The Christian Church, with its strong ethical tradition derived from the Jews, took over the Platonic vision of the beauty and goodness of God and of the necessity for making ie world and each individual soul in the world into what the vine Will would have them to be. These great gifts of the past ere made new and irresistible for each fresh generation by evotion to the living Christ, a devotion which made men rejoice die for Him and for the Kingdom of God which He had proaimed Hence came the power to survive the barbarian deluge, id to begin the great enterprise which is still being carried rward, in the building of the structure of free, enlightened and oundant life upon the wreckage of a savage and brutal past.

It is customary nowadays to decry—and not without reason—Vestern civilisation on account of its materialism, its scientific arfare, its vast organisation of luxury, its relentless exploitation f the poor and weak. These things are fearful evils, but they re not the real meaning of Western civilisation That meaning to be found in the forces which are struggling against these gantic evils, and are gradually taming their power for harm. he voice of protest which is never still, the organisation of lternative systems, the assertion, in season and out of season, iat the wrongs are wrongs; the persistent attempts to protect ie weak, and to systematise methods for their defence—these iings are the creative facts in the West, for they embody the iextinguishable yearning for progress, for the imposing of God's andards and the doing of God's will in wider and ever wider eas of human life, and in more and more deep-going relationips Such movements are frequently carried forward by men ho do not acknowledge any indebtedness to religious or any ther idealism, and sometimes by men whose faces are set, as it ere, the other way, since their motives are base and they seem do good by accident But none the less the creative Idea of rogress works itself out, in the steady determination of great asses of mankind by hook or by crook to make the world, and eir own lives as part of the world, more like the ideal. Behind

everything is this vision of the ideal—the conception of the Will of God working out an immense creative process, and the effectual dynamic of personal devotion.

How is the Idea of Progress, thus founded on Platonic idealism and Christian devotion, to be transmitted to vast populations which have been trained from time immemorial in a culture lacking these two elements? In order to answer this question it will, clearly, first be needful to consider, especially in their relation to the living message of Christianity which was destined to re-interpret and to empower them after 400 years, the main factors in the Platonic system of thought. We must re-read Plato, finding in him those key ideas which have been carried forward by Christianity, transfigured by devotion to the Person of Christ, and so turned into the force behind all progress in Western history.

Such a study is especially appropriate for the reason that Plato, more than any other writer, yields his choicest treasures to a method of exploration which consists in going through his Dialogues and selecting here and there the phrases which sum up, often with a flash of brilliant poetic genius, the principles at which he arrives through his philosophic reasoning. For Plato is even more of a poet and a prophet than a philosopher. Much of his abstract thought is almost meaningless to us to-day. Some of it is grotesque; and not a little of it is actually revolting. But every now and then, sometimes after pages of dry and profitless logic-chopping, sometimes thickly scattered from line to line, we come across isolated expressions which show the deepest poetic intuition into eternal truth. These phrases more than anything else in Plato—more even than the magnificent structure of the Theory of Ideas, and more than the famous Platonic myths—sum up the spirit of the man, and show to us the real world in which his spirit lived. Through the long ages since his day it has been these phrases, these stars of truth that shine in his pages, which have attracted men to Plato and taught them to feed on his thought. In such phrases are summed up his immense permanent contributions to the spiritual life of humanity. In them, above all, are to be found embodied the key ideas which, re-interpreted and inspired by Christianity, have given to subsequent ages the actuality of progress

Supremely great man though Plato was, he thought, of necessity, in the terms of his own age, and expressed himself in a manner which his age could understand. Therefore much of his actual reasoning is meaningless to us His age being immeasurably distant from our own, in many more ways than in regard to time, it is often hard, and not infrequently impossible, for us to follow his reasoning, or to agree with the conclusions to which it

leads him. But at the same time we read through his pages with rapt attention and eagerness, because at any moment, perhaps in a brief clause of half-a-dozen words sandwiched in between long and heavy masses of incongruity, we may come across an utterance which with extraordinary truth and still more extraordinary beauty expresses in faultless exactitude something eternal

But Plato is more than a poet, and more than a philosopher. He is not merely able to express in words the eternally true. He is able to see that truth is also beauty and goodness. He expresses with majestic and inspired power the eternal hunger and thirst of the human spirit after righteousness His life-work, as he set it before himself, was to show men what goodness really is, and how beautiful it is ; to show that beauty, truth and goodness are one and indivisible ; and to help men to fall in love, as he mself had fallen in love, with this immortal reality. He is led with a divine passion for goodness He knows that, if he n attain to goodness, he and those who come after him will tain to beauty and truth also He labours with titanic energy express for men, for all future ages of men, the Beatific Vision hich he has himself beheld. He is filled with a religious, an angelical, fervour for goodness. In his highest moments of ispiration he shows quite clearly that he knows the Idea of oodness to be personal, to be God, and that he is in love with God.

Therefore Plato is more than poet, and far more than philoopher He is prophet, and his sayings must be studied in the eligious spirit with which early Christianity received them.

It is desirable to notice more generally the two main elements Plato's contribution to the Idea of Progress

In the first place we must set the Platonic theory of Ideas—he theory, that is, that this world is not the real world, but that s phenomena reflect, or rather manifest, in varying degrees of learness the ultimate reality of the eternal Ideas which exist eyond and above this world, and yet in so far as they are manisted in its material existence are immanent in it and give to it hat varying degree of reality it can be said to possess—that egree of reality being dependent on the clearness and faithfulness ith which any given phenomena manifest the divine Ideas. he Ideas are not merely metaphysical entities ; for Plato insists gain and again that sovereign amongst them, and partaking of a egree of reality far deeper than any other, are the Ideas of eauty and of Goodness, which in the *Republic* he identifies with ich other, and personifies, so that they are seen to be names for a preme God, whose nature is goodness and beauty, and whose ing indwells the world so far as the world shows forth goodness d beauty.

Moreover, the world exists, in Plato's thought, for the fulfilment of the will of this supreme God, in the breeding of likeness to Himself; for His eternal will is that 'all things should be as like as possible to Himself.'

These great conceptions are at the root of the extraordinary *preparatio evangelica* which was carried through by Platonism When Christianity was presented to the Greek world by St. Paul and St. John, in terms which that world could comprehend, it at once became obvious that there was not only no conflict between the fundamental conceptions of Platonism and Christianity regarding the nature of God and His Will for the world, but that the two were complementary forces, the Christian revelation taking up the torch handed to it by Platonism, and kindling its embers to a flame which should light the whole world. For Christianity added to the Platonic conception of the nature of God the final and sovereign element of redemptive love (which, although it had been perceived by Plato, had only been perceived very dimly), and taught that this love led inevitably to the Incarnation of God in an ever-living personal Saviour, whose friendship was a dynamic fact rendering it possible for weak human wills to attain to the likeness of God Himself in beauty, goodness and love.

The Platonic Theory of Ideas, seen in this perspective, is of crucial significance for the development and practice of the Idea of Progress. God's Will is the progressively increasing likeness of men, and of their life in all its relationships, to the divine nature of goodness and beauty. Therefore the ideal man, who to Plato's mind is both philosopher and statesman, and is also an earnest worshipper of God and beholder of the Beatific Vision, will direct all his activities and energies to the task of making the world good and beautiful; and to developing in himself and others, by wise methods of training, a character like the character of God.

High and noble as this ideal is, it became only too plainly evident that in practice such philosopher-statesmen-mystics are extraordinarily rare. Men's minds may accept and approve the wonderful ethical teaching of the Theory of Ideas, but their wills fail—as Plato himself pointed out—to conquer the beast within them. Sin steps in, and renders idealism futile (Plato in the *Republic* has a very definite and explicit doctrine of sin), simply because men are too selfish and bestial to follow the guidance of idealism. The world decayed into corruption, in spite of the magnificent teaching which the great seer had given. Then, at the lowest point of despair, came the Christian revelation, which supplied exactly what was needed—the dynamic of personal devotion to Christ, which transformed powerlessness of will into

enthusiastic self-sacrifice for the same great cause, the carrying forward of God's purpose in the breeding of likeness to Himself.

In the second place the Platonic conception of the Ideal State was of immense importance for the idea and fact of progress. Plato taught that there is an ideal life to be practically attained—a life which actually does render it possible for human beings to become like God; and he taught that this ideal life is to be attained, not by solitude and asceticism, but by men acting together as social beings in a community. He taught that God's will may best be done in the world by corporate effort, by the sustained and united endeavour of masses of men to live up to God's ideal for them and their joint life. The *Republic* contains elements which are highly repugnant to our modern thought. At the same time, no one can read it to-day without confessing the sublime beauty and nobility of the ideals which it contains, above all of this ideal of the united working out of the will of God as a community-enterprise.

Yet here again, high and noble though Plato's ideals were, human nature was too weak to carry them out—even to wish to carry them out. The perfect State remained an unpractical dream until at the coming of Christianity that dream was suddenly transfigured into an urgently practical enterprise for which Christ had lived and died, and for which every Christian, if he was to be a true follower of his Master, must also live and die. The Ideal City-State was re-interpreted as the universal Kingdom of God. It was still a community, to be created by corporate activity. It was still a condition of society enabling every individual in his single life, and the community as a whole, to become like the divine pattern in goodness and beauty. But it suddenly became a practical enterprise instead of an abstraction and a distant vision; and it became a practical enterprise because allegiance to it was transformed from a vague acceptance of abstract principles into a passionate personal devotion to the living King and Captain of men's hopes.

The Kingdom of God exists already, as Plato had said of his Ideal State, in the hearts of those who hunger and thirst after its righteousness. It is ever future, yet ever present, to those who are citizens of it and subjects of its King. Their lives are spent in making it an actual and working reality in the world around them, till its laws shall govern all the relationships of men. This had been true also of the Platonic State; for the two conceptions are very close together, except in this one crucially important respect, that the Christian constantly hears his Lord saying to him, 'The State, the Kingdom, it is Myself'; when he hears this he rejoices, because he knows that devotion to a living Person is

nost unsettled state; the economic position goes from bad to worse, and no policy has yet been found which is likely to bring about an early peace. But, at the same time, it must not be imagined that there has been no improvement during the last year. The French have occupied the greater part of the Jebel Druse and have considerably strengthened their military position. The road from Beyrout to Damascus is again open to traffic for the first time for well over a year. The situation in Damascus is much improved, although it cannot be said to be normal in any sense of the word.

Meanwhile a new High Commissioner has arrived in Syria, and it is understood that his policy will be purely administrative. France has experimented with a military *régime* and also with a political administration. Now she hopes to attain by pure administration what she failed to attain by other means. M. Ponsot, the recently appointed High Commissioner, has been in close touch with Syrian affairs for some time, having worked at the Quai d'Orsay as head of the particular department dealing with the Syrian mandate. He is an able administrator, an exceedingly hard worker, and a man of undoubted resource. If he guards against his inclination to 'hatch' too many ideas at the same time, he has an opportunity to do much towards peace in Syria.

There has recently been a good deal of talk in the Near East of France possibly giving up the mandate for Syria and of Italy taking her place, but it is difficult to visualise such a radical change in the mandatory *régime*. At the same time it is fairly obvious that France is heartily sick of this troublesome country, of the expenditure of maintaining there a large army of occupation, and of the considerable casualties which have taken place since the outbreak of the revolt. She has been confronted with an exceedingly difficult task—far more difficult than is generally realised in this country—and she has expended no small amount of human life, money and material in trying to carry out her duty to the League of Nations. In her attempt to bring peace to the country she has resorted to several different methods, but to say that she has failed is to judge a piece of work before it is completed.

That France has the capacity to succeed in Syria is almost beyond doubt, but unfortunately she finds it difficult to bear the financial burden without which success is impossible. General Sarrail has left a legacy of the strongest mistrust, which makes the task of pacification much harder and more costly for France than it would be for most other Powers. At one time the party of the Left in Paris strongly advocated a withdrawal from Syria, but the majority in the Chamber have steadfastly opposed any such proposal. Now, however, events have moulded the opinion

the only force that can keep his will true to the Kingdom and its laws.

It is clear what a vital connexion the conception of the Ideal State and the closely allied conception of the Kingdom of God have for the idea and fact of progress. Indeed, it may be said with truth that these great ideas are in themselves progress, and that in so far as they are held, even though unconsciously, progress will be a fact, whilst if they are not held, and where they are not held, there will be no progress, because the effective impulse towards self-sacrifice for the sake of the future will be lacking.

Many and noble are the contributions which the East, and especially India, has made towards the world's treasury of spiritual truth; but the West has this gift of progress to make to the East in return, because the West has been trained in the thought of making the divine nature of goodness and love practically manifest and operative in the world, and in the thought also that this may best be achieved in a community, and in a community whose members are ruled by a living personal allegiance to their divine Ruler.

It remains to be considered how these great conceptions which lie at the root of all progress may best be transmitted to the East. Here we shall not be at fault if we take Plato once more as our guide. Plato devotes long sections of his *Republic* to the discussion of this very question—the question of the right method of breeding the divine likeness in those who are to be the future citizens and leaders of a genuinely progressive community, the question, that is, of training men aright in thought about and allegiance to an Ideal State in which the divine goodness shall be progressively realised, and shall bring with it genuine happiness for the members of every class.

Plato declares that the solution of this question is entirely one of education. The solution sounds dull and obvious to our ears, but it was new in his day; and though we may pay to it a superficial reverence in our own day, we are far indeed from practising it. The new progressive India is to be made in her schools; but the schools which we as a nation have given to India are cram-shops, designed to turn out efficient and docile subordinates to assist us in the tasks of government. Above all, they are secular schools, which means in practice that they are stripped of the capacity to be schools at all in the true Platonic (and also Christian) sense of the term; for both to Platonic and to Christian thought schools are pre-eminently places where the divine ideal of character is studied in order that the youth may be trained to make his own life approximate to that ideal. Plato, indeed, declares in the *Republic* that education in all its branches should be concentrated

on the development of the soul, in which term he includes the character; and he is also insistent on the point that the wrong type of education causes 'the most gifted minds to become pre-eminently bad.'

The Idea of Progress is to be handed on through education, and through education which is deliberately aimed at the production of the right type of character and the right spiritual outlook on the world, as well as the right kind of mind and body How far we are from giving this type of education to India may be gathered from studying such a book as Mr Mayhew's *Education of India*, which is written by one who has himself for many years administered the existing system, and has come to perceive with a terrible distinctness the fashion in which it comes short of what is in effect the Platonic ideal He shows us a vast engine for sterilising in the Indian mind its own ideals of religion, character and life, but an engine which has no capacity for replacing these ideals—imperfect in certain respects though they may be—with anything at all, let alone anything higher and more genuinely progressive The existing government system of education in India, seen in this light, is perceived to be a vast and cruel outrage against a people innately religious in their outlook upon the world

But, though the outlook is black as regards the existing government system of education in India, it is hopeful so far as concerns another system of education, that conducted by the Christian missionaries The latter system, being in close contact with the former, is necessarily affected by many of its defects, and yet is infinitely better as a whole, because it does embody religious and moral instruction as an integral part of its curriculum. In the words of Mr. Mayhew.

> The writer's personal view is that moral progress in India depends on the gradual transformation of education by explicit recognition of the spirit of Christ All that he has seen of Christian mission work in India, with all its admitted shortcomings, has convinced him that work inspired by some such aim can alone supply the necessary basis

These are weighty words, coming as they do from one who was himself for many years Director of Public Instruction in a great Indian province. That they are not a one-sided statement may be seen from the following judgment, pronounced not long ago by a very eminent leader of enlightened Hindu thought:

> Missionary education opens the mind and the heart to all that is good, true and beautiful, come from whatever quarter of the globe it may, and urges the individual to a life-long endeavour transforming the existing state of things to a condition nearer the realisation of his ideals.

This last sentence declares in so many words that missionary education in India has attained the Platonic ideal of what educa-

tion should be. As the judgment of a Hindu it merits far more weighty consideration than if it had been made by anyone himself a missionary or a Westerner. It shows that the effort to present Western ideals in the spirit of religion and under the inspiration of a personal devotion to Christ has been amazingly successful in setting before India the true Idea of Progress.

But one proviso must be made. India must be guided and encouraged to work out her own interpretation of Christ and of Christian progress, just as the Greek world was guided by St. Paul and St. John to work out its own interpretation. As Mr. Mayhew puts it :

> Recollections of mission settlements where communities, raised from sullen apathy and suspicious resentment to a life of cheerful activity and service, testify wholeheartedly to the triumph of light and love over fear and superstitious ignorance, are before [the writer] Christianity is a very vital force in India to-day The more it spreads the more it will differ in everything except essentials from the Christianity of the West Nothing but very patient and impartial study of India's religious past and present will reveal those weeds which are inconsistent with moral growth and must be eradicated And nothing but the spirit of Christ will give the courage and will-power that a campaign against these weeds requires It will be impossible to differentiate any really effective reform movement, associated with Indian religions, from Christianity It may also be difficult to connect it with any Western form of Christianity

The openings for this kind of missionary education are greater in India to-day than they have ever been before. In view of the closing of the Indian Educational Service to European recruitment, missionary education has a new and unique opportunity of usefulness through the teaching in schools and colleges of the Platonic-Christian ideal of progress, and of the motive of personal devotion which is needful for its fulfilment. To quote Mr. Mayhew again

> The increased power given to European missionaries by the recent changes will be specially marked . . When it is no longer possible to identify Christianity with all that is bad in the Western world or all that is irksome in an alien Government, when under more favourable conditions the spirit of Christ assumes an Indian form, there will be no excuse for any misunderstanding of the work of European missionaries and no reluctance on the part of Mr Gandhi and his followers to admit openly how much they owe to their teaching It is quite wrong to lament the passing away of the conditions under which England, through its educational missionaries, can really assist the moral progress of India It would be more appropriate to rejoice over their final establishment.

There is one agency, then, the agency of missionary education, which has succeeded, both within its own sphere and through its influence far beyond that sphere, in communicating the Idea of

Progress, in making that idea an actuality in the lives of men, and hence in realising something at least of the ideal of education which originated with Plato and received such an immense impulse from Christian thought. It is obviously exceedingly urgent that, for the sake of the well-being of India, this agency should be conserved and its efforts extended. For the most urgent of all problems connected with the awakening of India, and of the East generally, to Western ideas and standards of life is the problem of rightly imbuing the educational systems as a whole with that religious spirit which has enabled missionary education (however glaring its shortcomings may be) in some measure at least to communicate the Idea of Progress—that Idea which is fundamentally a spiritual conception, the desire of likeness to God, prolonged throughout the life of each individual citizen, and bearing fruit in self-sacrificing endeavours to make the community as a whole what God would have it to be.

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RECENT WORLD ECONOMIC TENDENCIES

I

WHEN in September 1925 the Assembly of the League of Nations recommended the convening of an International Economic Conference, it invited the Council 'to consider at the earliest moment the expediency of constituting on a wide basis a Committee' to carry out all the preparatory work.

The Committee held its first meeting in April–May 1926, and laid down an elaborate plan of inquiry into the general economic conditions of the world with the object of ascertaining 'in what domains the economic difficulties which are at present experienced are international in character.' A large part of the results of this inquiry has now been published as a series of pamphlets and memoranda. These publications cover a very wide range of subjects—questions of population, agricultural and industrial production, international trade, public finance, etc. They are not concerned with the detailed problems of this or that individual country, but present a bird's-eye view of world conditions and world tendencies It is with certain of these world phenomena, with certain of the forces which cut across national frontiers, that this article is mainly concerned. I wish to estimate roughly *the relative economic development in recent years of the* major territorial masses into which the globe may be conveniently divided and consider at the same time some of the causes which have determined the varying degrees of prosperity achieved and some of the hindrances to further progress which still encumber the ground.

For a proper appreciation of the significance of the changes which have taken place in relative prosperity it is necessary to have present in the mind a picture of the distribution of the world's population.

Well over half of the population of the world is living in Asia; Europe accounts for over a quarter; North America for over 6½ per cent.; South and Central America for over 5 per cent.; Africa for between 7 and 8 per cent., and Oceania for about half of 1 per cent. There are thus more than twice as many

people living in Asia as in Europe, and the population of Europe exceeds that of all the rest of the world, exclusive of Asia, by more than a quarter. But more than 20 per cent. of the population of Europe are Russians

The continental distribution of the world's population is so uneven that the changes which have taken place in the rate of growth in recent years have but slightly modified the balance. Those changes are, however, important Between 1913 and 1925 the population of Europe [1] has only increased by a little over 1 per cent, while that of North America has grown by over 19 per cent, that of South America is estimated to have increased by 22 per cent, and that of Oceania by nearly 16 per cent. But this very slight change in Europe's population is due largely to an assumed reduction in the number of inhabitants of Soviet Russia (the figures are open to doubt), and it is perhaps more important to consider the growth in the rest of the continent, which amounted to about 4 per cent

Now towards the end of the nineteenth century the population of Europe was growing at a rate of about 10 per mille per annum, and during the decade 1901–10, on an average, by 11·8 per mille per annum Had this latter rate been maintained from 1913–25 there would be some 65,000,000 more persons in Europe to-day than there are [2]

This drop in the rate of natural increase is due, of course, in part to war casualties and to low birth rates during the war. But since 1920 there has been a rapid decline in the birth rate, and in the excess of births over deaths, in the great majority of European countries, and, indeed, very generally throughout the world

There remains, however, a vast difference between the birth rates in Eastern and Southern Europe on the one hand and Western and Northern Europe on the other The increase in France in 1925 was 1·4 per mille In England and Wales it has fallen from 10·4 per mille per annum in the quinquennium 1910–14 to 6 1 in 1925, in Roumania in 1924 it was 13 4; in Russia in 1923, 19 2 per mille We may expect for a number of years to come, therefore, that the balance of the population of Europe will shift in favour of the eastern and southern nations.

This change in the relative rate of the natural increase of population must sooner or later tend to affect the pressure of the population on the resources of the countries, the composition of the streams of European emigration, and hence the racial distribution of the populations of the world.

[1] As Soviet Russia does not distinguish between European and Asiatic Russia, the whole is here included in Europe.
[2] Excluding Asiatic Russia.

How far is it possible, then, to ascertain whether the wealth of the different continents has grown in proportion to the number of their inhabitants? There exists, of course, nothing of the character of a world census of production, and industrial statistics are peculiarly defective in Europe. Europe's knowledge of her own economic situation is, and always has been, extraordinarily limited. The League of Nations has, however, in one of its recent publications[3] attempted to measure the growth of the production of raw materials and foodstuffs in the world since 1913, and although for China and certain other countries, more especially in Asia, data proved to be lacking and only a restricted list of raw materials is considered, a good deal can be learnt from the results obtained. I need not here enter into the processes of calculation employed. Fifty-six commodities are taken, and an index of production is compiled in such a way as to eliminate changes in the purchasing power of money. The world is divided into a number of groups of countries for which separate indices are computed. The results are as follows:

PRODUCTION INDICES, 1913 = 100.

	Foodstuffs and Raw Materials		Raw Materials only
	1924	1925	1925
(a) Eastern and Central Europe—			
Including Russia (U S S R)	83	103	93
Excluding Russia, do	88	102	100
(b) Rest of Europe	102	108	105
Europe—			
Excluding Russia (U S S R)	94	105	103
Including Russia, do	90	105	99
North America	115	126	135
Caribbean	186	169	179
South America	119	135	124
Africa	132	139	153
Asia—excluding Asiatic Russia	122	124	165
Oceania	124	124	122
World	107	118	125

These figures bring out a number of interesting facts.

First, in every division of the world the production of raw materials and foodstuffs has increased since 1913, and in every division, excepting possibly Europe excluding Russia, it has increased per head of population. The Russian figures are open to a certain amount of doubt, especially in 1925, and probably exaggerate the progress achieved.

Secondly, the production of raw materials has increased more than that of foodstuffs in the world as a whole and in North and

[3] *Memorandum on Production and Trade*: Geneva, 1926.

Central America, Asia and Africa. But in Europe not only is the raw material index below the general index, but it is only 99 per cent. of the 1913 average, or if Russia be excluded 103 per cent.

Thirdly, a very great advance was made in 1925, partly owing to the good harvest of that year.

Fourthly, there has been a much more rapid development in other continents than in Europe. The harvest returns in 1925, especially in Europe, were unusually good, and the figures for that year show Europe in an exceptionally favourable light.

The position, then, may be roughly summarised as follows. In Europe, as a whole, the pre-war level of production in raw materials and foodstuffs, but not in raw materials alone, was rather more than regained in 1925. Asia and Oceania and North America produced about one quarter more than they did ; Africa and South America over a third more ; Central America, owing to the development of the petroleum industry, over two-thirds more Every continent save Europe, therefore, produced more per head

In comparing the position of the various groups of countries the fact must not be overlooked that the progress achieved in certain cases has been from very small beginnings.

Asia and Central America reflect, of course, the enormous growth in the production of rubber and petroleum for the motor car industry. What is at first sight disconcerting is that though the production of textiles, raw materials (more especially artificial silk), fertilisers, and wood pulp has increased in a very satisfactory manner in Europe, that of her great basic industries, metals and fuels, has receded. We must consider, therefore, what other evidence exists for determining whether Europe is richer or poorer than before the war

There can be no doubt that the world as a whole is richer. The very fact that the raw material index is above that of cereals and foodstuffs points to this conclusion For the richer a person or a nation or a world is, the smaller the proportion of his income expended on food tends to be. Similarly, the particular commodities the production of which has received the greatest stimulus, such as rubber, petroleum, cane sugar, cocoa, natural and artificial silk, point to a higher general standard of living. But this phenomenon must be interpreted with care, for while in America the standard of living has no doubt been raised, in Europe the shift which is perceptible toward a greater relative consumption, if not of luxuries, at any rate of non-necessities, may be simply due to reduced saving and the diversion of production from capital enterprises to the manufacture of immediately consumable commodities. It is also possible that the production

of foodstuffs is higher to-day than the figures suggest. The division of the big estates in Europe has resulted in a change in crops. The new small holder grows more vegetables, more fodder, and less corn than the big landlord. He prefers to feed to stock as much as possible and sell to his local market eggs, meat, cheese, and other dairy produce, less influenced than cereals by fluctuations in world prices. The great increase in the potato crop, for which at any rate partial statistics are available (1925 index 126 = wheat 103), is typical of this tendency.

But the statement made above, that there can be no doubt that the world is richer, requires further proof. We have to consider whether industrial production in general has kept pace with agriculture, mining, and the manufacture of certain crude products such as wood pulp, artificial silk, nitrogenous fertilisers etc. In certain regions of the world the necessary evidence is readily obtainable

In the United States of America a biennial census of manufacturing production is now taken, and it is estimated that the manufacturing output in terms of fixed values was about 60 per cent. greater in 1923 than in 1914 Between 1923 and 1925, according to the calculations of the Department of Commerce, there was a further advance of about 5 per cent The production of raw materials in 1925 was probably not more than 27 per cent above that of 1914, which means that in this country, at any rate, the national income has grown more rapidly than has the output of crude products In point of fact, various estimates of total national income have been made from which it seems probable that that income, after making allowances for price changes, was 40 to 50 per cent. greater in 1923 than before the war. Since 1923 there has certainly been a further advance These results are in no way surprising, for the tendency in modern manufacture, especially in the United States, is all towards economy in the use of raw materials, and scientific discoveries have made it possible to render an equivalent service with less material expenditure Wireless telephony and telegraphy afford the most striking example of this phenomenon.

In Canada the gross value of manufactured products rose from $1,166,000,000 in 1910 to $2,781,000,000 in 1923, or, after making allowance for price changes, by some 45 per cent The net value added in manufacture is, however, a better measure of industrial growth, and for Australia and New Zealand both the net and gross values have been calculated In Australia the net figure in 1924–5 was 33 per cent. and the gross 38 per cent. higher than in 1913 ; in New Zealand the comparative increases are greater, namely, 88 and 60 per cent. respectively. But in none of these countries is the industrial growth comparable with

that of South Africa, where the gross value of factory output in terms of stable values has more than trebled. This is an example, of course, of the extreme rapidity with which young organisms, economic and other, develop. There has been a similar growth of wealth in the Japanese colonies.

The raw materials and foodstuffs indices of these countries have not been calculated separately in the League of Nations memorandum; but, employing the same data and the same processes of calculation as I adopted for them, for Australia an index of 126 and for South Africa of 139 in 1925 is obtained. As New Zealand is mainly a meat and dairy producing country, the raw materials index, which is very low, has no real significance. But in these three countries the industrial censuses show results which are more favourable than those which we obtain from considering raw materials and agricultural crops only.

For the rest of the world no recent and complete censuses of industrial production have been made. Such a census is now being compiled in the United Kingdom, but its results have not yet been made public. We cannot estimate, let alone calculate, the industrial or the total income of Europe, Asia, or South America to-day We can only guess whether it is greater or less than that derived from agriculture or the provision of raw materials Asia, South America, and also Northern and Central Africa, however, are mainly agricultural, and the defects of the information concerning industrial output are not so vitally important But we cannot base our opinion about the general economic prosperity of Europe on raw material production alone. We must hazard a guess about the productivity of her industries, and for this purpose we must collect such indirect evidence as exists There are four possible lines of inquiry which may help us. First, for certain countries indices of current industrial production have been computed, and in one case a recent estimate of national income has been made, which will be found to throw some light on the particular situation of certain individual States Secondly, from the consumption (not production) of raw materials some measure of industrial activity can be obtained, and we can calculate very roughly certain of the changes which have taken place in consumption Thirdly, further light may be thrown on the subject by collating the available evidence concerning the conditions of separate industries. (The League of Nations has just published for the use of the Economic Conference a series of industrial monographs which are useful in this connection) Finally, the subject may be approached theoretically and from the standpoint of prices. If the prices of manufactured articles which Europe produces and exports have risen more than those of the raw materials she buys, there may be grounds for believing that

of French politicians to the view that withdrawal would distin(be for the benefit of France, provided that it could be carried without loss of prestige in her Moslem colonial possessions. I means could be devised by which France could graciously ret in favour of another mandatory Power, she would be only ready to grasp the opportunity, but it is difficult to see how t is to be forthcoming.

It has been suggested that Italy would willingly underta the task, and several considerations give colour to this ide When the Permanent Mandates Commission met recently Rome it was hinted that something was in the air; and there every reason to suppose that in Syria lies a certain outlet f Italian agriculturalists, who under an Italian mandate wou enjoy the protection of their own Government. Such a ste on the part of Italy would also constitute a distinct advance Italian influence in the Near East, and would bring Italy ver near to the 'promised land' of Anatolia. The important strate gical port of Alexandretta would then be in Italian hands. Con siderations such as these must carry weight in the deliberations o the Italian Government, but whether Italy could restore peace an prosperity in Syria is another matter.

As long as France remains in Syria—and I think that she wil remain there—she will be to some extent mistrusted by a people which steadily clings to its *idées fixes*. This must always stand as a formidable barrier between France and the Syrian people. Hence the revolt drags on and all efforts for peace seem hopeless Although there has been a general improvement in the situation it is impossible to say that the rebels are in any way beaten. Their resistance is as yet far from being broken, and they cling to the hope that France will eventually have to give up the mandate They seem to overlook the fact that France is a first-class Power and cannot afford to sacrifice her prestige in other parts of the world, however burdensome may be her charge in Syria. I do not think that France will ever be prepared to 'cut her losses' in Syria at the risk of further losses elsewhere.

The whole Syrian situation is enveloped in rumour, most of which bears no resemblance whatsoever to the truth. The Oriental states as a fact what he would like to be true and his conception of numbers is peculiar in the extreme. Anything over ten is a hundred, and anything over a hundred a thousand. Numerals convey almost nothing to his mind, except when a question of money is involved and his own pocket is affected Hence the wild and fantastic reports about French disasters and thousands of Syrian dead in Damascus. For the Oriental's mental cinema such ideas are no doubt very nice, but as data on which to form public opinion they are exceedingly harmful.

she is in a relatively advantageous position, and that even if the volume of her industrial production is not greater than it was thirteen years ago its effective quantum is. This aspect of the question will require very careful consideration.

The countries for which direct calculations exist, even including those which are partial, are unfortunately few. An estimate of the national income of the United Kingdom in 1924 has just been made by Professor Bowley and Sir Josiah Stamp.[4]. Their conclusion is that the total income in that year was 1 to 2 per cent. greater than in 1911 and the income per head some 5 per cent. lower. But to this conclusion they add the important qualification that 'the income per head from home activities was very nearly the same at the two dates, the fall being due to the lessened value of income from abroad.' An official estimate for Russia puts the total national income in 1925–6 at 70 per cent. of the pre-war and the income from land and industry at 90 per cent. Building is omitted from industries, and the difference between the two figures is accounted for by the smallness of present building operations, the restriction of transport and the contraction of trade The margin is probably too wide, and the data on which to estimate income in 1913 are extremely sparse. The more important figure for our present purposes is the 70 per cent. For 1924–5 national income was believed to have been only 56 per cent of the pre-war income, and in 1923–4 less than one-half. The 1925–6 figure must be largely influenced, *inter alia,* by the relatively good crops, not all of which, however, were ultimately harvested.

Only for Sweden and Finland are fairly complete estimates of industrial production made year by year It is believed that the quantum of industrial output in Sweden in 1924 was about 9 per cent. greater than in 1913 and in 1925 12 per cent. greater In Finland there has been an extremely rapid expansion in recent years, and it is estimated that the gross value of industrial production in 1926 was over 40 per cent. greater than before the war and the value added in manufacture over 50 per cent. greater. The comparable figures for 1925 were 31 and 42.[5] Both these countries are amongst those which have been most economically fortunate and successful in recent years, and they certainly cannot be accepted as typical of European conditions as a whole. Yet the Swedish index of industrial production is only seven points higher than the raw material index of western and maritime Europe in 1925.

Very much less complete indices of industrial production,

[4] *The National Income,* 1924. By A L Bowley, Sc.D , and Sir Josiah Stamp, G B E., Sc D (Oxford Clarendon Press).

[5] The Finnish indices are probably so much higher than the Swedish partly on account of the method of calculation employed.

partly based on indirect evidence, have been compiled for France [6] and the United Kingdom.[7] The former stands at 108 for 1924 and 106 for 1925. Special estimates have been made for Alsace-Lorraine, so that the figures refer, both before and after the war, to the area within present-day frontiers. We must not attach more importance to this calculation than do its authors themselves. It is confessedly a rough estimate, based largely on indirect evidence and referring to only a fraction of the total industrial organisation of the country. But the industries covered are fairly representative, and the result obtained confirms the general impression which will be received from a study of present-day conditions in France that the total industrial production is both greater and greater per head of population than it was before the war. Of the British index it is only necessary to say that more elaborate subsequent investigation points to the conclusion that the figures (87 for 1925 and 67 for 1926) are probably too low, though there was of course a very serious drop, as shown, last year.

For Germany no comparable computations have been made. The Reichskreditgesellschaft Aktiengesellschaft, however, makes a careful study every year of the general economic condition of the country. According to its estimates, the quantity of production in 1925 was about as large as the production within present frontiers before the war, but that in 1926 was several units per cent lower, though aggregate consumption did not fall below the old level. There has thus been a contraction in savings.

The conclusion from this more or less direct line of approach, therefore, is that the quantity of industrial output in France, Sweden, and Finland has grown more, in the United Kingdom, Germany, and Russia has grown less, than the aggregate production of raw materials and foodstuffs in Europe as a whole. I think an analysis of such fragmentary data as exist for Italy, Spain, and Denmark points to the probability of their being in the first class of relatively more prosperous countries. In Greece, with its large accession of refugee labour, there has been a great expansion of industry, though at the moment the new industries have to face a very difficult situation.

I will consider the second and third groups of evidence—the activity of certain special industries and the European consumption of certain raw materials—together. The production and consumption during 1925 of a number of products are shown below in percentages of the comparable figures for 1913. Europe is given both inclusive and exclusive of Russia, and for purposes of comparison world production figures are added.

[6] See *Bulletin de Statistique Générale de la France.*

[7] See *London and Cambridge Economic Service Bulletin.*

	Europe.		Europe without Russia		World
	Production	Consumption.	Production	Consumption	Production.
Coal and lignite . .	91	94	93	97	99
Petroleum . . .	88	—	104	—	277
Pig iron and ferro alloys .	80	82	84	87	98
Raw steel . . .	95	—	100	—	118
Shipbuilding . .	68	—	68	—	66
Mechanical engineering .	87	—	90	—	109
Electrical engineering .	141	—	146	—	201
Aluminium . .	289	—	289	217	283
Nickel . .	—	—	—	80	125
Copper .	59	—	70	108	140
Lead	64	—	64	113	132
Zinc	80	—	80	98	116
Cotton *† . . .	121	88	121	88	124
Wool † . . .	77	87	95	96	91
Flax † . .	93	90	116	—	93
Hemp † .	132	125	121	95	130
Silk ‡ . . .	114	—	114	—	156
Artificial silk .	510	—	546	—	660
Coal tar dyes . .	79§	—	79§	—	101‡
Pulp	127	—	127	—	157

* Mill consumption only. † Base period, 1909–13.
‡ Base period, 1911–15. § 1924

Certain of the results are estimates ; others are based on statistics which are generally accepted as reasonably complete and reliable Probably those referring to the output of fuel, metals (except aluminium and nickel), and shipping tonnage are the most exact For mechanical and electrical engineering and dyes I accept the ingenious, though somewhat courageous, estimates of the German Industrie Verband [8] All the figures of European consumption, exclusive of Russia, are a little too high, as it proved impossible to exclude Congress Poland and the Baltic States in 1913. Present-day consumption is therefore inflated by an amount equal to the production plus or minus net trading balance of these districts. I do not think, however, that the error introduced into the figures on this account can amount in any instance to more than about 2 per cent None of the figures should, of course, be accepted as mathematical verities ; but the difficulty arising from the division of Russia is the only one which causes a constant bias in the same direction

Both the consumption and the production of coal are slightly, the consumption very slightly, lower than in 1913. The production of steel is at its maximum pre-war level, the output of pig iron is lower—a fact which is due partly to the increased utilisation

[8] See League of Nations *Memorandum on Various Industries*. Geneva, 1927.

of scrap for making steel, partly to the falling off in the demand for wrought and cast iron. With pig iron production at 84 per cent. of the pre-war amount and mechanical engineering at 90 per cent., it is on the whole reassuring to find that the consumption of coal and lignite in Europe is as high as 94 per cent., or if Russia be excluded, probably about 97 per cent. It must be remembered in this connexion that great progress has been made in economising the industrial use of coal, and also that in Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Italy, and elsewhere hydro-electric power has been greatly developed. There is reason for believing that the consumption of coal in Europe in 1925 was higher than the average of the five last years preceding the war, and if coal consumption was higher, power employed was certainly greater.

If this is so, there must have been an important shift in production from what were previously the major industries to other forms of activity, for heavy metal production is on balance probably about 5 per cent. down, mercantile tonnage launched was almost a third less in 1925 than in 1913, and construction of warships is likewise greatly reduced, while the consumption of cotton, wool, and flax is also smaller. So far as the textiles are concerned, cotton and wool have both been replaced to some extent by artificial silk, and the hosiery branch of the textile industry, to which most of the artificial silk goes, has on the whole been prosperous

It is possible to estimate roughly the extent to which silk and artificial silk have counterbalanced the reduction in the utilisation of other textiles by calculating a textile index for Europe on lines somewhat similar to those adopted by the League of Nations. If we take the production of silk and artificial silk and the consumption of cotton, wool, flax, and hemp and the same average prices as are employed in the League's *Memorandum on Production and Trade*, we shall find that the index for the whole industry in 1925 was approximately the same as in the five years 1909–13. As this calculation includes Russia, and as in the cotton industry more fine counts are being spun, it is probable that in the rest of Europe the aggregate value of production is somewhat greater than before the war.

In contrast to these two groups of industries there has been a very rapid development in electrical engineering, a fact which is brought out both by the German calculation of the general production of the industry and by the higher consumption of copper The consumption of aluminium has more than doubled, and the falling off in the demand for wrought iron must be tributed in part to the fact that aluminium has so largely been bstituted for it in the manufacture of hollow-ware. But the ectro-technical industry and aluminium alone cannot counter-

balance the drop in shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, pig iron production, and the serious drop in the manufacture of coal-tar dyes. How is it, then, that the power employed in industry is not lower than it is?

It so happens that the particular industries for which more or less complete quantitative information is available are amongst those in which the recovery has been slowest. The heavy metal industries and all those producing goods not intended for immediate consumption have been adversely affected by the contraction of savings in Europe. There has been a shift in manufacture towards the production of consumption goods. Thus the output of pulp has increased by over a quarter, and there has been a rapid expansion of the motor-car, the rubber, the footwear, the tobacco, the confectionery, and the perfumery industries, to quote only a few examples In addition to this, the development of motor transport has diverted capital to some extent from the construction and expansion of railways, which rely on the heavy metal industries, to the improvement of roads.

With less capital available, less has been exported and the opening up of new countries with the aid of European industries has slowed down.

The cause of the lack of development in the textile industry as a whole is, of course, different. That industry has been largely affected by the growth of competitive undertakings in India, Japan, China, Australia, and South America. But it is probable that the average value for most of the goods produced, even after making allowances for changes in the general purchasing power of gold, is somewhat greater than it used to be.

If it be exact that the production of the heavy metal industry is not more than 5 per cent. lower than in 1913, that the output of the textile industry as a whole is at about the pre-war standard, that the consumption of coal and lignite, despite economy in use and the development of hydro-electric power and the popularisation of the internal combustion engine, is only about 6 per cent. down (or 3 per cent. if Russia be excluded), that the electrical engineering, motor-car, rubber, paper and other industries have very considerably expanded, it seems probable that the total industrial output of Europe cannot be widely different from what it was before the war, though it may be lower than it was in the boom year 1913.

There remains, then, to consider the last of the four methods of approaching the subject mentioned above. Have the prices of manufactured goods in Europe risen more or less than those of raw materials and foodstuffs? No really satisfactory measure of the prices of manufactured articles exists, and the compilation of an index of this sort presents very special difficulties on account

f the fact that the character and quality of finished products re, as we have seen, undergoing continual changes. This being), it is best to collect together evidence from a number of idependent sources, so as to avoid the probability of a constant ias in one direction.

First, it is possible to calculate a general price index for raw iaterials and foodstuffs from the data collected for the prepara-on of the *Memorandum on Production and Trade* mentioned bove The average for the year 1924 was 45 per cent. higher ian in 1913. In 1925 prices of foodstuffs and raw materials ose somewhat. Unfortunately, no exactly similar calculation or that year has been made But, by employing rough data vailable from an inquiry into the level of tariffs, I obtain a uropean index for 1925 for foodstuffs and raw materials of bout 148 and for semi-manufactured and manufactured goods f about 164 These results are based on export prices in dollars of different lists of commodities as obtained from the official trade eturns The working data are open to criticism both on account of changes in the character and quality of the goods and on account of the fact that the pre-war prices were in a number of cases official valuations. These two facts may have worked in opposite directions to some extent, but it is probable, nevertheless, that he index for manufactured goods is somewhat too high, at any ate, as compared with the other, as the quality of manufactured products has changed more than has that of the materials from which they are made The raw materials and foodstuffs index obtained by this method is in good agreement with that for 1924 derived from the other data, and may be accepted as being of about the right order of magnitude

This first result may be checked by what is perhaps a still rougher test The imports of the United Kingdom, Germany, and Switzerland are mainly raw materials and foodstuffs and he exports of these countries mainly manufactured articles. If he average price of imports is to-day, compared with 1913, elatively higher than that of exports, there is an *a priori* ground for believing, though no absolute proof, that these countries are selling their manufactured goods at relatively higher prices than hey are paying for their supplies from abroad For 1925 the ndices were

	Import	Export
United Kingdom .	155	184
Germany .	138	133
Switzerland (1924) . .	153	166

Here the evidence is contradictory, the German exports being extraordinarily low-priced. But this was during the period of Germany's stabilisation crisis, when every effort was being made

to maintain the export trade. Actually, according to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* domestic price index, which shows a special group of finished manufactured products, they averaged slightly and, according to the new official index, considerably higher than raw materials, etc. Further, in 1926 the German import index lay about 6 per cent. below the export. The presumption that the British and Swiss trade indices are more typical than the German of conditions—at any rate, in countries with stable currencies—is confirmed by the fact that the import indices of the Argentine and India, consumers of manufactured goods, rank very much higher than their export indices

For Sweden group indices of domestic prices useful in this connexion have also been calculated. At the end of 1925 the raw materials group index stood at 148, semi-manufactured products at 154, and finished products at 161 These figures are in remarkably close agreement with those I have just quoted, derived from the tariff inquiry, which cover, of course, a much wider area.

All the evidence, therefore, points to the fact that Europe is actually obtaining rather a greater quantity of raw materials and foodstuffs for a given quantity of manufactured goods But it would, in my opinion, be most unsafe to argue that the change which has taken place since 1913 in the relative value of what she buys and what she sells amounts to as much as 10 per cent , though the indices quoted seem to point to some such figure (*i e*, 148 · 162±). It so happens that the most extensive and reliable information is available for countries such as England, Germany, Sweden, and Switzerland, with high general price levels and, by the middle of 1925, effective gold currencies I have, it is true, taken France, Belgium, and Italy also into consideration, but my figures do not cover by any means the whole of Europe, and it may well be that if they did the manufactured products index would be lowered

My personal conclusion, therefore, is that in Europe, even if Russia is excluded, industrial production is not quite up to the maximum pre-war standard, but that it is not below the average of the last pre-war quinquennium This view is of course nothing more than a personal impression derived partly from the particular facts which have been considered above and partly from all those indirect scraps of evidence which, passing half observed before one's vision in the course of one's daily work, inevitably largely determine the opinions finally reached on any subject.

Secondly, I think it possible that the real value of industrial production in Europe to-day is greater than might be presumed from a study simply of the quantities of raw materials used.

The prices of manufactured products are higher than those of raw materials and foodstuffs, not simply because there has been a change in relative supply, but because the quality or the type of the goods manufactured has changed.

But at the end of 1925 there were over two and a half million unemployed in England, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Poland, and at the end of 1926 there were more These unemployed are mainly industrial workers. They constitute part of the cost of industrial production At a lower scale of wages, at any rate, a very large proportion of them would be reabsorbed into industry. The price of industrial products would then fall and that of raw materials rise A high index of prices for manufactured products is not incompatible with relatively low output Output is limited in part because the supply of one of the essential factors of production (labour) is largely controlled

Output may likewise be controlled directly when not labour, but the conduct of industry, is effectively monopolised In such a case unemployment is caused, not by the effort of the worker to maintain rates of wages, but by the effort of the employer to maintain prices In fact, both causes have operated in Europe in recent years

If it is true that European production as a whole apart from Russia was about up to the standard of the last five years before the war, some explanation of the general feeling that conditions are definitely unsatisfactory is required

In the first place, as we have seen, the population has grown, and if the production of wealth has not increased the production per head has diminished But not only has the population grown, but its average age is higher The number of persons of working age has increased more rapidly than the total population, and, what is equally important, the number of what are sometimes called consumption units has also increased more A fully grown person requires more than a child

In the second place, such depression as still exists is of course very unevenly spread over the different countries of Europe.

Thirdly, certain industries, as we have seen, have not recovered their old markets. This inability to sell in a world which as a whole is undoubtedly richer is due to the facts that some of the industries which have developed in economically younger countries are directly competitive with European undertakings, and that new industries have grown up during and since the war in older countries, so that there exists to-day a superabundance of plant Surplus productive capacity, whatever its cause, is in fact one of the most serious features of the present-day economic situation of Europe. Europe is suffering, therefore, at once from lack of fresh capital and an excess of fixed capital in certain

industries. Excess productive capacity may be due, of course either to an absolute contraction of demand or to an increase of equipment beyond the requirements of a demand which has only failed to grow equally rapidly.

The consumption of steel in Europe has not fallen off, though that of wrought and cast iron has But during the war the capacity of steelworks and rolling mills was very rapidly increased —in the United Kingdom by at least 50 per cent., and the present equipment is excessive. The difficulty of obtaining coal during the war and the excessive prices charged in certain post-war years induced Sweden, Norway, Italy, and other countries to develop hydro-electric power, Germany to substitute lignite for coal in several industries, and most countries, where there was room for it, to effect permanent economies in domestic use. In consequence of these measures, and partly too of the development of the internal combustion engine, Europe's consumption of coal has dropped. But the production of all the importing countries which have mines, save Russia, has increased.

The world's shipbuilding capacity before the war has been roughly estimated at about 5,000,000 tons per annum. To this were added some 500,000 tons in both the United Kingdom and Japan and 3,750,000 in the United States. In Italy and other countries there has been a similar development on a smaller scale. Not the whole of these docks are utilisable for shipbuilding to-day. But the liquidation of surplus equipment is a long and painful process which demands both imagination and courage.

Large undertakings for the manufacture of aniline dyes were established during the war in the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, and Japan But the world demand has not increased, and Germany used to supply four-fifths of the world's requirements

The cotton industry affords the best example of new industries in Europe's former markets rendering European plant superabundant Japan and the United States between them are consuming nearly 2,000,000 bales more raw cotton than in the last year before the war and Europe nearly 2,000,000 bales less In 1913 China imported over 160,000 metric tons of cotton yarn and in 1924 only 25,000 tons. Her demand and that of India for cotton piece goods have fallen off to the extent of 186,000 tons, while Japan's exports have risen by 100,000 tons and British exports have fallen off by over 200,000 tons. The Far East is meeting, and more than meeting, its own requirements in manufactured cotton goods. South America is relying to an increasing extent upon petroleum obtained from one part or another of the American continent. India is supplying a larger proportion of

her requirements of heavy metal products and exporting more to Japan. Australia is spinning and weaving and knitting more of her own wool and buying less manufactured products from Europe.

But these new industries are not wholly competitive. The growing wealth of the Far East and Oceania, South Africa, and other parts of the world is ultimately the most favourable omen for the future of Europe. As these countries grow richer their capacity to buy is increased. Though Japan has developed her production of steel, her imports of iron and steel products have increased; she and India and Australia are buying greater quantities of machinery and electrical equipment.

A further cause of excessive plant has operated in certain countries, more especially in Germany. Under violent inflation the domestic demand for every type of commodity is enormously increased because every individual prefers goods to money, which rapidly and automatically loses its value. The normal balance of demand is thus upset In addition to this, firms are compelled to convert their funds and accumulating profits as rapidly as possible into goods or buildings, and there is a strong incentive to extend existing plant Once the currency has been stabilised, a large amount of this new plant is found to be quite superfluous to the normal needs of the population

Finally, in more recent years economic nationalism has played its part European States whose economic equilibrium was upset by new frontiers dividing industries from their sources of raw materials or their markets have tried to find employment for workers formerly engaged in industries which have been ruined by building up new industries behind high tariff walls. From the war a wholly natural belief was inherited that success in war depended largely on the degree of industrialisation achieved.

But the excess of plant constitutes only one of the many difficulties with which European production is and has been faced While Europe's production does not appear to have been much short of the pre-war standard, her trade in 1925 was over 10 per cent lower than in 1913. This fact alone indicates where the main troubles lie. With the question of the volume of trade and obstructions to free intercourse I will deal in the second part of this article.

A. LOVEDAY.

Geneva

(*To be continued*)

he fact is that the truth about Syria is now not very exciting, and herefore is no use for headlines; but the exaggerated and un-ounded reports from Syrian sources provide the material for double-deckers' and are readily believed by a large public.[2]

. . . . .

As the rebels are 'banking' on France's position in Syria ecoming untenable as result of the next report of the Permanent andates Commission at Geneva I think that the contents of is report will come to them as a great disappointment and sillusionment. By that time it is quite possible that economic haustion will have done much to damp the ardour of the rebels, d it is to be hoped that the purely administrative *régime* of Ponsot, as distinct from the military and political administra-ns of his predecessors, will succeed in establishing some measure confidence and help to dispel the present feeling of mistrust.

In my opinion the solution of the Syrian question is to be ind on the basis of money, so dear to the Oriental mind. fortunately, money is just the very thing that France has not t; but were France to make a determined effort, possibly tailing some sacrifices, to readjust the Syrian currency or to ke possible a return to the Turkish gold currency, I think it this combined with administrative progress would be inclined make the rebels more disposed to peace, when they have lised that France has the full support of the League of Nations l that there is nothing to be gained by prolonging the conflict.

E. W. POLSON NEWMAN.

The publication of such reports is not only harmful and misleading, but it to the difficulties of France's task in Syria, which we as a mandatory igue should do all in our power to alleviate.

THE INVESTIGATION OF CANCER

I

THE man in the street, with a very sound instinct, is more interested in health than in illness He leaves it to the medical profession to concern itself with the problems of the nature and treatment of disease But cancer takes an exceptional position in the mind of the public. No attention would be paid to statements on heart disease or tuberculosis unless they were made by men who have given years not merely to the treatment but to the scientific study of these diseases. But any statement on cancer, no matter how loose or irresponsible it is, finds at once a wide publicity in the daily Press Some of these statements are mutually contradictory; others are due to errors which have been pointed out before more than once One could write an article dealing alone with the numerous fallacious statements on cancer which are being brought to the notice of the public with wearisome reiteration. Cancer houses and cancer villages have been 'discovered' in this country on the basis of arithmetical errors which would make a schoolboy blush This or that article of diet is incriminated as 'the cause of cancer' on hearsay evidence which on investigation cannot be substantiated Statements are made on the alleged freedom of native races from cancer in which the evidence to the contrary is disregarded, references are not verified, statements published in papers are misquoted. Cancer statistics in inexpert hands can always be relied upon to provide sensational results It has been said that figures cannot lie, but that liars can use figures. However that may be, it is certain that the figures of cancer statistics can lie when they are used by honest but inexpert men. Only expert statisticians who are also conversant with the pathology of the disease are competent to deal with cancer statistics, but in their hands the sensational results fail to appear. In this way the impression has been created in the mind of the public that cancer is a profound mystery of which nothing definite is known and in which no advance has been made The impression is deepened by the exaggerated—one might almost say hysterical—terms in which the disease is referred to: 'the scourge of civilisation,' 'the

enemy of mankind,' the 'king of terrors,' and so on. Cancer is said to be increasing rapidly and is depicted as a horrible evil thing creeping slowly over the civilised world, a mystery which we do not understand and against which medicine is helpless. The whole subject has become enveloped in a morbid sensationalism which conveys to the public a very distorted picture of the present state of the cancer problem and calls for a sober presentation of the subject, for which the invitation of the Editor affords a suitable opportunity.

Let it be said at once that cancer is responsible for a large number of deaths. Nevertheless, it is in its earliest stage a disease curable by operation. But if this stage is passed it takes a fatal course The question will naturally be asked, Why are so few patients cured of the disease? The answer is that it is extremely difficult to diagnose the disease in its early stage, because in that stage it does not manifest itself by any characteristic symptoms—not even pain Another point that may be stated at once is that cancer is certainly not increasing at an alarmingly rapid rate If it is increasing at all—and it is by no means settled that it does so—the increase is slow. Nor could cancer be called to-day a mystery Twenty-five years ago that would have been a correct description But the work of the past twenty-five years has enabled us not only to understand the disease but to follow it from its inception to the end. In fact, the essential nature of the disease can now be understood by everybody who has an elementary knowledge of the structure of the body.

The body is built up of living cells as a house is built of bricks. The living cell is the ultimate living unit. An organ like the heart is built of special muscle cells which are contractile, the kidney of the different kinds of kidney cells which have the power to remove special substances from the blood and to secrete them, the salivary glands of secreting cells which form saliva, and so on. In each organ the cells are held together by the supporting tissue called the connective tissue, which consists of a network of elongated cells The cells of one particular organ grow together and work together for the common good of the organism, and we may describe the living organism as an ideal state of which the cells are the citizens. If, by chance, any damage is done in one organ and a group of cells are killed, new cells are formed at once, and the damage is repaired. Everybody is familiar with what happens when we cut our skin: a little blood exudes and forms a protective layer under which the damage is repaired The skin, like every other organ, is composed of several layers of cells. When the skin is cut the cells in the neighbourhood of the cut grow a little more rapidly and fill up the gap, so that after a few days the skin is healed. This growth of the cells is not brought about by

an enlargement of the cells, but by their division: one cell divides into two, each of these two daughter cells divides again and forms four cells, and so on in geometrical progression. Similarly, when a child grows all its organs grow with it, not by enlargement of the cells, but by multiplication of its cells. The size of the cells remains the same throughout life for each particular organ. This complete harmony, which controls and governs the life and growth of the millions of individual cells of which the body is composed, is indeed a mystery—if we wish to speak of mysteries—for we have as yet no exact knowledge of the manner in which it is brought about. In this perfectly organised cell state imagine one single cell in a particular tissue—the skin, for instance, since it is most familiar—freeing itself from the restraint and control to which all the other cells are subjected. It begins to grow regardless of the needs and functions of the tissue to which it belongs It forms two, four, eight, sixteen, cells, each of which has inherited from the parent cell its independence, and after eleven such divisions more than 1000 cells are present in place of the single cell. Another eleven such divisions, and a single cell with a diameter of one-hundredth of a millimetre, so that it is only visible with a microscope, has given rise to a minute growth of the size of a pin's head which can be seen and felt. In this way the normal cells which surround it are at first pushed aside and crushed to death; the newly formed cells grow between them and thus spread through the normal tissue and infiltrate it. As a result of this process a swelling or tumour is formed, at first small, but gradually growing The process may be likened to the growing of a weed in a garden. It starts in one particular place and gradually spreads over the flower-beds, crushing out the flowers through its rapid growth, so that in the end the whole garden is overgrown with the weed. In this analogy the important point, to which reference will be made again presently, is that the final state is due not to the flowers being transformed into the weed, but to their being killed and replaced by the weed. In the same way the tumour is formed by a killing off and replacement of the normal cells by the tumour cells, and not by the tumour cells transforming the normal cells with which they are in contact into tumour cells.

So long as the growth of this tumour remains restricted to the tissue in which it started not much harm is done except a local destruction of the normal tissue. The life of the organism in which it occurs is not in danger, and the trouble can be cured by cutting out the tumour. But as the growth of the tumour extends cells become detached and are carried away by the tissue fluids which circulate through every living organ. In this way they get into the blood stream and are carried away until they are arrested in

some vessel which is too narrow to allow them to pass. The lungs, which are a network of such very fine vessels, are most frequently the place where these cells are caught. They now carry on their independent career of growth in the lung, and, by forming there new masses of cells which gradually destroy this vital organ, produce a fatal tissue. It is in the literal sense of the word a state of anarchy in the ideal cell state. This process of autonomous, anarchical growth, local at first, beginning in a few cells or perhaps a single cell of one particular organ, remaining localised at first and spreading later through an actual carriage of cells to other organs, is cancer. It is an unfortunate name, and it would be better to replace it by some less suggestive term such as 'neoplastic disease.'

The process may occur in any organ. We have taken the skin as an example, and then the disease is called cancer of the skin. If it occurs in the stomach it is 'cancer of the stomach,' or, as it may be called, neoplastic disease of the stomach. One very characteristic feature of the disease is that it makes its appearance almost exclusively in middle-aged or old people.

It will be seen that cancer is a definite concrete problem, not an abstract, obscure, mysterious disease What we have got to explain ultimately is the change which occurs in a cell when it frees itself from the restraint which controls the growth and function of all normal cells and is thus enabled to start on its destructive career As will be seen presently, this problem, though as yet unsolved, is by no means insoluble, and at least one solution has recently been offered Apart from this, we understand the course of the disease not only from beginning to end, but within recent years we have actually been able to study the preliminary stages leading up to the disease.

From the account of the nature of neoplastic disease which we have given one fact stands out as of the greatest practical importance cancer is at the beginning a local disease, and so long as it remains local it can be cured by surgical removal Once the disease has spread to other parts, its course cannot be arrested. It is therefore of the greatest importance that cancer should be recognised while it is still in the early localised stage. Unfortunately, cancer spreads, as a rule, rapidly, so that the period of grace is short Moreover, cancer has no specific symptoms, there is no fever, no pain, not even a feeling of not being quite well. There is merely a small swelling which can be seen or felt if it happens to be in a superficial tissue or organ such as the skin, the tongue, or the breast. These are called 'accessible sites' If, on the other hand, neoplastic disease affects an inaccessible site—that is to say, an internal organ such as the stomach—it is extremely difficult to recognise the disease, since even in such an

organ it does not, as a rule, produce either pain or indigestion in its earlier stages. Neoplastic disease of the inaccessible sites is therefore a much more dangerous disease than neoplastic disease of the accessible sites. In the latter group a large number of cases can be cured by operation and are being cured. A recent report of a surgeon specialising in one particular accessible site gives 50 per cent of all the cases operated by him as having been cured. If only the early cases are taken into consideration 75 per cent. of all the early cases were cured by operation. It may be explained here that the term ' cured ' means that a patient is alive and well without recurrence of the disease five years after the operation. It is known from practical experience that the disease, if it has not recurred in the five years following the operation, is completely eradicated. In a recent report issued by the Ministry of Health and dealing with a series of 357 operations on cancer of the breast performed in one centre the following results are given: Of the 357 patients only 87 submitted themselves to treatment while the disease was still localised. Of these 87 patients 90 per cent were still alive ten years after the operations, but of those operated after the disease had begun to spread less than 10 per cent were still alive at the end of the year.

This teaches an obvious lesson which is of such truly vital importance that it cannot be emphasised too strongly: whenever in middle or old age there is any possibility of the disease either on account of a swelling or of some other deviation from health competent medical advice should be sought at once. Not every swelling, not every deviation from health, indicates neoplastic disease, but only a medical man is competent to judge and advise

It is this fact that cancer does not produce any specific symptoms and in the uncomplicated early stage is not painful that makes it such a dangerous disease Take a disease such as appendicitis. It is always accompanied by very definite symptoms · the patient feels ill, runs a temperature, and as a rule has such intense pain that a medical man has to be called in at once. The symptoms are so characteristic that a case of appendicitis rarely fails to be diagnosed. Operation can be resorted to, and few lives are nowadays lost through this disease. But if appendicitis were a painless disease without definite symptoms, the disease would only be recognised when it had destroyed the appendix and produced a collapse from the ensuing peritonitis, and then the lives of only few patients could be saved. Illness and pain, however unpleasant they are, are danger signals that warn us and protect our lives. Moreover, since most diseases affect only one particular organ, the symptoms of illness give valuable information on the nature of the disease

by indicating the organ that is affected. But in cancer almost any organ may be affected. When the disease has advanced so far that it produces symptoms, these will vary with the particular organ which is affected by neoplastic disease, and are even then not characteristic for cancer. Cancer of the stomach in the advanced stage produces indigestion, but so do many other conditions. Thus it comes about that many patients die of cancer without the disease ever having been suspected, and their death is ascribed to some other illness. It is therefore not an exaggeration to say that, from the point of view of diagnosis, cancer is not a single disease, but a whole host of diseases We shall find the same statement to be justified when we come to consider the causation of cancer. These are some of the difficulties inherent in the problem of cancer But however varied the disease may appear as we study it in this organ or that organ, however numerous the conditions which lead up to the development of the disease, however widely the disease may spread throughout the body, the actual process which constitutes the disease is always the same . autonomous anarchical growth beginning locally in a few cells

Now it must not be supposed that our present conception of the nature of cancer has always held the field There was a time —and, though it is not much more than a generation ago, it seems to have been completely forgotten—when cancer had a very different and truly hopeless aspect

The history of modern medicine during the last fifty or seventy-five years is one of the most fascinating and important chapters of human endeavour. That is not only true for the development of bacteriology, which is generally admitted, but for the whole of medicine, and certainly for the history of cancer research. The successes of bacteriology are more obvious and striking, because in the case of every bacterial disease the problem is more circumscribed In almost all bacterial diseases there is a specific cause—namely, the specific germ which causes the disease : the bacillus of diphtheria is the immediate cause of diphtheria, the bacillus of tuberculosis the immediate cause of tuberculosis, and so on. When the specific germ has been isolated the main problem is solved, and the way is open for the systematic attack on the disease by antitoxins, vaccines, serum reactions, and preventive measures which follow as a matter of course But in the investigation of such diseases as heart disease, Bright's disease of the kidneys, diabetes, the various forms of nervous diseases, or cancer, the problem is wider. We have to deal here with alterations in the structure or function of whole tissues which may be due to a variety of causal factors. In each such disease there are great variations in severity and type, which may have to be distinguished either from the point of view of the causation or that of

the treatment of the disease. The solution, when it is found, is not nearly so simple and clear-cut as in specific bacterial diseases. If the successes of bacteriology can be likened to the successful first ascent of a mountain, where the task is completed once the summit has been reached, the attack on such diseases as cancer is more like the exploration of a whole continent. Each advance lifts the veil a little further, and while it may reveal new and unsuspected aspects of the problem it offers at once the starting point for the next expedition. Progress may appear slow to the stay-at-home spectator who expects to hear of sensational discoveries and who may be unable to understand how the various findings fit into each other. But to those who have set themselves the task of exploration the history of cancer research is a fascinating story of human endeavour and steady progress.

It may be said to begin in the middle of the last century with the founding of pathology by Virchow. Then it was generally held to be a constitutional disease, because the disease was only recognised in its later stages when it had begun to spread. Some authorities believed that the disease spread by infecting the healthy tissues and turning normal healthy cells into cancer cells This view obviously involved the assumption that cancer was due to a germ. Others looked upon it as a local manifestation of a disease of the blood. The practical outcome of this conception was that cancer was regarded as an incurable disease. Operations, when resorted to, were merely used as a palliative measure, and the question was even raised whether the fatal issue was not accelerated by operative interference We have an account of the gradual change from this pessimistic and hopeless attitude in a lecture on cancer by the late Sir Henry Butlin, who was one of the pioneers in showing that cancer was a curable disease I cannot do better than quote from his writings published shortly after his death in 1912. He describes the teaching which dominated surgery when he was a young surgeon :

> Under this pessimistic pathology the most that was ever expected from an operation was that the patient might die a little less miserably. The disease was often advanced before it was removed, the operation was quite inadequate . . . There was no hope either for the present or the future To the very end of their surgical lives many surgeons of the generation before my own were under the influence of these views, and I have heard the expression many times 'Once cancer, always cancer'
>
> I do not remember when, or where, or how the theory of the local origin of cancer came before the pathologists and surgeons, or whether it was a British or Continental inspiration. It was a very happy inspiration, and humanity has reason to be very thankful for it. I have no recollection of discussing it and suddenly being struck with the belief that it was true. Probably conversion came slowly from the more careful study of individual cases of cancer and from the slow discovery that operations were more

successful than they had been believed to be. I can well remember occasionally drawing the attention of the permanent staff [of St. Bartholomew's Hospital] to such successful cases. The reply was always: 'Well, you may be sure it was not a case of cancer.' . . . Gradually belief in the curability of cancer was established. Hope was infused into the minds of surgeons and their patients. . . . It must not be imagined that all this was accomplished without a great deal of opposition, or that it was carried through in the course of a few years. Even when it was evident that the humoral theory could no longer be maintained, it was by no means abandoned. The old humoral pathologists, and those who would not admit the local origin of cancer, spoke of the constitutional origin of cancer, and discussions took place and battle was waged with varying success by the adherents of the two theories, and would probably still be waging had not the question been definitely settled by experimental investigation of our own [the Imperial Cancer Research Fund, with which Butlin was associated as a member of the Executive Committee] and other Cancer Research Associations in the course of the last ten years

Since then the local origin of cancer holds the field The object of the surgeon is to remove it early while it still remains a local disease . . . His working theory is plain and simple; it is to remove the whole of the existing disease—in fact, to get all the cancer cells out of the body of his patient. If he can do this the patient will be cured . . . The advantages which have been gained for cancerous persons by the institution of a good working theory for a bad one are greater than the mind of man could have conceived

The experimental investigation referred to by Butlin began just twenty-five years ago as the result not so much of a new discovery as of a considered decision to study the disease in animals, since no conclusive results could be obtained by the clinical study in man. It does not seem a very profound or original idea now to us—looking backwards But at the time—and here I speak from personal knowledge—it met with the most violent opposition by some of the most distinguished authorities on cancer There existed at the time a firm conviction that cancer was a disease peculiar to man. Repeatedly a number of observers had described the occurrence of cancer in different species of animal, and even successful transmission of the disease from one animal to another of the same species had been recorded. Now in the study of every disease one of the first steps is to inquire whether the disease occurs spontaneously in animals or whether it can be induced in them, since that at once makes it possible to study the disease experimentally. But in cancer the important observations of the spontaneous occurrence of the disease in animals were ignored again and again so completely that in a standard text-book on cancer by a leading authority on the subject published in 1902 in two large volumes, and dealing exhaustively with the pathology of disease, no reference whatever is made to the occurrence of the disease in animals. I can only

account for this extraordinary fact by the association of cance with the semi-mystical idea that it is a scourge laid upon civilise man—an idea which even to this day makes its appearance no and again. In any case, it is a fact that when the late Dr. Bash ford, who in the same year (1902) had just been appointed Directo of the newly formed Imperial Cancer Research Fund, decided t concentrate all the resources of the new institution on the experi mental study of the disease in animals, he had to devote years t the task of convincing the medical world that cancer was a diseas affecting widely different classes of animals from fishes t mammals, and that exactly the same fundamental features wer exhibited whether the disease was found in a fish, a frog, a bird a mouse, or in man.

The proof was so convincing and the possibilities of the experi mental method of attacking the problem became so evident that within a few years cancer research was organised along these lines all over the world In this country old endowments for cancer research which had lain dormant for want of a suitable line of work were reorganised and new research centres were founded.

W. CRAMER.

(*To be continued.*)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WEATHER FORECASTING

It is a remarkable fact that it was only in the middle of the nineteenth century, just when steam was about to make ocean navigation independent of the winds and largely independent of the weather, that maritime nations realised the necessity of knowing the prevailing winds and ocean currents in all parts of the world in order to make safe and rapid voyages Largely as the result of the work of Lieutenant Maury, of the United States Navy, an international conference met in Brussels in 1853 to organise an intensive study of marine meteorology in order to obtain the data so urgently required for navigation The British Government was represented at the conference, and in the following year it was decided that the Board of Trade should establish an office for the discussion of the observations which it was proposed to make Before doing so, however, the Board of Trade very wisely decided to consult the Royal Society 'as to what are the great desiderata in meteorology,' not only on the sea, but also on the land The reply of the Royal Society is a model of what such replies should be; it stated in simple language the problems to be solved and suggested the lines along which they could be attacked

The Meteorological Department of the Board of Trade was formed with Admiral FitzRoy, who had commanded the *Beagle* when Charles Darwin made his voyage, at its head, and the letter of the Royal Society became the instructions under which it commenced its labours It is fascinating to a meteorologist to read what the Royal Society had to say about meteorology seventy-three years ago, when meteorology, as a separate science to be fostered by Government, was about to be born; but it is what the letter does not say which is the most significant. From beginning to end there is not a word about what has now come to be called "weather forecasting, nor is there the slightest indication that the drafters of the letter even considered the possibility of foretelling the weather.

FitzRoy commenced his work of collecting, tabulating, and discussing observations from the sea at his new office in Parliament

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE PERSIAN GUl (*concluded*).

The invention of steam enabled the mechanicalised sail of Europe to compete again with the seamen of England in ma distant waters, and after a lapse of some 200 years the mariti Powers once more essayed a hand in the ' trade of merchandi in the Persian Gulf.

The first steamship to cause consternation amongst the Ara was the *Hugh Lindsay*, of the Indian Marine, in 1838; but i twenty years no regular service was organised: letters fro Baghdad for India still went by an amazing route through Syri Egypt and the Red Sea, and by a still more circuitous rou letters from Bushire went to India the same way through Tehera

In the 'sixties the British India Steam Navigation Compan appeared on the scene, regular communication with the outsi world began, and with it the modern history of the Persian Gul

Hard upon the sterns of the steamships came railways and th telegraphs.

The difficulties of the Turks in communicating rapidly wit their outlying provinces in the Crimean War, and the long delay between London and Calcutta in the Indian Mutiny, brough the possibilities of the telegraph to the notice of the two Gover ments chiefly concerned. Agreement was reached, the wor pushed on, and on January 27, 1865, the first Indo-Europea message passed over the Gulf cables—too late, however, to b read by Colonel Stewart, the constructor of the line, who died fortnight before at the age of thirty-two, worn out by accident illness, and the heat.

The early troubles of upkeep of the line were many an various; the section between Karachi and Gwadar was serious disturbed by the frolics of a whale, which succeeded in gettin entangled in a bight of the cable and drowning itself.

Eight miles up at the head of the long and winding Kho Ash Shem—known as the Elphinstone Inlet, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf—are still to be seen the ruins of a deserted rela station on a small island which lies almost unnoticed amongst the surrounding mountains; it is said to be one of the hottest places

Street in 1854, and all went smoothly for a number of years. But in 1859 an event occurred which slowly but surely changed the whole of his attitude to meteorology, gave the English language, if not a new word, at least a new phrase, ' weather forecast,' and laid the foundations of what has become a very important branch of applied science.

In 1859 the British Association held its annual meetings at Aberdeen, and the Prince Consort was its President. The Council of the Association decided that an attempt ought to be made to make use of telegraphy to warn distant ports of the approach of storms. A resolution to this effect was communicated to the Board of Trade, who instructed Admiral FitzRoy to get into touch with the Committee of the Association dealing with the matter and to prepare a plan for an experimental trial. Two meetings were held at Buckingham Palace, when it was decided to divide Great Britain and Ireland into three ' weather districts ' and ' to appoint a few officers (only three or four in each district) to send occasional messages according to specified readings of the instruments supplied ' These messages were to be exhibited at Lloyd's and transmitted to the other co-operating stations for conspicuous posting. It is quite clear, from the wording of the original resolution, that no attempt to foretell the weather was contemplated ; the system was simply a method by which one port could inform other ports and Lloyd's that the weather was disturbed in its neighbourhood.

Concurrently with these developments in England similar events were taking place in France, where M. Le Verrier, Senator and Director of the Imperial Observatory at Paris, had organised a daily service of telegraphic weather reports from a number of Continental stations to Paris. He wrote to Professor Airey, the Astronomer Royal, asking for the exchange of observations, and FitzRoy, to whom the inquiry was referred, was very willing to co-operate. To effect this exchange it was necessary for FitzRoy to obtain daily instead of occasional messages from his reporting stations, and this he arranged in the summer of 1860 Le Verrier's object, as that of the British Association, and probably that of Fitzroy himself at this time, was simply to issue warnings to ports when a storm was definitely known to be in existence

In order to inform the ports when the weather was disturbed a system of visual signals consisting of cones and drums hoisted on masts in conspicuous positions was inaugurated, and the necessary apparatus was supplied to fifty ports. In February 1861 the first storm signals were hoisted at British ports on instructions from the Meteorological Office in London.

FitzRoy was very much interested in foretelling the weather, and had already drawn up ' Instructions for the Use of the Baro-

meter to Foretell the Weather.' It is, therefore, not surprising that as he contemplated each day the messages from the various parts of the country he should feel in a position to say what kind of weather was to be expected in each district, for he had only to apply the same rules to the observations which he received by telegram as he applied to those made locally to obtain equally satisfactory forecasts. Prognostications of this kind began to play a part in his storm warnings, which now became intelligent anticipations instead of mere reports of existing conditions. By August 1861 FitzRoy felt so confident of his ability to indicate the probable future weather that he decided to publish in the daily Press what he called 'forecasts.' The choice of this word was carefully considered, for, in his own words, 'Prophecies or predictions they are not . the term forecast is strictly applicable to such an *opinion* as is the result of a scientific combination and calculation, liable to be occasionally, though rarely, marred by an unexpected " downrush " of southerly wind, or by a rapid electrical action not yet sufficiently indicated to our extremely limited sight and feeling.' The word *opinion* is in italics in the original

This development of science in the direction of the weather prophet and maker of almanacs much disturbed men of science. Le Verrier in Paris had strongly appealed to FitzRoy to go slowly, and not to run the risk of ruining the storm reporting service by trying to predict storms before he was in a position to do so. The feelings of Fellows of the Royal Society can be as easily imagined as described, but FitzRoy, supporting himself on the obvious public demand for his forecasts and on favourable reports of the storm warnings which he received from the ports, was not to be deflected from his path. The following statement, which he quoted to show the effect of his forecasts in an address delivered before the Royal Institution in 1862, is rather amusing . 'At a recent meeting of the shareholders of the Great Western Docks at Stonehaven, Plymouth, it was stated officially that the deficiency [in revenue] is to be attributed chiefly to the absence of vessels requiring the use of the graving docks for the purpose of repairing the damages occasioned by storms and casualties at sea '

FitzRoy had the encouragement of seeing his example copied all over Europe Le Verrier in Paris organised his storm warning service, and even started daily forecasts, but he soon dropped the latter Storm warning services were established in Germany, Holland and Russia, while Denmark, Sweden, Hanover, Hamburg and Oldenburg all asked to be warned by the London office of storms which were likely to affect them.

Weather forecasting occupied more and more of FitzRoy's

time, and he took his staff off their legitimate work of collecting *and discussing marine observations to help in his forecast* service. Less and less money was spent on instruments and other expenses connected with the marine work, while more and more was spent on telegraphing and storm warning.

It is interesting to consider the methods employed in this early period of British weather forecasting. It must be remembered that the mapping of weather information on what are now called synoptic charts was in its extreme infancy, and although FitzRoy had himself employed such charts in a rudimentary form in his investigation of the great storm which wrecked the *Royal Charter* in 1859, he did not employ them for making his daily forecasts I have already stated that FitzRoy had drawn up a number of rules for interpreting the readings of a barometer They were purely empirical rules without any scientific basis except that of observation. As an example, three of his forty-seven rules may be quoted :

17 If the barometer has been about its ordinary height, say near thirty inches, at the sea-level, and is steady or rising, while the thermometer falls, and dampness becomes less, north-westerly, northerly or north-easterly wind, or less wind, less rain or snow, may be expected

18 On the contrary—if a fall takes place, with a rising thermometer and increased dampness, wind and rain may be expected from the south-eastward, southward, or south-westward

19 In winter, a fall, with low thermometer, foretells snow

Empirical as FitzRoy's rules are, they are wonderfully correct, and there is hardly a single one for which a scientific reason cannot now be given, although the reason was entirely unknown to FitzRoy.

Each morning reports were received by telegram from sixteen stations in the United Kingdom and from four stations on the Continent, the latter being received from Paris in exchange for the messages sent to Le Verrier A list of the observations was made, and then by simple inspection of these returns forecasts for different parts of the country were prepared. No notes or calculations upon paper were made ; the operation was conducted mentally and occupied about half an hour. As soon as the forecasts were made they were sent to the newspapers, and if storms were foretold notice was sent by telegraph to the ports to hoist the storm signals.

In April 1865 Admiral FitzRoy died, and the Board of Trade, who had evidently become uneasy regarding the changes in the Meteorological Office, considered this a good opportunity to have the whole position investigated. They again sought the help of the Royal Society, and a small committee, with Mr. Francis Galton as chairman, was set up for the purpose. The committee

was shocked at the way in which the programme laid down by the Royal Society in 1855 had been neglected, and at the great accumulation of marine observations which had received little or no attention in the Office. We are not, however, concerned here with this aspect of the committee's report, but the following question and answer may appropriately be quoted:

Question 4—Assuming that the system of weather telegraphy is to be continued, can the mode of carrying it on and publishing the results be improved?

Answer—The system of weather telegraphy and of foretelling weather is not in a satisfactory state It is not carried on by precise rules; and has not been established by a sufficient induction from facts. The storm warnings have, however, been to a certain degree successful, and are highly prized We think that the daily forecasts ought to be discontinued, and that an endeavour should be made to improve the storm warnings, to define the principles on which they are issued, and to test those principles by accurate observations.

On receiving the report of the committee the Board of Trade realised the difficulty of a Government Department controlling a purely scientific service, and they proposed to the Royal Society that the latter should appoint a committee to take over the management of a reorganised Meteorological Office The Royal Society agreed to this proposal only on the condition that storm warnings and weather forecasts should be dropped The Board of Trade accepted this condition, and at the end of 1866 the management of the Meteorological Office passed into the hands of a strong committee appointed by the Royal Society

Thus ended in apparent failure the first attempt to issue official weather forecasts in this country, but the reputation of the great admiral, the first official meteorologist, in no wise suffers He was a true pioneer, and if he had any fault it was the praiseworthy one of refusing to be deflected from his path by the advice of more timorous men, but facing his difficulties and frequent failures without losing confidence in achieving the great task which he had set before himself. And one wonders whether his failures were so real as made out by the committee. FitzRoy knew more about the weather and the sequence of its changes than any man then living; therefore, when fortified by his daily reports, he could tell the public more than they knew, or could possibly know, of what weather to expect Surely this was something gained and was better than passive ignorance. But the committee realised this fully, and I will let them speak on FitzRoy's behalf by quoting the last paragraph of their report:

We feel moreover that we should be doing great injustice to ourselves if we were to allow it to be supposed that we under-value either what the late Admiral FitzRoy attempted or what he effected. To his zeal and perse-

verance is due the credit of establishing a system of storm warning which is already highly prized by the seafaring class; and, if a more scientific method should hereafter succeed in placing the practice of foretelling weather on a clear and certain basis, it will not be forgotten that it was Admiral FitzRoy who gave the first impulse to this branch of enquiry, who induced men of science and the public to take interest in it and who sacrificed his life to the cause.

The Meteorological Office came under its new management a the end of 1866. At once a circular was issued suspending the storm warnings, and the issue of forecasts was discontinued Immediately there was a great popular outcry. Memorials praying for the restitution of the storm warnings were forwarded from several ports, and questions were repeatedly brought before Parliament. The Board of Trade felt their hand forced, and they requested the committee 'to give some intelligence of storms in such a manner as they might think fit.' The committee had to bow to the popular demand, and they agreed to issue a communication as soon as a storm or a serious atmospheric disturbance *existed* on some part of our coasts This was simply a return to the original idea of issuing warnings which were only statements of fact and not of opinion Still public opinion was not satisfied, and the demand for forecasts continued The British Association at their meeting at Dundee in 1867 passed a very strong resolution praying for the restitution of the FitzRoy system. To all requests for forecasts the committee turned a deaf ear.

The Meteorological Office, however, did not let the matter rest in this *non possum* state. The daily messages from the telegraphic reporting stations were continued, and a daily weather report was published containing the observations and a general statement of the weather over the British Isles, but no forecast. Each day the observations as they were received were plotted on charts, and these were carefully studied. In the meantime Buys Ballot had enunciated the law which goes by his name connecting wind force and direction with the distribution of barometric pressure In this way the study of the weather by means of synoptic charts was inaugurated, and it was soon found that the weather map was a more powerful aid to systematising and interpreting weather changes than FitzRoy's rules It was found that the weather bore a very close relationship to the type of isobars shown on the maps. Barometer depressions as the cause of cyclonic storms had long been known; now the areas of high pressure, to which Galton gave the name of anticyclones, were recognised also as regions of very characteristic weather.

As this improved knowledge slowly accumulated the temptation to use it became irresistible. Although the very idea of issuing forecasts remained anathema to the committee, the Director

of the Office, to whom 'the issue of storm warnings, etc., has necessarily been confided by the committee,' slowly and cautiously introduced the element of anticipation into the warnings, and from a report which he made to the committee in 1876 it is clear that he was then making great use of his daily synoptic charts in determining the development and future movement of storms. Thus again the Meteorological Office started down the slippery slope of forecasting which FitzRoy had so disastrously trodden and in exactly the same way, except that now weather maps replaced verbal rules

In 1877 another change was made in the management of the Office The appointment of a committee by the Royal Society to manage the Meteorological Office had always been considered to be a provisional arrangement, and at first it was suggested that it should be appointed for three years only, but, as a matter of fact, it retained control until 1877, when, owing to difficulty with the Scottish Meteorological Society, it was decided to replace the voluntary committee by a paid council This change made no difference at first in the attitude of the Meteorological Office towards the issue of forecasts, but in 1879 the council decided that the knowledge of the sequence of weather had been so much extended by the study of synoptic charts that the issue of forecasts, which had now been discontinued for thirteen years, might be recommenced

The complaint of the committee which investigated the work of the Meteorological Office on the death of Admiral FitzRoy had been that the system of forecasting employed by FitzRoy 'is not carried on by precise rules: and has not been established by a sufficient induction from facts.' To forestall a similar complaint against the new series of forecasts the council asked the Hon. Ralph Abercromby, an experienced sailor, a keen observer and an acute meteorologist, to formulate the rules employed in the official forecasts The result was a small book published by the council under the title *Principles of Forecasting by Means of Weather Charts*: *Official No.* 60. It throws a sidelight on the attitude of the council to forecasting at this time that they should ask an outsider to prepare an account of the methods used in the Office, and even then that the author should state in his preface

> It must be understood that the Meteorological Council, although authorizing the publication of the work [he had already said that it had been undertaken at the request of the council] accept no responsibility for the opinions it contains, which are therefore to be regarded as those of the author alone.

The principles formulated by Abercromby remained practically unchanged until the Great War, and a word or two regarding

them will help to give an idea of the basis of weather forecasting as it was practised in the Meteorological Office for nearly forty years.

In 1880 observations at about fifty stations in the United Kingdom and on the Continent were taken daily at 8 a.m. and telegraphed to London, most of those coming from the Continent being collected and forwarded from Paris by Le Verrier. Another set of observations, but from a selection of stations only, was made and telegraphed in the evening. While the telegrams were being received the forecaster plotted the data on to special charts The pressure and temperature were shown in figures entered against each station, the direction of the wind was shown by small arrows flying with the wind, the force of the wind being indicated by the number of feathers added to the arrows The state of the sky and the weather were also entered according to the Beaufort notations, *i e*, b for clear sky, b.c. for cloudy sky, o. for overcast, r. for rain, etc.

By the time the last telegram had been received the forecaster had before him a map on which the pressure distribution was clearly shown by the isobars which he had sketched in, and the other details of wind and weather by the written signs. He then had to interpret the map and draw up his forecast.

Readers of *The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* will be familiar with weather maps drawn on this principle, with their ever-changing isobars, which are sometimes closed curves concentric with one another and at other times almost straight lines running parallel to one another from side to side of the map The run of these lines shows in a graphical way the distribution of barometric pressure as contour lines on a map show the distribution of high and low land.

The study of a large number of such maps had shown that there was a distinct connexion between the shape of the isobars and the weather. Seven forms of isobars were specified by Abercromby: (1) the cyclone; (2) the secondary cyclone; (3) the V-shaped depression; (4) the anticyclone; (5) the wedge-shaped isobars; (6) the straight isobars; (7) the *col*, or neck. Abercromby described the weather associated with each type of pressure distribution Each form of isobar tends to persist for a longer or shorter time, but it moves as a whole, generally in some easterly direction. As the distribution moves it carries its own type of weather with it, and the problem the forecaster had to solve was to determine the direction in which the movement would take place and whether there would be any material change in the form of the isobars. Having decided these two points, which amounts to determining the probable distribution of pressure at a future time, the forecaster drew up a forecast specifying the

weather usually associated with the distribution of pressure which he foresaw. Let us take as an example the cyclonic type. This s represented on the synoptic chart by a series of concentric ings in the form of circles or ovals, with the lowest pressure at he centre. The winds circulate around these rings with a slight omponent towards the centre. The velocity of the wind depends on the closeness of the isobars, which are always drawn for the ame steps of pressure. The cloud and precipitation are distributed n a characteristic way about the centre and about the path along which the system is moving

If the cyclone is moving towards a district at present outside ts influence, the forecaster assumes that as the cyclone approaches and passes that district it will experience the whole sequence of veather which normally accompanies a cyclone. First cloud, then alling barometer and increasing wind, the direction of which will change as the spiral-like circulation passes. Rain will occur as the centre approaches and fair, bright weather with cold northwesterly wind as it passes away. On these assumptions the forecasts were prepared

Although Abercromby's description of the weather associated with each type of isobars is, generally speaking, correct, there are arge variations from the standard type in individual examples. At that time there was little to guide the forecaster as to what variations to expect Hence, although the results of the forecasting were on the whole satisfactory, there were many failures, not so much due to faulty inferences as to the want of knowledge of what variations from the standard were likely to occur

Abercromby's method of weather forecasting was just as empirical as FitzRoy's , in his own words · ' For the present we prefer to base the whole science of forecasting on pure observations, which we do by merely assigning arbitrary names to the different isobaric shapes and grouping or classifying the varied phenomena of wind and weather which we find associated with hem ' This explains why unscientific men could be employed in making the official forecasts ; for no scientific knowledge was necessary—only wide experience of possible weather maps and he weather which resulted from them. To Abercromby and the forecaster it was sufficient to say ' As the cyclone moves along its path, it carries its own circulation of wind along with it.' To hem a cyclone was an isolated entity which moved and changed n detail but as a whole remained the same cyclone from birth to death This was an unsatisfactory position, and one with which a man of science could not be satisfied.

There is no reason to believe that Abercromby and other meteorologists were satisfied with it ; but the problem was very

difficult, and the absence of upper air observations practically made it an insoluble problem at that time.

No important step forward was made until 1903, when Dr. W. N. Shaw, who was then the Director and the only member of the Office staff with a scientific training, was joined by Mr. Lempfert as his scientific assistant. It was then decided to make an attack on the problem by investigating what really happened to the air which took part in a cyclonic disturbance. By the use of a large number of records from self-registering instruments, and by the use of synoptic charts, they traced the paths followed by air masses for several days, and they found that masses of air which appeared together in neighbouring parts of a cyclone often had widely different origins, some coming from far to the south-west and others from far to the north, or even north-east. They also found that no individual mass of air circulated around the depression slowly approaching the centre, as was generally supposed. On the contrary, it was found that the air in a cyclone was completely changed in the course of a few hours, and that air which at one moment obviously formed part of the gyratory whirl of wind would in a few hours be far removed from the cyclone and probably travelling rapidly away from it. Unfortunately they were not able to continue the work to its logical conclusion—doubly unfortunate, because in 1906 they were within an ace of making the discovery to which I shall refer later, which has revolutionised weather forecasting. This was, however, the first break away from the old ideas.

In 1914 the Great War broke out. All telegrams came under the censor, and the Office was not allowed to receive telegrams from overseas, and inland messages were so much delayed that they were useless for forecasting. Once again British weather forecasting came to an end for all practical purposes, and the Meteorological Office was more or less politely informed that there was more important work in hand than talking about the weather. But this at itude did not continue long. First the Navy realised that they must have weather reports. Aviation required meteorological help, and when gas warfare appeared it was soon found that this form of warfare was entirely dependent on the weather and meteorological factors. Also, as field-guns became larger and trajectories longer, the gunner required to know the temperature, pressure, and wind in all strata through which his shot would pass, otherwise he could not calculate where it would fall. Finally, the commanding officers asked for meteorologists to advise them when fixing the exact time for an operation to commence. Before the end of the war there were meteorological sections attached to the Navy, the Royal Engineers, and the Royal Flying Corps. At last meteorology had come into its

own as an indispensable public service, and it can be confidently asserted that never again will weather forecasting be stopped for want of confidence in its utility.

Thus the second period of weather forecasting came to an end with the outbreak of war, and we may pause here to glance back at the state of weather forecasting at that time, for when the third period opened at the end of the war conditions were completely changed.

So far as times of peace were concerned, weather forecasting was firmly established The Storm Warning Service was successful and much appreciated. The daily forecasts appeared in the papers morning and evening, but they were not much regarded by the man in the street. There was, however, a growing number of people—agriculturists, travellers, sailors, etc —who made use of the forecasts in their daily work, the special harvest forecasts being particularly popular Observations were taken twice a day, at 7 a m and 6 p m, and when the evening forecasts had been made, the Office closed until the next morning. All the observations came by telegram or cable, and it was seldom that all the foreign messages arrived within three or four hours of the time of observation Wireless was not used except during the latter years, when a few ships on the Atlantic sent messages by this means of communication; but the service was not completely organised when war broke out.

We now come to the third or present period At the end of the war all the meteorological sections which had been attached to the fighting services were unified with the civilian service and placed under a civilian Director and attached to the Air Ministry. It is the duty of this new Meteorological Office to provide meteorological services for all Government Departments, civil and military An idea of the development will be gained by comparing the whole-time staff (that is, omitting the thousands of voluntary observers and the part-time observers at the telegraphic reporting stations) in 1914 with that of to-day. In 1914 the staff consisted of 71 members, of whom only 11 were trained scientists; to-day we have 277 on the staff, of whom 75 have taken university degrees Of the present staff 114 are engaged mainly on weather forecasting, either in London or at the numerous meteorological stations attached to aerodromes, civil and military, in all parts of the country

A short description of the organisation for the collection of data and the method of issuing the forecasts may be of interest. We have in the British Isles forty-three stations which make observations every day, Sundays and holidays included, at 7 a m, 1 p m, and 6 p.m., while twenty of them make observations at 1 a m also. As soon as the observations are taken

n the world—one August there neither flesh, fish, nor fowl could ve find to exist—and the story goes that the two telegraph operators isolated in this desolate oven agreed to shoot each other ather than continue the effort to live. The station was quickly .bandoned and the cable relayed.

The invention of the steamship, as we have already said, rought Europe to the rich markets of the Gulf—France by sea, Russia by land and sea, Germany by land, Italy, and even Austria-Hungary, appeared to compete with the authority and restige of Great Britain.

France obtained the right of complete freedom of trade at Maskat and permission to purchase, sell or rent land, houses or warehouses in the Sultan of Oman's dominions, and in 1862 Great Britain and France jointly guaranteed the independence of Maskat. France claimed equal rights in navigating the waters of he Tigris and the Euphrates, and established a vice-consul at Basra, while a line of subsidised French steamers began to run between that port and Marseilles.

In the 'nineties French men-of-war began to visit the Gulf, and an agreement was come to between France and Russia adopting a policy which endeavoured to undermine the interests of Great Britain, embroiled as she was in the South African War.

Russia, whose influence had been felt for many years in orthern Persia, sent engineers to survey Hormuz, announcing ublicly that she proposed to erect a coaling station there. This e followed by sending alleged doctors to study bubonic plague Bushire, where, in fact, no such plague existed; they found ne to visit Basra and Bandar Abbas. The Russian Steam vigation Company ran a line of subsidised steamers from lessa to the Gulf, and the Russian Government, following the ench, made naval demonstrations in the Gulf ports.

In 1894 Germany first appears on the scene. H.I.M.S. *rmoran* arrived at Maskat, a German consul was established at ghdad, and a vice-consul at Bushire, at a time when the total nber of German subjects in the Gulf ports was six (including nen and children). Her real efforts, of course, were in contion with the railway, and in 1898 she succeeded in obtaining n the Porte the confirmation of a right to build a line from a Minor to the Persian Gulf, and the Berlin-Baghdad-Basra lway started.

In 1899 German warships began regularly to visit the Gulf the Hamburg-Amerika line started a service of steamships n Europe.

Italy, Austria, and even America joined in this ebullition of al courtesy.

The situation was becoming difficult; foreign navies were

they are transmitted to London by telegraph, telephone or wireless.

When the messages are received in London they are plotted on charts by draftsmen or technical assistants. At the same time other clerks are preparing what is called a synoptic message for wireless issue. This consists of a transcription of the messages received from about twenty-two of the more important stations put into an international code, to which are added data from six stations in Iceland, which have arrived in the meantime by cable. An hour after the observations have been taken this synoptic message is issued by the powerful Air Ministry wireless station, which can be heard all over Europe. The message is taken in at all our own out-stations, including one at Malta, and also by all the meteorological offices on the Continent.

The same procedure is followed by the national meteorological services on the Continent, each one collecting observations from its own network of stations and issuing a collective message at a time fixed by international agreement. The observations are taken at the same time over the whole of Europe. Calling the time of observation zero hour, the chief synoptic messages are issued in the following order at the times stated: Switzerland, 0 h. 15 m.; Germany, 0 h 20 m.; Holland, 0 h 30 m.; Denmark, 0 h. 35 m.; Sweden, 0 h. 40 m; Norway, 0 h 50 m.; Great Britain, 1 h 0 m.; France, 1 h 20 m Thus within an hour and a half after the time of observation every meteorological office in Europe has received observations from nearly every other country, and it knows the state of the weather from Spitzbergen in the north to the Azores in the south, from ships on the Atlantic in the west to Moscow in the east.

All these wireless messages are received by the wireless station on the roof of the Air Ministry in Kingsway and passed thence through a pneumatic tube to the meteorological office situated in the same building As soon as they arrive in the Meteorological Office the data are plotted on the charts on which the forecasters are already studying the observations received from the British stations. When sufficient information has been received the forecasters commence to draft their reports and forecasts If the conditions indicate that storm warnings should be issued, these are the first things to be attended to

As soon as the storm warnings have been disposed of there is an hour or two of extreme pressure, for there are many kinds of reports and forecasts to be prepared: forecasts for shipping, for the newspapers, for the B B.C., for the Navy, for the Air Force and other Government services, most of which have to be ready for issue at rigidly fixed times.

In the meantime other clerks are preparing a collection of the

foreign messages to be broadcast to our own out-stations, as it is not found convenient for these stations to pick up themselves the numerous foreign messages, many of which are difficult to receive. This 'foreign synoptic' message is issued by wireless at 1 h. 50 m., and when the meteorologists at the out-stations have received it, they have complete data from some fifty British and foreign stations which are sufficient for them to draw weather maps on which to base their local forecasts.

Four times each day this routine is repeated as the messages taken at 7 a.m., 1 p.m., 6 p.m., and 1 a.m. arrive. There is, of course, some slight variation, for the same reports are not required after each set of observations, the observations at 7 a.m. and 6 p.m. being those of greatest importance. The average number of station reports received each day is about 175 British and 750 foreign, not counting the special aviation route reports, to which I shall refer later. In addition, once a day a wireless message is received in France from the United States, which is broadcast from the Eiffel Tower, giving sufficient data to make it possible to draw a synoptic chart for North America, which can be joined on to the European chart by means of the ships' observations taken on the Atlantic.

The above description gives an outline of the main structure of the forecast service, which is built up around the four chief hours of observation, for each one of which a map for the whole of Europe is prepared. The intervals of approximately six hours are, however, too long for certain purposes, and a selected number of stations send observations at intermediate times. The demands made by aviation, especially civil aviation, are very exacting. One can understand that a pilot who has ten or a dozen passengers in his charge, and has to fly over the South Downs and then over the Channel in uncertain weather, must depend largely on the meteorological service provided for him. There are three main civil aviation routes radiating out from Croydon—namely to Paris, to Cologne and Central Germany, and to Holland thence on to Berlin. Along each of these routes there is practically always at least one aeroplane in transit. In the summer the traffic is nearly continuous day and night. To meet the needs of these services a large meteorological office has been established on the Croydon Aerodrome and observations are taken at short distances along each route every hour, and by means of wireless the observations are transmitted to all the other stations along the routes. A pilot can therefore always obtain the latest information of the conditions existing along his route before setting out, but this is not sufficient, and arrangements are made for him to obtain while in flight the latest weather report and forecast by means of wireless telephony. Thus along all these routes the pilot is never

out of touch with the meteorologist. When the weather is at all difficult the pilots visit the meteorological office at Croydon to examine the weather charts and to discuss the situation with the meteorologists. The confidence which the pilots have in the meteorological advice given to them at Croydon is very gratifying.

I have already mentioned the meteorological stations established on the service aerodromes; there are ten of these, at each of which the station is in charge of a member of the professional staff, who is assisted by two or more technical assistants. There are, however, many more service aerodromes, but it is not possible, on account of the expense, to establish a meteorological station at every one, so only those have stations from which certain classes of flights take place; for instance, regular night flights, flights over the sea, or where meteorological instruction is given, as at flying schools. To meet the needs of the remaining service aerodromes a very complete set of special aviation reports and forecasts is broadcast at stated hours, and it is only necessary for the commanding officer to give instructions to his wireless operator to listen in for the next special aviation report to get the latest forecast for his own district. The first set of these aviation messages is broadcast each day at dawn, so that full meteorological information is available on every aerodrome which requires it before the day's flying commences.

When a long cross-country flight is to be made, still more meteorological help is required. To meet this need arrangements have been made by which at any time, day or night, a wireless message can be sent from any aerodrome to the Air Ministry asking for a weather report and forecast for any route, and the reply is generally received within half an hour from the time the inquiry is handed in to the wireless station on the aerodrome

It is clear that if there had been no advance on the theoretical side of weather forecasting the greatly increased supply of data and the great rapidity with which information can now be collected and distributed would have led to appreciable improvement in the forecast service. There have, however, been as important developments on the scientific side of meteorology as on the practical side, and I will try in my few remaining words to give some idea of the lines along which progress is being made; but I cannot hope to do more than indicate in general terms the results of the complex investigations which have been made.

In the older meteorology great use was made of ascending and descending currents. The air was supposed to ascend at the equator and descend at the poles: a cyclonic depression was supposed to be due to the rapid ascent of warm air, the cyclonic whirl of winds around and towards the centre being caused by the inflow of air to replace that which had gone upwards—a kind of

chimney action; similarly the high pressure and outward flow of air in anticyclones was considered to be due to downward currents of cold air. In fact, meteorologists then considered that it was only necessary to warm the surface air over some limited region to produce unlimited upward motion, or to cool it over another area to produce unlimited downward motion. When, however, the actual temperature and pressure conditions in the upper air came to be investigated in the early years of the present century, it was found that the temperature conditions are such that vertical motion in the atmosphere is practically impossible. When upward or downward motion of air is started the thermal structure of the atmosphere is such that it resists the motion and forces the air back to its original starting-place; for, in Sir Napier Shaw's words, 'resilience is a general feature of the atmospheric structure'

The atmosphere can well be considered as being built up of a series of layers, each layer having a different specific density,[1] the most dense layers being at the bottom In such a case, when a portion of a specifically dense layer is raised it gets into a region of lighter air and therefore tends to fall back again.

In this sense the atmosphere can be spoken of as being stratified, and of extreme rigidity across the stratification. The analogy can be taken further, for there are well-marked horizontal cleavage planes in the atmosphere, and practically all relative motion takes place between cleavage planes of this nature This explains why clouds usually appear in broad horizontal sheets, for they mark out the cleavage planes along which the air is moving. Under certain extreme conditions of heat and moisture vertical currents, powerful enough to break through the stratification, can occur, and then we get thunderstorms, with their great billowing masses of cloud, the so-called thunder-heads, which are simply the tops of the ascending currents as they break their way through the stratified atmosphere.

During the war, when Norway could obtain no meteorological information from the rest of the world, her own meteorologists were forced to make an intensive study of the conditions in their own territory to see if they could not in this way make up for the absence of information from outside. A network of stations, much closer than had ever been employed before in weather forecasting, was established and daily telegrams received from each station In this way it was possible literally to follow the motion of individual air masses, and it was found that air appeared on some parts of their maps and disappeared on others. On pushing

[1] Specific density is not to be confused with ordinary density. specific density is the density of a given mass of air if it is suddenly compressed or expanded to normal pressure.

the investigation as far as possible quite unexpected results regarding the structure of cyclonic depressions were obtained. It appears now that a cyclonic depression is the meeting-point of two streams of air, one originating in low latitudes (equatorial air) and one in high latitudes (polar air). The equatorial air flows into the cyclonic field and then, being lighter, mounts up over the colder polar air, sliding upwards along a very small angled wedge—one of the cleavage planes spoken of above. At the same time the cold polar current attacks the warm equatorial current on its western flank and raises it off the ground; in this case the wedge of cold air pushes itself under the warm air and forces it upward. The line along which the warm air leaves the ground to mount up over the cold air and the line where the cold air pushes under the warm air are clearly shown on weather maps by marked differences of temperature and great variation in wind force and direction on the two sides of the lines. These lines are of vital importance for weather forecasting, for they indicate the structure of the depression and mark out where rain and where squalls may be expected. We owe this development, which it will be noticed completes the work of Shaw and Lempfert, to Dr. J. Bjerknes, of Bergen. It has not only explained a great deal which was known without being understood before, but it has made it possible to interpret the motion of the upper atmosphere and so added greatly to the usefulness of upper air observation. In fact, the investigation of upper air conditions by means of pilot balloons and aeroplanes is now an essential part of weather forecasting.

If I have made this explanation clear, it will be seen that Abercromby's method of forecasting still plays a large, probably the major, part in forecasting; but now we do not depend entirely on his descriptions of typical weather distributions. We can see the component parts of which the type is built up, and therefore are in a position to give a more detailed forecast, and very often to state with considerable accuracy the time at which weather changes will take place. This is a tremendous advantage in the case of forecasts for aviation.

The reader will naturally expect some information regarding the accuracy of the modern forecasts, and probably would like it in the form that a certain percentage of the forecasts issued are correct. Unfortunately it is quite impossible to give any such numerical value of accuracy. Forecasts are not expressed in words which must be completely right or completely wrong; also, a forecast generally applies to the weather of a large district, and it would only be possible to check it by comparing in detail the weather over the whole district. Some attempt to do this was made before the war; but it was a very arduous piece of work, and the results were difficult to interpret. It ceased during the

war and has never been revived. Nor do we now require any such methods of testing the work of the forecasters, for we are in much too close contact with those who use the reports and forecasts in their daily work—work in which life and death often depend on an accurate appreciation of the weather conditions. It is only necessary to discuss the weather service with a pilot on the Croydon–Paris air route or the officer in charge of a night bombing squadron to know what the meteorological service means to them. I do not wish to imitate my illustrious predecessor FitzRoy when he claimed the credit for the absence of work in the shipyards, but I do think that the British meteorological service can take some share of the credit for the almost total absence of aviation disasters due to bad weather in this country. I must confess to some slight uneasiness when the broadcasting of weather forecasts several times a day by the B.B.C. was started four years ago, for I feared that we were laying ourselves open to attacks by unsympathetic critics. It is, however, a remarkable and gratifying fact that neither the B.B.C. nor the Meteorological Office has received a single letter of that nature since the wireless weather service commenced; on the contrary, we are constantly being asked for more and more forecasts by those who can and do make use of them in their daily work. We do not claim that the forecasts are always right, but the failures are not sufficiently frequent to detract appreciably from the usefulness of the service as a whole.

G. C. SIMPSON.

THE GOLDEN EAGLE

THE flight of the eagle is a thing of such beauty that it has inspired men from earliest times. The king of birds was supposed to be on intimacy with the gods themselves, and the gods in the Greek mythology sometimes assumed the form of an eagle We read that when Hebe, the Goddess of Youth, was cup-bearer to Jupiter, she tripped and fell upon a certain solemn occasion. For this she was dismissed, and Jupiter had to descend to earth in search of another cup-bearer What was more natural than that he should take the form of an eagle? As a fierce eagle Jupiter floated upon dark pinions to earth, and had not searched long when he beheld, alone upon a hillside, a youth of marvellous beauty. The king of the gods seized the youth in his mighty talons and bore him off to Olympus, where it was found that he was Ganymede, son of the King of Troy Thus Ganymede became the cup-bearer to the gods Euripides tells us that the beautiful Leda, who took the form of a swan, was once pursued by an eagle, and fights between eagle and swan often occur in Greek literature.

In Gaelic poetry there are many references to the eagle In *Cumha an Fhir Mhoir* in *Dan an Deirg* we read :

Bha t' airde mar dharach ' sa ' ghleann
Do luaths, mar *iolair* nam beann, gun gheilt.

Your height was as an oak in the glen,
Your speed as an *eagle* of the mountains, without fear.

A Highland chief as a mark of his rank wears three eagles' feathers in his bonnet. A Highland chieftain[1] is entitled to two eagles' feathers, and a Highland gentleman to one feather. In the old days no Highlander was considered to be a finished sportsman until he had shot with his bow and arrow the king of the air (the eagle), the king of the earth (the ' royal ' stag), and the king of the water (the wild swan). This must have been on the mainland of Scotland ; in the Outer Hebrides it was and still is considered most unlucky to kill a wild swan, for the swans are believed to be

[1] A chieftain is the head of a branch of a clan, and is of course inferior in rank to the chief himself.

human beings beneath a spell. The old Celtic tale of the children of Ler describes how the four children of Ler, the king of the Celtic gods, were cast beneath a spell by Aeife, his second wife. They were condemned to remain as swans for 300 years on Lake Darvra, for 300 years upon the Sea of Moyle (now called the North Channel) and for 300 years at Irros Domnann and the Isle of Glora, in Erris.

Eagles' feathers were used in the making of arrows, and it was believed that the best arrows of all came from the feathers of the eagles of Loch Treig, in Lochaber. There is an old quatrain:

> Bogha dh'uibhar Easragain
> Ite firein Locha Treig,
> Ceir bhuidhe Bhaile na Gailbhinn,
> 'S ceann bho'n cheard Mac Pheadrain.
>
> The yew-bow of Easragain,
> The eagle's feather from Loch Treig,
> The yellow wax from Baile na Gailbhinn,
> And the head from the smith MacPheadrain.

There is a curious Bulgarian legend of St. George in which the eagle is mentioned The saint had been thrown by his brothers into a deep well, and in the depths of the well met the black ram which carried him to the realms of darkness. There the saint saw a huge poisonous snake mounting a tree in which was an eagle's nest The snake had just reached the eaglets when St. George with his sword killed it, and the mother eagle in her gratitude bore the saint from dark to light.

The eagle is the first of all birds to commence to nest, although she is not the first to lay. A golden eagle's eyrie in Scotland is built either in a tree or on a cliff Each pair of eagles has at least two eyries, and it is seldom that the birds nest in the same eyrie two years in succession The eaglets remain about eleven weeks in the nest, and towards the end of the time the eyrie becomes foul, not from the birds themselves, but from the carcases of grouse, hares and rabbits which are brought. The parent eagles therefore prefer to give the eyrie a long rest before using it again Some of the eyries are of a great age, and must have been in use for fully half a century, and occasionally I have seen the remains of a still earlier nest lying beneath the tree. The golden eagle lays usually two eggs, but occasionally three have been found, and I have one record of a clutch of four. She sits for five weeks, and sometimes she is visited on the nest by her mate, but I do not think the male takes any share in the hatching of the handsome eggs, with their rich red spots. When the eyrie is in a tree, a fir-tree is usually chosen. The nest is sometimes from 6 to 8 feet in diameter; the foundations are of thick fir

branches, and the crown or 'platform' of the eyrie is always made of green fir branches with the growing pine needles upon them. The eagle is most fastidious about these branches, and always breaks them from the tree herself. She is particular, too, in the actual lining of the nest, and always uses the great wood rush—*luzula sylvatica*—for this purpose.

The eagle sits very closely on her eggs. I have more than once surprised her asleep on the nest, and it was comical to see her, in response to my whistlings from beneath the tree, put her head sleepily and rather crossly over the side of the eyrie to see what all the disturbance was about, and then jump to the edge of the nest, hesitate a moment, and launch out on her magnificent wings. It is seldom that one sees an eagle return to her eyrie. I have twice seen this (when in a hide I have of course frequently seen at close quarters her return, but in a hide one's view is very restricted), and on each occasion her downward rush was very wonderful. The first time was one sunny April day when I was sitting in a high corrie I happened to notice a small black object on the far side of the corrie. It was at a great height and I should not have noticed it had it not been outlined against the deep, clear sky. But with wonderful speed the object approached, and in a few seconds I saw that it was a golden eagle returning to her nest. Fortunately she did not see me, and stooped straight on to her eyrie upon a small cliff. Curiously enough, she was disturbed shortly afterwards from her eyrie by a most unusual thing—namely, the falling away of a mass of icicles from the cliff.

Two years ago my wife and I built a hide before a golden eagle's eyrie, and spent 31 full days watching the home life of these magnificent birds. The eaglets when we commenced our watch were about ten days old. They were covered with thick white down, and the old birds seemed to have no fears of their taking cold, for they seldom brooded them except during rain or sleet. The eaglets, even at that tender age, showed strong personalities The hen eaglet—when two eaglets are hatched one of them is a cock, the other a hen—was a thoroughly objectionable child. Periodically she attacked her brother and drove him round and round the eyrie The attack was always unprovoked. The small brother—in birds of prey the female is always larger and stronger than the male—was usually lying in the eyrie, asleep, let us say. His sister, apparently with deliberate intent, rose unsteadily to her feet. She looked carefully all round, and having spotted her brother, walked slowly up to him and aimed a careful blow at his 'behind' The unfortunate victim then rose sullenly to his feet and fled grimly for safety. Fortunately for him, he was thinner and more fleet of foot than his sister, for it was only his

uperior speed that saved his life on more than one occasion. His sister usually aimed her blows at his body, but sometimes she ained them upon his neck and head, and several times I thought his last hour had come. From her attempts to take her brother's ife we named the hen eaglet Cain, and the unfortunate brother of hers Abel. Each time Cain pecked at Abel she pulled out a billful of his down. This white down strewed the eyrie and even the heather below the tree to a distance of quite 50 yards rom the nest, carried there by the strong wind that blew most days One day Cain tore out such a large tuft of poor Abel's down that it stuck to her bill and she was for long unable to remove it This annoyed her immensely, while I in the hide chuckled at her discomfiture!

Never did Abel retaliate, nor show any signs of fight, but he knew full well what was in store for him when he saw his sister approaching, and a sullen, stubborn expression would appear upon his face as he grimly awaited the attack

Sometimes, after exhausting herself in attacking her brother, Cain would rise up in the eyrie, flap her downy stumps of wings, and utter a most remarkable call It was a piercing scream rather than a cry, there was a ring of diabolical laughter in it. It was evidently a scream of victory, and I have never heard any cry so unearthly, whether human, bird, or animal

Before I had seen Cain's attacks upon Abel I had often wondered at the disappearance of one of the eaglets from the eyrie Two eaglets are usually hatched, but for two to be reared is the exception, and I have now no doubt that one of them is killed by the other

One day, in the very midst of a ferocious attack by Cain upon poor Abel, the mother eagle alighted at the eyrie I made sure he would interfere, but to my surprise she stood and calmly watched the down being torn from her unfortunate son! Perhaps he realised that a hard, stern life lay before him, and that it was etter he should be brought up in a Spartan school Each day hat my wife or I climbed to the eyrie to take our watch in the ide we fully expected to find Abel dead, but he survived, and fter a few weeks Cain ceased her bullying.

During the first weeks of their lives the eaglets were fed chiefly n grouse and ptarmigan. The birds were always beautifully lucked when brought to the nest, and the eaglets were fed upon he most tender morsels. The father eagle did all the hunting, nd the mother fed the family upon the prey which he brought. he cock eagle of this pair was a magnificent bird—dashing and ebonair. The proud gleam of his eye was superb. Regularly bout three o'clock in the afternoon he arrived at the eyrie from is hunting. His prey he always carried in one foot, and laid the

for the first time for some 200 years beginning seriously to di
the control of Great Britain over these for so long comparat
peaceful waters. The crisis produced the man.

In 1899 Lord Curzon was appointed Viceroy and Gover
General of India. He knew the Persian Gulf and all its var
problems from knowledge acquired at first hand; and, a
appears that the position of England there was not, and is r
generally understood in England, I venture the follow
quotation from much that he wrote on the subject:

. . . Between all parties intervenes the sworded figure of Gr
Britain, with firm and just hand, holding the scales. It is no exaggerat
to say that the lives and properties of hundreds of thousands of hum
beings are secured by this British protectorate of the Persian Gulf, a
that were it either withdrawn or destroyed both sea and shore wo
relapse into the anarchical chaos from which they have been so laboriou
reclaimed. That the Persian Government has been enabled to reass
its authority upon the north littoral; that the pirates of the oppos
coast have been taught that rapine is not a safe religion, and where th
once swept the sea with laden slave-dhows now dive harmlessly for pearl
that the Arab tribes, instead of being subjected to the curse of pasha
retain the liberty they so dearly prize, is due to the British Governme
alone.

The very soundings of the channels and surveys of the shores, by whi
navigation is rendered easy for the vessels of the world, were the work
the officers of the old Indian Navy, and have been transferred witho
acknowledgment to the charts of other countries navigating these sea
These considerations, to which I draw special attention from a belief tha
they are not generally recognised in England, are essential to an unde
standing of the attitude taken up by this country with regard to the futur
control of the Persian Gulf, and of her resistance to the possible intrusio
of an enemy into the waters for whose security she has, both in treasur
and in life blood, spent so much.

Every claim that can be advanced by Russia for the exclusive contr
of the Caspian Sea could be urged with tenfold greater force by Grea
Britain for a similar monopoly of the Persian Gulf. Hundreds of Britis
lives and millions of British money have been spent in the pacificatio
of these troublous waters. Where the Russians in the north have scare
a few penniless buccaneers the British in the south have effectivel
destroyed a pirate combination and fleet that recall the last century of th
Roman Republic and the exploits of Pompey. A commerce has bee
fostered and multiplied that, if it is advantageous to Great Britain an
India, is also a source of great wealth, and also of livelihood, to Persia, t
Arabia, and to Turkey. Thousands of British subjects peacefully pl
their trade under the armed protection of the Union Jack. Englan
however, makes no arrogant pretension as Russia has insisted on in th
Northern lake. She does not demand that the Persian Gulf should be
mare clausum against foreign trade. She does not impose treaties up
humiliated foes, wresting from them the right to fly their flag in their ow
waters. The merchant navies of the world are free to plough these wat
and to fill their holds with incoming and outgoing treasures. But at lea

ptarmigan or grouse in the eyrie, stood for perhaps a minute gazing indifferently at his shrieking family, then spread his great wings and half sprang, half dived, into space. His mate was out of our view from the hide, but evidently she watched his coming from a neighbouring tree, for almost directly he left she arrived at the eyrie and commenced to feed the eaglets on the food left by the male bird.

When the eaglets were young she gave Cain much more than her fair share. Cain's lung power was far ahead of Abel's, and she always pushed her small brother unceremoniously to one side Often it was not until Cain was gorged with food that his mother turned her attention to poor Abel, who generally lay dejectedly in the nest while Cain was having her ample meal. Sometimes it seemed as though the mother eagle's heart was touched by Abel's weakness, for she leaned over Cain towards him and offered him a special tit-bit of grouse

During the whole of our 31 days' watching at the eyrie we only once saw the mother eagle bring any food to the nest The cock, as I have said, arrived regularly with prey every afternoon. Usually, because of my restricted view-point, I could watch only his actual arrival, but one hot sunny afternoon I happened to have my head half out of the entrance-flap of the hide Idly I noticed a small dark speck against the blue of the sky, and, thinking it was an insect, gave it no further thought for the moment. Then I saw that the black speck was approaching me with incredible speed, and realised that it was the father eagle rushing down to the eyrie from the high snowy corries behind. He was travelling like a thunderbolt In one claw he held a ptarmigan, and this extra weight no doubt increased his speed. I expect I shall be accused of exaggeration when I say that his speed must have been at least 200 miles an hour, but I am confident that this is no over-statement. I have seen nothing in the bird world to compare with that splendid downward rush, and to see it was worth many hours of patient watching I had barely time to draw my head back below cover when the eagle swept past me with a rush of wings. His speed was such that he was unable to stop at the eyrie, and continued down the hill slope, then came round in a great circle, and arrived at the nest from beneath.

One morning when my wife was taking watch in the hide she saw the cock eagle arrive at the nest carrying a roe deer calf in one claw. The calf was complete except for the head and the entrails, and as the eagle had carried it up from the forest below he was exhausted when he arrived, threw down his burden, and stood panting. He evidently considered that such heavy work deserved some refreshment, for he crossed to the other side of

e eyrie and fed heartily upon the remains of a grouse. The haviour of the eaglets was interesting. Cain at once pounced on the roe calf with loud yelps of triumph. Abel, as usual ther 'out of it,' picked up a feather in his mouth and dashed out the eyrie with it like some excited child.

One day a squirrel was brought to the nest. We thought at the ne the eagle had caught it by chance, but squirrels were several nes carried up to the eyrie, and were evidently regular prey. It is comical to watch the eaglets doing their best to swallow eces of squirrel The long fur stuck in their throats, and it is delightful to see the disgusted expression of a young eagle it tried to swallow a squirrel's tail—long, dry fur with very tle meat inside it

As we kept our watch in our small camouflaged hide on at lonely hillside in the old Caledonian forest, we used to hear any birds in song around us A redstart sometimes actually ng on the branches concealing the roof of our hiding tent; om the glen below came, at times, the clarion song of the missel-rush On calm, grey days the soft cadences of the cuckoo ere heard, and other birds that made sweet music were the illow warbler, chaffinch, songthrush, and goldcrest

Sometimes on sunny days swifts played above the eyrie, and nce a tiny willow warbler dared to search for insects (during the bsence of the old eagles) in the eyrie itself In fine weather the me passed quickly, but there were many days of storm when the est wind brought with it wild squalls of hail that pattered like nall shot against the hide, when the eagles' tree rocked in the ind and the mother eagle as she guarded her young swayed ently and rhythmically to and fro, as a sailor does on board ship in eavy weather There were days when sun and storm alternated. wiftly the squalls sped down upon the west wind, and where here had been sunshine a few minutes before there was sudden loom and the hail hissed amongst the old pines At the height f one such fierce squall the mother eagle arrived at the nest and rooded her young The storm increased Her dark plumage ecame matted and bedraggled, and the water dripped from her ill in a steady stream. Slowly her head sank forward, and soon he was sleeping quietly, heedless of the lashing hail and the fury f the wind At last the storm spent itself and the sun shone out. he golden eagle awoke, rose from her eaglets, stood for a moment azing sternly down on the glen below, then swept away upon her ark wings and mounted easily against the wind to a great height. ow remarkable is the power of the golden eagle to rise into the ind! I have watched an eagle commence to mount when just bove the tree tops, and with never a movement of the wings ach a height so great as to be invisible to the eye—and for an

eagle to be invisible it must be, at a conservative estimate, at least 8000 feet in the air.

Day after day we sat in turns in our little hide, learning much eagle lore and watching the eaglets gradually lose their white down and grow their feathers. A curious thing happened one night. The larder at the time consisted of a hare and two grouse. The mother eagle flew on to the nest, and the eaglets yelped expectantly, for they thought she would feed them. Instead of doing this she set about clearing the eyrie of food. Gripping a grouse, she sailed away with it Within two minutes she was back again and carried away the second grouse. Then she came back for the hare. She grasped the carcase in her talons, and spread her wings. The hare had become firmly fixed in the eyrie, and when she lifted it she carried away with it a number of sticks. The hare and the attendant branches gave her, as she sailed across the hill face, a curious resemblance to an airship with its undercarriage.

Cain's entry into the wide world was rather unexpected and startling for her. She was standing at the edge of the nest when that portion of the eyrie fell to the ground, carrying her with it Along with her fell a roe deer calf and a grouse I did not notice her actually fall, but saw her almost immediately afterwards walking with a scared look through the long heather She soon disappeared amongst the trees, and I never saw her again, but have no doubt that she was looked after by her parents Her premature departure had unfortunate results for poor Abel He had never quite recovered from his bad treatment and the semi starvation of his youth, and was at least a week behind his sister in development The result was that the old eagles, believing that Cain had flown of her own accord, and never of course dreaming that she had fallen from the nest, considered that it was time that Abel also should take his first flight They accordingly commenced to reduce his rations, and at last brought no food at all to the nest. When first his big sister left him Abel seemed rather pleased, and used to pass the time with wing exercises and grabbing exercises His grabbing exercises were interesting to watch Suddenly without any warning he would shoot out his foot and grab the carcase of some hare or grouse. Sometimes he shot out both feet, one in either direction, and attempted to seize two things at once! As his rations were cut down and he commenced to feel really hungry, the fierceness of the grabbing exercises was increased. All day long Abel moodily scanned the skies for his indifferent parents. He searched the eyrie carefully, and swallowed musty old skeletons at which he would have turned up his nose a few days previously. He became hoarse with continued calling, and his hunger and dejection were pitiable to see. Yet he lacked the courage to take his first

flight, although more than once during his vigorous wing exercises he almost flew out of the nest by mistake. One evening when we left the hide he was still there, lying moodily on the nest, the next morning he had gone. We saw neither him nor his sister again, but doubtless they were taught during the next two months how to catch the mountain hare and the white-winged ptarmigan and sailed in the August sun high above the corries and hill tops. Next season the mother eagle laid two more eggs, but they were stolen after she had been brooding for a month, and so it was not possible to make further observations, as we had hoped to

By the game preserver the eagle is considered so destructive that in fairness I must place on record the various enemies to grouse that the eagle has been known to kill Stoat, raven, grey crow, cat, jackdaw, have all been seen at an eyrie These are all egg-eaters, and are shot whenever they are seen on grouse ground. So the eagle must be given credit for good, as well as bad, deeds. Eagles do take grouse and ptarmigan, but they take these mainly when they have young, and do little actual harm to grouse moors at other seasons They are most annoying to sportsmen, because they move all the grouse off a particular part of the moor by merely flying over it. The eagle rarely takes its prey on the wing, and so when they see an eagle at a distance the grouse rise and fly wildly, and at a great height, for safety. Where the blue or mountain hare is plentiful on a grouse moor the eagle will always take a hare in preference to a grouse—in the first place because it is much easier to catch, and in the second place because there is more food on it when caught.

In the west of Scotland the golden eagle is holding his own, and in some places is on the increase In the central Highlands he is terribly harried by egg collectors, who offer as much as 5*l* to be shown a golden eagle's eyrie with eggs, and in this district the eagle is certainly decreasing. So long as the deer forests of Scotland exist there is little danger of the golden eagle becoming extinct, but the fate of the erne or sea eagle must be remembered. The erne, so recently as in 1860, was in some western districts more common than the golden eagle. Now it is doubtful whether there is a single pair in Britain

Osprey, goshawk, kite, and erne—all these splendid birds have been lost to Scotland. Let us hope we shall be never able to write of the golden eagle as a lost or vanishing species.

SETON GORDON.

STORIED WINDOWS[1]

To soften the light with a pattern which made a story or a picture, to turn it from dazzling blankness into a diaper or mosaic of transparent colour as deep, as radiant, and as inexhaustible, as that of precious stones, this was the ingenious device by which the workers in stained glass perfected architecture at the time of its transition from Romanesque to Gothic So was added to cathedrals their most gorgeous ornament. But it was an ornament essential to their design For they were built as the theatres of worship, and to attract attention to the altar it was necessary to make its lights the highest point on which the eye could rest ; and so, also, the detail of ritual, as of moulding and of sculpture, would be seen only if the pupils were allowed to dilate. Windows which let in all the light would simply have been blinding—to fulfil its real office the light must be darkened. A portrait painter fills his studio with the reflected luminance of northern sky. The makers of our most beautiful windows went further—they took a lesson from the twilight When the noonday whiteness is long past, when the sun compromises with the darkness and gives us light softened through the prism of vapours, he makes the sky into a radiant splendour and clothes earth with a lovelier garment What light, then. did with tiny drops of moisture suspended in the air it was for the glaziers to do with their own prismatic medium. But art, which can never enter into open rivalry with Nature, wins her victories by recognising her feebleness. Art's imitations are personal devices—reasoned, honest, and elaborate. The artists of stained glass did not play with prisms: they made their glass already coloured, and arranged it to their fancy. Employing for detail the use of paint, they exaggerated into a fixed gorgeousness the light's own power to dissolve itself through refractions into varieties of hue The painter's art was already being brought to a new perfection to turn walls into pictures ; and the arrangement of fragments of

[1] *Les Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres. Histoire et Description* Par Yves Delaporte Reproduction par E Houvet. (E. Houvet, 10, Rue de Réchevres, Chartres 550 francs) *English Stained Glass.* By Herbert Read. (Putnams. 5*l* 5*s*)

namel to the designs and patterns of mosaic told them almost all he story of what they might do with pieces of glass. Mosaic, the ncient device of arranging particles of enamel into designs or ictures, was the great art which perfected temples in Constantiople and in Italy from the fifth century to the eleventh. It is narked by its taste for glitter, and above all for gold. In the enth and eleventh centuries the fulness of its riches had been mployed for the interior of San Marco at Venice, and, though he beautiful churches at Cefalù and Monreale were finished later, t was at that period that glass in the windows was found to have in effect still more brilliant than enamel on the walls: this discovery came like a revelation to those who lived in grey weather. For when glass was arranged as a mosaic it was made so beautiful by the light behind that it seemed to burn with its own inward fire Its beauty was as that of flaming jewellery, intense and brilliant [2] It compensated the lack of coloured air by making the light into a stream of coruscations like the river which Dante saw in Paradise Thus pours down into cathedrals that fiery stream of colours which turns the light of consecrated buildings into a flame of ruby and sapphires, and which seems to set the whole of a cathedral burning

For the architecture of the Gothic cathedral itself follows the forms of flame it is, as it were, the blacksmith's furnace, solidified in stone, waiting only for a magic touch to give it back its warmth, movement, colour, and light. When, therefore, it reproduced fire's gorgeous lights of colour in tincturing its mouldings and carvings with blue and red and gold, when its rose-window became a wheel of fire, when it seemed itself to catch fire among the ardent seraphs and saints of its clerestory, it became a symbol of the virtue which will survive perfected when that which is in part is done away For fire is a favourite image for the living heart. And to the Spirit's illumination of the mind of man Ruskin compared the light which gave gorgeousness to storied windows.

But we understand neither the cathedrals nor their best glass till we realise the barbaric element that mingled with the beauty of each and which was typical of the age. Although as an ideal it was never forgotten, the unity of society was the subject of incessant quarrels, tyranny, brutality, barbarism, crudity and wantonness were common vices. The rich oppressed the poor, and wars were crowded with disgusting episodes. If we look closely at the French windows of the thirteenth century—and Bourges makes it particularly easy for us to do so—we shall see that, apart from the crudity of the conventional drawing and the bizarre taste for bright colours, which the glaziers, like many

[2] 'Serene, intense, brilliant, like flaming jewellery.' (Ruskin, *Lectures on Art.*) Mr Read queries the word 'serene.'

savage artists, worked into wonderful patterns, there was on the faces of the holy men depicted an expression that was often crafty, and sometimes really malign.

Though the windows may, when closely examined, show how, as we have seen, that that was indeed an age of faith in the stupendous Christian verities, the artists did not look direct at 'Nature's living images,' but saw them angular and awry, and saw human beings in shapes so conventional that, more than insipid, they were devilish. What happened was that faith itself was not so deep as the fountains of cruelty and pride which, pouring their venom into its stream, made it fanatical. And bigotry *is* devilish The human mind can look at an image and yet in reproducing it express an ideal These changed and conventionalised what they saw, but the details show that in that process often, far from idealising, they corrupted. This fact must be weighed against the loftiness of the Beau Dieu at Amiens or the subtlety of the Gabriel at Rheims.

But it is a glowing sense of devotion which at Chartres makes the interior into perfect harmony with the unrivalled windows. Pater pays a tribute to the cathedral's 'unique power of impression.' It is above all, said Huysmans—its most eloquent evangelist—the cathedral with a soul Anyone who makes us more intimate with its consecrated power leaves the world in debt, an all who have loved it will love M. Houvet's book, which is the be attempt yet made to hint what can never be more than hinted the jewelled translucence of its glass

Who can catalogue this gallery of illuminations ? Somethi approaching 4000 figures have been counted in it. There the gr prophets and many obscure, almost forgotten, saints appear am the central figures of Christianity And just as the Incarnat is shown as the central fact of science and history—for thi must always be to the orthodox Christian—so the prophets evangelists, the confessors and the martyrs who gave their wit to the supremacy of the Redeemer are shown forth as the w wisest men and the heroes of history. Therefore St. Lawren St. Giles, St Martin or St George, St Laumer or St. Symph appear as giant figures gloriously apparelled, and a mitre see splendid as an imperial crown Therefore, also, the Blessed assumes a supremacy incomparably more significant and august than that of any other in creation.

Henry Adams, of Harvard, writing some years ago relation of Chartres to Mont St Michel, developed this another sense. He argued that the great cathedrals, ge bearing the name of Notre Dame, came with a new venera woman : no longer the beast with tail and claws, as so verted ascetics had depicted her, she was recognised as th

of the Virgin. This idea was naturally acceptable to queens, and Adams was doubtless shrewd in relating it to the window which Blanche of Castile gave to Chartres.

Yet since it is the Christian dogma itself, and not any rationalistic explanations of it, which was present to the Middle Ages, the Virgin, as the most highly favoured in creation, is seen again and again—first as a child with St Anne, and in attendance Melchizedech, David, Solomon, and Aaron ; but before long she had become a Mother, and shines down from height after height with her Baby on her knee. She fills a window of the nave, she is crowned with gold in the central window of the choir, and in the ambulatory she shines again more mystic and more beautiful as Notre Dame de la Belle Verrière. Six-winged angels in green or scarlet, against a ground of blue, hold candles or swing censers, and between them the blessed Mother is defined with garments and a halo of azure against a background of crimson light which beats and glows like a heart She holds in the centre of the picture a child with large dark eyes, whose face and cloak is a compound of russet and red like the colours of an old carpet from Bokhara or of the woods of autumn when the leaves have felt the frost. Such the greatest glory of all efforts in stained glass

Another rare beauty appears at the end of the nave where, neath the rose, the windows, which depict the Redemption and e Passion and the Stem of Jesse, shine with an intense and illiant blue, which Huysmans compares to the flash of sparks d cornflowers, to a knitting of blue fires, and yet again to the mes of *eau-de-vie*, of burning sulphur, and to the lightnings ich flash from sapphires In the rose-window of the northern nsept that intense blue mingles with a limpid green in the ures of ardent seraphs.

The earlier centuries, when the colour seemed more important n the design, are the age when stained glass was most pecu-ly successful Its excellence, as Ruskin said, was that it made tricate patterns in order to mingle hues beautifully with each er and make one perfect melody of them all ' But it was a bold, we have said, at times a barbaric, melody Huysmans speaks he clash as well as the marriage of the tones He points out how the whole effect was sharpened by the use of the leads ch joined the mosaic of glass into a whole ' What concord what skill,' he said, ' they showed in arranging the nets of s to accentuate certain details, to punctuate and to separate, y lines marked out in ink, the flaming outlines of the frag-s of glass '

his art, then, is the glory of Chartres, and it is this which tienne Houvet does his best to recapture in his beautiful sympathetic collection. Perhaps no one living has studied

that most moving of Gothic cathedrals with a more intimate love than he and M. Delaporte, whose text is made fascinating by a prudent erudition; the depth of his learning never clouds the clearness of his mind. Their book is a gorgeous, a touching memorial of a unique unity of masterpieces, and it is a not unworthy companion to the classic descriptions of Huysmans

St. Julien of Le Mans, a cathedral too little known to Englishmen, has a window in one respect superior to Chartres, in that it is earlier, though Augsburg has put in a rival claim. Authorities no longer dispute the fact that two lower panels in the *Vitrail de l'Ascension*, the second window on the right looking towards the altar, are the earliest of all remaining examples of painting on glass.

There is a greater gorgeousness in the double row of windows in the choir, gorgeous everywhere, but best seen from the giddy height of the triforium gallery. These have been lately cleaned, and shine with a clearness forgotten for centuries. There are some who regret this, and think that a mellowing incrustation of dirt improved the colours of the glass: the original painters certainly never guessed at such an effect, and the cleaner the glass the nearer we are to the effect originally designed. These windows are full of figures of life size, or even greater They represent beside the saints of the Old and New Testaments, benefactor and donors. And so among them we see, as on certain window at Chartres, the drapers, the furriers, the tavern-keepers, th bakers, and even the players, along with the ecclesiastics' Th *esprit de corps* of a guild, or a *métier*, which made it anxious to a something of its own to the great common treasury of beau which was consecrated in their churches is one of the most delig ful peculiarities of the mediæval spirit. It is not too much to that it shows that industrial society rose to conceive itself a wonderful order, in which each had his function and dignity, c secrated and glorified by the succour of heavenly powers, wl linked human society with the hierarchy of heaven

But if this encouraging thought comes to us at Le M others, as we said, will alloy it at Bourges. That Bourges i of the most stately, and the most neglected, of French cathe hardly needs saying.* Henry James delighted in its 'tra largeness, a kind of infinitude.' And arranged upon its wir is the almost continuous history of four centuries of glass pa Nowhere is the glass of the greatest period so near to one as ambulatory of this spacious cathedral; nowhere are the liarities of its excellence so obvious. In the effect of its on the eye there is more than anywhere else the marriage an of tones, the arrangement of contrasts into serenity. T about it all a fairy splendour, and unquestionably it is att

hat mood which makes the world magical: the devotee raises iis eyes to a scene where the colours of a supernal world, on the kaleidoscope of a mediæval tournament, are enchanted into stillness For besides flames, or jewels or autumn leaves, those flashing lights might be compared to armour. In the early dawn Huysmans thought of the high windows in Chartres as the blades of broadswords and connected them with the crusades; Proust compared other glass to a decorated breastplate: those lights of blue and green and purple are like a brazen helmet, or a cuirass of steel Comparisons with the splendid trophies of beauty prepare us for the secrets of her shrine.

The sense of barbarism, which could be at times ferocity, is very strong as one looks down from beneath the Puy-de-Dôme on the dark and sinister towers of volvic which Viollet Le Duc added to the cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand That, too, has n admirable collection of thirteenth and fourteenth century windows, they owe their effect to the same choice of colours, and f conventional designs, such as diapers and trellises, which strike s in the Saint Chapelle in Paris. But is it heavenly? Whence ame the flames that shine in the great translucent wheels of the ansepts? If the artists did not actually love the thought of ell, the unseen world, with its mighty powers of help and of rt, was very real to them, and their religion shows their intimacy th both its possibilities. The range of these added, perhaps, to ained glass something of its barbaric beauty. It was a beauty design rather than of imagery. It is especially suitable to the se-window, and at Amiens, where the grace and splendour of at is as great as anything at Chartres, the contrast is increased a collection of those conventional patterns on a glass of greenish y which is so much admired in the chapter-house and north nsept at York We know it as *grisaille*

It is a curious fact that in the fifteenth century, when, in nce and England, the love of gorgeous pattern was giving way taste for turning windows into real pictures—such as we see rly in the side chapels of the nave at Bourges, or in the rch of S. Etienne at Beauvais—the old style of barbaric uty in deep and glowing tones came to a new life in a city and country which had seldom bothered about stained glass at For the coloured windows at Florence in the Duomo, in a Croce, in the Or San Michele, and in Santa Maria Novella all of the fifteenth century. The designs were prepared by ts who were themselves almost of the Renaissance. The ows in the Duomo are of lighter tones, turquoise, jade and e. There are deeper shades in the circular lights of the dome; n the transepts the lancets darkly burn like the torches borne e gathering twilight to a Tuscan interment: Andrea di

must and does claim, in return for the sacrifices to which she has mitted, and the capital which she has sunk, and for the sake of the s which she is here to guard, that no hostile political influence shall ude its discordant features upon the scene.

d he goes on to say in conclusion :

I should regard the concession of a port upon the Persian Gulf to sia by any Power as a deliberate insult to Great Britain, as a wanton ture of the status quo, and as an intentional provocation to war ; and hould impeach the British Minister who was guilty of acquiescing in h a surrender as a traitor to his country.

This statement, although written by Lord Curzon when he as a member of the House of Commons, was not only adhered by him when, in the course of his great office, he came into oser and more intimate and more responsible contact with Gulf oblems, but increased experience confirmed his opinion that e maintenance of British political supremacy in the Persian ulf was of vital importance to the British Empire.

In the will of Peter the Great it was said that he left an junction to his successors never to relax, amongst other projects, ussian efforts to encroach as far as possible in the direction of onstantinople and the Indies.

To work at this raise wars continually—at one time against Turkey, another against Persia ; make dockyards on the Black Sea ; by degrees ake yourselves masters of that sea as well as of the Baltic ; hasten the cay of Persia, and penetrate to the Persian Gulf ; establish if possible ancient commerce of the East *viâ* Syria, and push on to the Indies ich are the entrepot of the world. Once there you need not fear the gold England.

Although the will was probably a forgery, the truth of this ategic doctrine was, as we know, thoroughly understood by his rs, and not the least by the horrible successor of his line he road to London lies through Delhi,' was the well-known gan of Lenin.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Russia made her ximum naval effort. In 1900 the Russian cruiser *Gilyak* ved in the Gulf with the obvious intention of establishing a ling base at Bandar Abbas. She had come from Aden, followed the *Waldron*, a British merchant vessel specially chartered at z to carry 300 tons of coal for her, which was far more than could stow in her bunkers. The idea was good ; the surplus ld be loaded from a British-owned ship by permission of the uty-governor of Bandar Abbas, but a surplus large enough to inate a depôt.

It is possible that the voluminous telegraphic despatches ch passed from her commanding officer, whilst at Aden, ugh that office to the Russian Government may have ...

Castagno, Paolo Uccello, and Ghiberti—who won the contest for the bronze doors of the baptistery over Jacopo della Quercia—designed them; the artists' own instinct for gorgeousness led them to the most beautiful period in designs. It was design rather than a picture at which they aimed, or if not design, colour in all its magnificence. The finest in the church, certainly, are in the north transept, where the colours range from a rich caramel to plum colour and crimson.

In Or San Michele, as in the great rose-windows of the North, traceries and mouldings vary and heighten the effect. But there is no window in Florence so attractive as the great window behind the altar of Santa Maria Novella. The serene intensity of its mosaic of purples and blues dims the fading brocades of the famous frescoes around. Shocking to tell, this splendour of Florence is generally hidden by drab curtains. These find some excuse in the preservation of the frescoes, and they certainly help the window to be a source of income to the friars, who never draw the cords which let in light and glory to the house which is called a house of prayer, without some tribute from the enthusiast The masses, for whom the windows were meant, hardly ever see them

To France, then, and to Florence we must go if we must see glass in its richest beauty. It is doubtful if England ever had anything to vie with it, and England's churches suffered first in the time of Thomas Cromwell, and then in that of his grand-nephew Oliver, and finally in the eighteenth century from the clergy themselves. At Salisbury, for example, a dean who could not appreciate the mediæval glass had it hacked out and carted away as rubbish. Even at Chartres the clergy removed some of their priceless treasure so as to let in more light on Bridan's baroque *Assumption*. There is, however, good and interesting glass in the cathedrals of Canterbury and York, in Tewkesbury Abbey, at Fairford, at King's in Cambridge, and in a number of churches in and around Oxford There is much also collected in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington But when all this is said—when one has spoken with all possible warmth of the *grisaille* in the north transept and chapter-house at York, when one has looked with care on the unique series in the choir at Tewkesbury, one must admit that the best in this country are but shadows. It is not possible to make of them a collection of splendours such as might even be made at Clermont or at Florence. Bourges and Le Mans are each worth far more than all England's remains of mediæval glass. Chartres, as M. Houvet reminds us, is more glorious yet than these; between the prophet Jared or the Methusaleh at Canterbury and Notre Dame de la Belle Verrière there cannot be comparison.

Mr. Read, then, could not claim to give us so splendidly

beautiful a book as M. Delaporte and M. Houvet have given. The interest of Mr. Read's lies in a different field; in the first case it has a local interest. For England counts, as England, and naturally, even if our glass is inferior, we English ought to know about it. Mr. Read has given a more complete account of English glass, with rather better illustrations, than anyone else, even Mr. Rackham or Mr Saint and Mr. Arnold, has attempted. But besides this, his view of the scope of artistic history and artistic criticism is so much more ranging and auroral that he attempts to bring the history of coloured glass into relation with the mind of Europe as a whole This follows a recommendation made by Mr Collingwood in a recent book on the philosophy of art, and it is in harmony with an important school of criticism in Paris '*Art must be treated*,' says Mr Read, '*not as a detached activity, subject to its own laws—as the evolution, as it were, of independent faculties in mankind—but as a form of expression which takes on its characteristics and ultimately its value from the general content of the environment within which it appears*'[3]

This is a contention of the highest value; it makes Mr. Read's account of English glass into a view of the mediæval spirit as expressed in its creations his book, therefore, is always stimulating, and in many places his contentions are important. His work becomes, in fact, a thesis on his statement that there were from the beginning of stained glass to its decline three periods: an age of reason, say from 1150 to 1350, the early Gothic period, which he defines as the rise and fall of the classical epoch of Christian art, secondly, an age of sentiment, which was the rise of humanistic standards into supremacy; and, thirdly, an age of fancy, which, according to Mr. Read, was decadent, disordered, and devoid of religious feeling.

The first step which the author takes towards establishing this scheme is to point to the great reasoned structure of thought as presented by St Thomas Aquinas, a structure in which faith and reason were distinct but harmonious And in the sense of unity developed by this intellectual vigour he sees the dominant temper of the age of reason, a temper evident alike in a great cathedral, in the *Divina Commedia*, and in the *Summa Theologica* This gives us a new and deeper insight into thirteenth century art, and it is not impossible either to trace it in its conflict with barbarism, to find it resolving the social tension, or to see something of its influence in the exquisite effect of the tones of the best glass. There is a unity in their impression on the sense, and this is deliberate, even though it has no special meaning for one's reason. But a profound knowledge of the principles of effect

[3] *English Stained Glass*, p. 14. (My italics.—R. E. G. G.)

must have been there, and this is a form of reason. The element of faith is obvious enough. There is through all a discipline of emotion towards a deliberate end which is religious. Such is the temper of the first great period of Gothic art.

This, we gather, is Mr. Read's contention, but he does not expressly state it His statements are too fragmentary to convince of themselves, and he makes no attempt to bridge the obvious gulf between scholasticism and the early windows The *Travels of Marco Polo* would have helped him ; so would Dante, the architecture of Chartres, or the frescoes of Giotto. But if Mr Read had looked closely into these he would have seen that already there was that outlet of emotion and even of feeling for Nature which he takes to mark the second period. Following Herr Heinrich Thode, he attributes this feeling to the influence of St. Francis and his order The contention is a valuable one , but can Mr. Read forget that St. Francis was dead very soon after St. Thomas was born, perhaps even before he was born ? To put the influence of St. Thomas earlier in date than that of St. Francis is fantastic : the love of Nature, the fulness of emotion, did not succeed scholasticism ; they accompanied one another The windows in the chapter-house at York, which Mr Read does not omit to mention, are quite enough to show this. The indisputable fact that St. Bonaventura, a Franciscan, thought St. Thomas too much of an Aristotelian does not mean that the Franciscans were not philosophers nor the Dominicans not lovers of Nature That from this time onwards the eye became stronger and stronger in its struggle with convention did certainly mean that experience became more authoritative, and the outward world seemed more fascinating than the metaphysical or the mystical one But it is misleading to speak as though this change was specifically Franciscan, or to label the later Middle Ages an age of sentiment The Renaissance which they were preparing meant far more than that. Mr. Read still remembers the philosophers, and tries to bring Scotus and William of Ockham into the scheme, though rather in relation to his third period. But Scotus, as Fr. Longpré has shown, was not really very different in his views from St Bonaventura : he did, indeed, with more subtlety develop the relation of the will to the intellectual process, but he was still a Franciscan Thomist. The essence of his position is that he was opposed to William of Ockham, to whom the title *Venerabilis Inceptor* was given by the philosophers, and who was indeed revolutionary to Scotus and his predecessors. For Ockham was a nominalist. He gave new interest and meaning to that theory of philosophy which, allowing abstract realities no more essential existence than their names, leads to a denial of their existence, and finally to universal scepticism.

Mr. Read therefore shows insight in connecting Ockham with the riot of humanism which brought jarring sounds into the harmony of the Faith, and which indeed was less fascinated by the Unity of the Primal Cause and Order than by the variety of creation From that rush of interest in humanity and in all that immediately surrounded it came a taste for gorgeous representations closely modelled on Nature, and painting became the favourite medium. It could affect the sensibilities by suggestions subtler, more varied, more impassioned. And with this the spirit of architecture changed. It did not become subordinate, as Mr. Read has been induced by Worringer to contend But its bold effects of chiaroscuro did not want the light itself dimmer, nor its approach more brilliant. If it decorated windows, it was only to turn them into pictures. And from accepting this compromise, from trying to be a kind of painting rather than a jewelled arrangement of small fragments of colour, stained glass lost its own perfections, and, as Mr. Read says, its later history does little more than tell the disastrous consequences of that false step. This must not mislead us, however into accepting his suggestion that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries valued fancy above reason or that they lacked religious feeling. That feeling can find, and did find, other expression than in windows Gothic generated, or rather helped to generate, baroque, and the whole of Europe took a new turn But it could still paint windows sometimes The series in St Gudule at Brussels depicting the miracle of Bolsena is accompanied by some charming English things of which Mr Read does not deny us examples Even the eighteenth century, he might remember, produced the Reynolds window in the ante-chapel at New College And last century saw a revival in the work of Morris and Burne-Jones, to whom it is not difficult to be too kind Kempe's work is on the whole more chaste and sane, though in it the excess of glory is indeed obscured.

We have come to the end of Mr Read's book : it is an essential to all really interested in coloured glass in England, and it is full of valuable suggestions to any student of the Middle Ages. But it does not prove its contentions; in fact, it is put together rather roughly the author's ability, however, is evident. We look forward to great work from Mr. Read—work doubtless which, whether on glass, on religious movements, or on philosophy, will be accomplished after long and quiet years in which he weighs the conclusions and discoveries of his active mind, after giving it time also to weld its multifarious interests into an ordered whole, and after realising how relentlessly the countless policemen of fact handcuff and jail the rash generalisation which tries to obtain credit on false pretences. If he wishes to see how delightful work

can be made by real scholarship, let him study the luminous work of M. Delaporte.

There is one aspect of the subject of coloured windows which is vitally significant to our own day. We live in a world where the habit of painting glass was revived before there was any sense of taste about it. Among the horrors which the Victorian period has left us few are more appalling than its painted windows. Things are better now, but they ought to be better still. With the chemical resources and the knowledge which we have at our command, there is no reason why we should not equal the magnificent tinctures of the thirteenth century. For stained glass is not stained at all It owes its brilliance, as we have seen, to chemical additions which are added to it while it is yet becoming a translucent substance.

Glass, as everyone knows, is sand melted and run together Unless great heat can be obtained, the sand must be melted by means of a flux, such as soda or potash. The tinctures are added to it in its molten state, and the coloured glass is often 'flashed'[4] on to the white transparency. Chloride of silver or oxide of silver give the yellow tinge which came into fashion in the fifteenth century. Gold, copper, and manganese give others From pieces of glass, when they are arranged in a suitable mosaic with leads and iron bars which by the weight of their effect can govern the design, there comes the completed glory of coloured windows It is kindred to the Cloissonné enamelling of Limoges But the story goes further: the lines of light and shade which make patterns or figures are painted on the glass in an opaque brownish enamel made of iron oxide, this is mixed with oil, or gum, and water, and fused in a kiln. Such is the painting or enamelling of stained glass, and giving depth and detail to the mosaic combines with iron and lead into the richness of the whole effect

Since all these are understood, there is nothing beyond our attempting. Glass can still be beautiful, as workshops in Venice and in Prague show conclusively If the talent of chemist and artist were combined, the most beautiful shades should be easier to obtain now than in the thirteenth century. The function of leads and iron is understood, and so is the beauty of the mosaic of very small pieces of glass. But we cannot go back to the convention which governed the figures of the thirteenth century: either a diaper, or the use of blazons requiring that heraldic scheme of colours which alone makes the painting of statues safe, is the wiser plan of avoiding atrocities. But in any case, the mosaic is more important than the figures. Chartres, however, especially now that M. Houvet has made it so vivid to us all,

[4] 'Flashing' is the process by which a veneer of coloured glass is run over a thickness of transparency.

should guide us further, and though we should not destroy the curiosity of Victorian glass, we may hope that the time is not too remote when its crudities shall be respectfully laid aside, while our churches replace them with something that has been quicker to learn all that the perfect interior of Chartres has to teach of how best to mellow the light into those beauties 'which heaven to gaudy day denies': the harmonies of flaming jewellery, or the exquisite quietness of *grisaille*, each with its intricate patterns of mingled hues uniting in the elvish galaxy of geraniums and delphiniums around the orange trees in the setting sun of an early Sicilian May, while one is waiting for the fireflies, or of a rainbow's end on pimpernels and violets in pleasant England's grass

R E Gordon George.

IF I WERE STILL A DRAMATIC CRITIC

Mr. Basil Dean recently declared at Manchester that the English theatre was on its deathbed, and during the ensuing weeks quite a number of specialists hastened to the bedside with remedies or disputed the diagnosis. All the things which have continually been said for the last twenty years were said again, and they were exactly the things which I am invariably told whenever I come to London. Managers complain that it is impossible to find plays, and dramatists tell me that it is impossible to find managers. On my last visit to England I was informed of an American gentleman who was buying up theatres wholesale with the object of converting them into nurseries for the American film industry. The post-war theatre, I am repeatedly assured, is financially unsound and æsthetically indefensible. I understand that to get a play produced nowadays in London it is necessary to disguise oneself as a Neanderthal man, lie in wait for some mysterious gentleman in the City, catch him between long week-ends and talk to him like a commission agent. Another way, I am told, is to provide an actress with the kind of part in which it is possible for her to see herself at a glance. One of the most enterprising of those who are at present helping to keep the English drama alive suggested a formula for this last method of approach. 'Write a play,' he said, 'in which there is only one woman; let her be a parlourmaid in one scene, and a sportswoman in another.' English actresses to-day, he assured me, have only two ambitions—one is to appear on the stage in an apron and the other is to wear riding breeches. He was so serious about it that I might have taken his advice, but I discovered almost at once that Mr. Ben Levy had forestalled me in *This Woman Business*, annexing for the purpose a situation from Shakespeare and the social philosophy of Mr. Granville Barker's *The Madras House*. I understand that the result was much admired, and I must therefore infer that my friend was not being merely cynical.

The English theatre, then, is on its deathbed. One is not, however, alarmed. There has never, in my knowledge, been a time when it was otherwise. It was on its deathbed, for example,

in 1910, when I succeeded Mr. Max Beerbohm on the *Saturday Review*. It was then being driven towards a rapid and final extinction by the big revue and the first tentative efforts of the cinema. Managers, then as now, were unable to find plays, and dramatists were unable to find managers, and it seemed impossible to bring these lonely souls together. I remember wondering in print fifteen years ago why George Alexander had produced a certain play at the St. James' Theatre. His answer was to send round to my office a stalwart commissionaire who brought with him a large portmanteau. It contained the plays which had been received at the St. James' Theatre during the three months preceding the production which I had ventured to deplore. There were several hundred of them. 'Find me among these a better play than the one I have just produced,' said George Alexander, 'and I will put it on at once.' I worked hard for a fortnight, and gave it up. Meanwhile, brilliant young authors were commonly supposed to be running about with masterpieces in their heads or hands, and St. John Hankin was allowed to die of neglect and disappointment. It was a sorry business, and yet——

Well, the moral is obvious. For those were the days of Charles Frohman's repertory theatre—days when in a single triple bill we could have one-act plays by Mr. Bernard Shaw, Sir Arthur Pinero, and Sir James Barrie; when Mr. Granville Barker was a young hopeful; when Herbert Tree was at His Majesty's Theatre and Sir Charles Wyndham at the Criterion. Mr. Bernard Shaw had yet to write some of his best plays. Synge and Lady Gregory had come to London. The Manchester school was making its brilliant attack upon the capital. Mr. John Galsworthy had just given us *The Silver Box*, *Strife* and *Justice*, and had almost all his dramatic future in front of him. A few such deathbeds would be enough to render the English theatre as immortal as the *malade imaginaire* of Jean-Baptiste Poquelin de Molière. The English theatre, in fact, is a valetudinarian—never so anxious about its health as when it is quite well enough to be up and doing

What is, in fact, the position now? Is the theatre really about to surrender its place to the cinema? History reassures us. Such complaints as we hear to-day are growing pains and not the final agony. The playgoer will remain a playgoer to the end of time No rival attraction will ever seduce him from the theatre There is not the slightest reason to suppose that English people, who for 300 years have steadily asked for stage plays, will not continue to do so. Shakespeare's business manager doubtless prophesied that there would shortly be an end of stage plays. What with my Lord Leicester's masks and revels, the

fascinations of the bear-warden, and the travelling 'motions' of the countryside, Cuthbert Burbage must often have reflected that stage plays, though conceivably they might last his time, were not long for this world. A century later Farquhar complained that Gallic heels were too quick for English heads; that English comedy might as well go weep, the public having no further use for it. Yet the stage play lingered. A century later Macready complained of beasts and ballets, wondering how long the stage play would be able to stand up against the increasing frivolity of the people. There is really no need to fall into a panic about the cinema. The cinema is a less serious and immediate rival than, in their day, the ballet, the light opera and the revue. Its conventions are more peculiar to itself and its appeal less immediately competitive. Every development of the cinema during the next ten years which brings it nearer to the level of an art, with methods and potentialities peculiar to itself, will remove it further from the stage, a fact which is already quite clearly realised by the younger film producers on the Continent, whose turn will come when the gigantic fakes of the American school have begun to be tedious. And that will be quite soon. Not even the Americans can go on being more emphatic every day.

The respective appeals of the stage play and the cinema are so entirely different that the one which intrudes upon the province of the other, though it may snatch an occasional advantage, will destroy itself to precisely the extent to which it abandons its proper field The cinema portrays events and emotions by an immediate appeal to the eye, and is successful to the degree in which it dispenses with captions and leaves everything to be inferred. Its resources as an art are as yet almost untouched. Hitherto it has aimed for the most part at illustrating things that are said or written, whereas it will in future aim increasingly at presenting directly things conceived from the start as visual fancies or impressions. Cinema producers have not yet mastered their own idiom. They are like imperfect linguists who think in a language already learned, and have mentally to translate it into the language they are using. So long as they continue to do that, the cinema will be only a cheaper kind of theatre with which no real playgoer will ever be satisfied, and when they cease to do that they will be creating an entirely different form of amusement. The two arts are mutually dangerous, but they are dangerous, not in the economic, but in the æsthetic sense. There is a strong temptation for each of them to steal the other's clothes. The cinema plays with the idea of synchronising words and pictures, a device which must ultimately destroy it. The theatre is similarly tempted to adopt the technique of the cinema. It tends to rely less on the spoken word, so that its dialogue becomes

a verbal shorthand completed with gesture and spectacle. During the discussion which arose out of Mr. Dean's declaration at Manchester one of the most important organisers of public amusement in London maintained that the only way for the drama to compete with the cinema was to build bigger theatres and to increase the element of spectacle in stage-plays. Such a policy would be as destructive of the theatre as the introduction of the phono-film would be destructive of the picture-house. When, in fact, one finds so able an actor as Sir Gerald Du Maurier professing an interest in the phono-film, one cannot help suspecting him of a perfidious desire to ruin the cinema in the interests of the stage.

Such wickedness is quite unnecessary. All rivalry between the two institutions can be avoided by each of them refusing to intrude into the alien field. The stage-play depends on the spoken word, on the personal appeal of an actor in the flesh, with a voice and a presence and something upon which to employ them The ultimate effect of the cinema, let us hope, will be to drive the theatre back upon itself, with the result that plays will be better written and dramatists be more convinced of the necessity of having something to say. Meanwhile, let the cinema rejoice in emotions and situations which speak for themselves. Better still, let it develop its own resources in directions where the theatre will be unable to follow it. Only think what the cinema might do if it showed us, say, a stream of consciousness as a succession of images on the screen ! If I were a cinema producer I should leave Faust to Goethe and the Brothers Karamazow to Dostoievsky, and I should put on the screen the works of Mr. James Joyce and Marcel Proust.

The English theatre, then, is no more upon its deathbed now than it was 100 and 200 years ago. The present position is in that respect neither better nor worse than in 1910. There is, however, one respect in which there is a very obvious change. In 1910 it was impossible for anyone who came fresh to the theatre to lose his way. There was in full progress at that time a 'movement' which it was impossible to avoid. There was no occasion to hesitate as to what was primarily essential—as to whom it was necessary to support. Being temperamentally distrustful of movements, I did, as a matter of fact, hesitate—for a moment But there, almost at once, was Mr. Bernard Shaw. 'Why not champion Barker ? ' he suggested.

Barker, of course, was the 'movement,' and there was good reason to support it. To 'champion Barker,' in the broad sense, was to assist in curing the English theatre of a disease much more dangerous than the big revue or the cinema or the gentlemen who traffic in leases. Let me explain.

Third Great One: 'The country ought to be badly governed.'

It would appear to be possible that the third Great One had been there.

It is not intended to argue here the vexed question of our hold on Iraq, but a glance at a schoolboy's map will show its importance together with the Persian Gulf, as a barrier between West and East, and as a wedge between Russia and India. But without trespassing on this subject the opinion of many writers may be quoted. It is that the evacuation of Iraq would mean a general uprising and chaos throughout the country: religious a very rts; lead to a powerful confederacy between the Mohamm with such and the Soviet of Russia; Persia, now in the melt There Rheza Khan, would be seriously affected; and Af Grey, on. already peacefully penetrated by hordes of Bolshevist a uld large flights of Russian aeroplanes and pilots, would b a prey for the big man from the north-west. The menace of Great Bear, the bogey of the 'eighties, has reappeared in insidious form, still searching for his warm-water port.

Also, we may note, in passing, that the British Empire is t a philanthropic institution. The spirit that by a few dams multiplied the revenue of Egypt by seven may not, given the opportunity, be backward in turning its attention to the plain between the Tigris and the Euphrates which in the eighth century grew ten million tons of corn and supported a population of five or six millions. The hanging gardens of Babylon may revive their forgotten beauties, and Chaldea may once again become one of the granaries of the world, shipping from its 'bursting cornbins' to the markets of the world down the waters of the Persian Gulf—possibly with Maude's Hotel, in the Garden of Eden, as a convenient local wheat pit

Fuel is on the doorstep. We have already referred briefly to this question of oil. It is common knowledge that a very large proportion of the fuel for the British Navy is drawn from the Persian oilfields. Lord Wemyss, in his book on the Dardanelles campaign, states that one of the objects for which Germany went to war was to obtain control of the Persian Gulf and so the Anglo-Persian oilfields; for whoever controls the Gulf unquestionably controls this fruitful supply of oil: every gallon has to be brought down the Shatt-el-Arab and through the Persian Gulf.

According to Mr. Churchill in the *World Crisis*, the return or the original investment of 2,200,000*l*. stands at the tremendous figure of 40,000,000*l*. This is a position and a property not lightly to be abandoned.

No account, however brief, of the Persian Gulf could be com-

The disease from which the English theatre normally suffers is partly the result of national temperament and partly the result of political accident. Whereas in other countries authors turn naturally to the theatre as the highest form of the literary art, English authors just as naturally avoid it, or, when they write for it, usually allow their sense of the value of their work to be insidiously impaired. Even during that 'movement' to which reference has been made the breach between the English theatre and English contemporary literature was only partially closed. Mr. Galsworthy author of *The Fugitive* is of distinctly less account than Mr. Galsworthy author of *The Forsyte Saga*. Mr. Somerset Maugham author of *The Circle* is not in the same rank with Mr. Somerset Maugham author of *The Painted Veil*. Mr Arnold Bennett author of *The Title* is a literary trifler compared with Mr. Arnold Bennett author of *The Old Wives' Tale*. An English author, however conscientious he may be, instinctively condescends to the theatre. One would assume from a comparison of English plays and English novels of the last twenty years that the theatre was necessarily an inferior vehicle; that it was a medium less tractable to receive the form and pressure of the time; that a creator or analyst of character was, in the nature of things, drawn to the novel rather than the stage. In no other country to-day is this instinctive assumption of inferiority to be found, not even in the United States. For a moment it seemed as though the movement which culminated in Mr. Shaw would effect a change. Since the war, however, that hope has been utterly defeated. While in France and Germany and Italy the younger authors are giving their best to the theatre, and while the Continental theatre very faithfully reflects and expresses the post-war attitude to men and things, the English theatre is for the moment not very obviously affected by recent literary develeopments.

The assumption that the theatre is an inferior form of art is embodied in 10 Geo. 2, c. 19, the Act of Parliament which declares and consecrates the official attitude to the English theatre, and which is still, in effect, the law by which it lives. This famous piece of legislation was introduced as 'a Bill to explain and amend so much of an Act made in the twelfth year of Queen Anne intituled an Act for reforming the laws relating to rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars and vagrants, and sending them whither they ought to be sent, as relates to the common players of interludes.' This Bill was repealed in 1843, but the Theatres Act, passed in that year, under which the Lord Chamberlain at present exercises his powers, is essentially the same. The House of Commons, under the advice of Walpole, who was anxious that the satirical genius of Fielding and Gay should be firmly discouraged from exercising itself in the theatre at the expense of the

Government, deliberately subjected the stage to a censorship against which there should be no possible remedy or appeal. Lord Chesterfield, on the passing of this infamous statute, predicted that it would 'prevent every man of a generous and free spirit' from writing plays. Fielding at once deserted the English play for the English novel, and the tradition of inferiority was once for all established. The theatre was subject henceforth to the capricious and indefinite control of an official who had neither tradition, principles, nor law to guide or limit the conduct of his office.

This malady of the English theatre, its tacit acceptance of a position of inferiority to every other form of art, is as far from remedy to-day as it has ever been. Fifteen years ago it looked as though, if only we 'championed Barker' with sufficient zeal, the breach between the theatre and English letters might at last be filled For the first time in 200 years an author of genius, with a good deal to say and an individual way of saying it, had deliberately chosen the theatre as his medium. Mr. Bernard Shaw reversed the secular practice. He wrote bad novels and good plays instead of writing good novels and bad plays. Thereby he automatically incurred the censor's veto, since it is the historic mission of that institution to ensure that Lord Chesterfield's prediction shall continue to be fulfilled Personally, Mr. Shaw was victorious, but, in spite of his distinguished example, the slur remains and the institution is impenitent. It is true that the Lord Chamberlain would license to-morrow most of the plays which he refused to license in the first ten years of the present century. But that is only a question of date and fashion; and it does not affect the essential question of prestige. It is of no use giving a young author to-day free permission to write *Mrs. Warren's Profession*. He does not want to write *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, or anything remotely resembling it. It is no use encouraging him to produce plays rather than novels by dwelling on the fact that Ibsen's *Ghosts* may now be produced on the English stage He is much more likely to be impressed by the fact that the *Six Characters in Search of an Author* is still prohibited He will note that Dean Inge is more free to say what he likes in a cathedral pulpit than a dramatic author in Covent Garden, and, either deliberately or insensibly, his imagination will turn elsewhere.

It may seem unnecessary to talk about the censorship at a time when it is relatively quiescent, but I feel sure that this is a question to which the closest attention will very shortly have to be given. There have been two occasions recently on which plays of an immediate contemporary interest, reflecting tendencies and ideas with which the theatre will be intimately concerned in

the next twenty years, have come within reach of the London public. In both cases the censorship intervened. MM. Pirandello and Lenormand have, in fact, already fallen into the places formerly occupied by Ibsen and Strindberg. The first move made since the war in the direction of bringing the contemporary mind into touch with the English theatre has automatically brought 10 Geo. 2, c. 19, into operation.

Then why not champion Barker? In 1927 to champion Barker means, as it meant in 1910, to support within the limits of fair criticism any movement which may result in attracting men of ability to the theatre as the highest form of creative achievement in the field of letters. We have somehow to encourage the younger generation of authors, which in Italy and Germany and France turns naturally to the theatre, to look that way with us. We have to prevent English drama from falling back into the position from which we tried so hard to rescue it fifteen years ago. To champion Barker is, in this sense, as necessary to-day as it was fifteen years ago.

But where, you will ask, is Barker? I am referring, of course, not to the author of *The Madras House*, but to anyone who at any time may try to bring the English theatre into the general flow of things. We will look for Barker presently, and mention, meanwhile, one or two questions or principle.

First, of course, it is sinful in a critic to champion anybody. His must be the objective and impartial mind which approaches a work of art and assesses it on its merits without reference to any fashion, creed, prejudice, or enthusiasm. He should achieve the cool but sensitive justice in which, shall we say, Mr Charles Morgan of *The Times* sets so admirable an example. Moreover, apart from the detachment necessary in a critic, the Barker of the moment may not be one to whom our allegiance is temperamentally congenial. That, alas, was to some extent my own misfortune. Barker in 1910 was not the one I should have chosen for myself—if there had been any choice in the matter. I admired him. In the person of Mr. Bernard Shaw I even grossly adored him, especially when he forgot all about Barker, which, fortunately, so often happened. But I never really liked the drama of social discussion, and *Misalliance* and *Getting Married* were strains upon a loyalty which successfully, but with reservations, survived them. I never really liked that application to Shakespeare of post-impressionism and common sense which culminated in the Savoy revivals. Happily, however, there was so much to admire and to discuss in these activities that the bad luck of having been born out of the period did not make itself very acutely felt. The question of principle is not likely to worry or lead astray the critic with a conscience. It is quite possible to champion Barker,

and at the same time to admit that Barker is as capable as anybody else of writing a bad play. The important thing is that he should not be prohibited from doing his worst so that ultimately he may be encouraged to do his best.

Another objection to championing Barker is that he may possibly be a lost cause. It may be argued that the instinctive preference of Englishmen of genius for other forms of expression than the theatre has nothing to do with 10 Geo. 2, c. 19, but is the result of a legitimate conviction that the drama is less suitable and less capable than, for example, the novel, to deal with the deeper and more complex aspects of life and character. It may be contended that the play is necessarily an inferior form of art; that it must appeal to the untutored public; that, even if written for the few, its devices are too crude, its resources too limited, its methods too insensitive, to convey any really profound or urgent or subtle idea or emotion; that we have, in fact, outlived the drama, as we have outlived the epic and the saga. That, of course, is a damnable heresy. It would, I think, be possible to show *a priori* that, in the nature of things, the drama is superior to any other form of literary expression in the range and depth of its possibilities. Fortunately, as this would take some considerable time, the demonstration is unnecessary. The facts speak for themselves. It is just at this present moment, when the resources of the novel are breaking down under the strain imposed on them by an intrusion into the æsthetic field of ideas and emotions which are peculiarly difficult to present and handle, that men of genius of nations other than our own are turning more insistently than ever to the theatre and developing its potential resources to meet the occasion. I would, indeed, venture to prophesy that in the next ten years there will be a tendency to abandon the novel in favour of the play as a higher form of art. There are very few novels indeed which enlarge the scope of what may be æsthetically expressed to the extent to which Signor Pirandello or M. Lenormand or Mr. Eugene O'Neill have already contrived to do in their plays. That is why it has become so necessary to insist that the English theatre should be delivered from the assumption by which it has been consciously or unconsciously ruled since Fielding abandoned it in the eighteenth century. If during the next fifteen years it continues to be dominated, and the attitude of its contributors to be coloured, by the fact that it is suitably provided for in a Bill to amend an Act for the restraint of sturdy beggars, the English contribution to the literature of the world in the second quarter of the present century will be necessarily meagre.

It remains to discover Barker. Fifteen years ago there was no avoiding him. He was the drama of social discussion, a

political-philosophical-religious Barker, who wrote plays like *Justice*, *The Showing up of Blanco Posnet* and *Hindle Wakes*. He lived, for the most part, in and about Adelphi Terrace. He filled the newspapers. He taught the public to read as well as to see plays. He defied the censor once a week. He had a regiment of young critics to work for him, and he made them work upon the seventh day. He brought the English theatre into touch with burning questions and insisted on its knowing what was being produced abroad by Stanislawski and Reinhardt, and what was being written abroad by Tchekov and Hauptman and Strindberg.

Barker to-day is a very different kind of person. I have referred to the more striking aspects of that difference more than once in this Review,[1] and I will not now risk a vain repetition of the thesis which has given rise to such lively polemics among my friends both in Paris and London. Suffice it that Barker no longer lives in England. You will find him in Berlin, Moscow, Vienna, Salzburg, Prague and Paris—in almost any city on the Continent, even in New York; but you will not find him easily in London.

If he landed at Dover he would probably be arrested by the police, and if he presented a play for performance on an English theatre, he would be censored by the Lord Chamberlain. He would, in fact, receive precisely the same official treatment as was accorded to him in the period 1895 to 1910, and he would be met, at first, with the same public indifference. The English theatre to-day is in danger of falling into exactly that seclusion from contemporary realities and exactly that isolation from vital dramatic movements abroad which gave rise to such vigorous protests in the days when Mr. Clement Scott dealt so magisterially with Ibsen as a morbid and unnecessary interloper, and when Barker generally had so bad a reputation that he could only venture to show himself to the public on Sunday.

The position, moreover, is worse to-day than it was, say, in 1910. In 1910 the champions of Barker had almost completed their work. The English theatre was coming into touch with English literature, and was contributing actively to the European drama. When the Lord Chamberlain intervened, or when the public was recalcitrant, there were a dozen eager critics ready, with their protests and appeals, to make milch the burning eyes of heaven. To-day MM. Pirandello and Lenormand can be denied a hearing in London without giving rise to any effective indignation or regret. The English theatre considers itself emancipated and in touch with present realities, but this is an

[1] 'The Plays of Luigi Pirandello,' June 1925; 'Antic Literature,' October 1925; 'H. R. Lenormand and the Play of Psycho-Analysis,' October 1926

lusion which will not survive a Channel crossing. It is true that there are playwrights to-day who cleverly describe existing social habits, who use a vocabulary in which current expletives are freely employed, and who portray the fashionable vices of the moment, and this is taken for a sign that it is a free, audacious, and thoroughly modern institution. It is equally true that the Barker whom we championed in 1910 is to-day secure in the position which was won for him fifteen years ago. Nevertheless, the English theatre to-day is in immediate danger of falling into just that position of isolation and self-content which kept the theatre of France so brilliantly barren at a time when Russia, Germany, Scandinavia, and England were working together to such splendid purpose in the early 'nineties. And that is a position which the English theatre must at all costs avoid. It is a peculiarity of English genius that, though it is intensely individual and wholly original in its creative achievements, it requires constant stimulation from abroad. The plays of Shakespeare would never have been written had it not been for the renaissance in Italy and France. We should never have had the comedies of Congreve if Charles Stuart had not travelled with Etherege in his youth. Mr. Bernard Shaw would still be writing the novels of his nonage if he had not insisted as G. B. S. that Ibsen was a dramatist of some significance. Mr. Galsworthy would in that case have abandoned the theatre to the successors of Tom Robertson and Sydney Grundy and have devoted his life exclusively to the Forsytes unto the third and fourth generations

I am not, of course, implying that, if London neglects the foreign stage, no good English plays will be written in the next twenty years Excellent plays are being written and will continue to be written in any case. But the theatre will inevitably fall out of touch with contemporary thought, and the tradition of its inferiority to other forms of literary expression, more closely in touch with modern developments, will once again enter upon that insidious process which has so often tended to make of it, for serious literary purposes, what Gibbon described as the occupation of an idle man and the relaxation of the warrior. That is the impending doom which, if I were still a dramatic critic, I would use every resource at my disposal to postpone.

Nor would occasions be wanting for such a necessary task. Even as I finish this article the decision of the Lord Chamberlain to prohibit the public performance of a play by M. Nozière is being discussed in the French newspapers. This play has been acted in many Continental cities. Its prohibition is incomprehensible to foreign authors and critics, and, indeed, to anyone who has lived for any length of time abroad. The action of the

Lord Chamberlain can as little be justified as any of those capricious decrees which culminated in the Report of the Joint Committee on the Censorship in 1909. The decision assumes an added significance from the fact that M. Nozière is at present trying to persuade the Comédie Française to add to its repertoire *The Old Lady Shows Her Medals* of Sir James Barrie. The tables are turned, indeed. The new spirit in France, a country which in 1910 stood so wilfully aloof from the rest of the European theatre, could not be better illustrated than by the comment on this event of *Comedia* on March 5: 'Il est particulièrement heureux, au moment où l'Angleterre interdit la représentation de *La Riposte*, d'ouvrir à un Anglais les portes de notre premier théâtre français.' This is a comment which may well plunge any English critic with long views into black despair.

If I were still a dramatic critic I should feel it my duty to abandon the summarising of the plots of the three or four plays a week which are produced in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields in order to discuss abundantly such an incomprehensible insult to the dramatic art and incidentally to the authors and actors who are implicated. Better plays than *La Riposte* have been produced in London during the last six months. But on general grounds the challenge cries aloud to be taken up Such incidents cause us to be taxed of foreign nations whose official attitude to the arts is determined according to civilised principles. That, however, is comparatively a minor matter. The major point is the proof they afford of the necessity, as urgent now as it was fifteen and twenty years ago, to 'champion Barker' whenever and wherever he may be found.

JOHN PALMER.

MURRAY'S MYSTERIOUS CONTRIBUTOR:

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF SIR WALTER SCOTT

I

RIVAL REVIEWS

IN February 1809 the *Quarterly Review*, edited by William Gifford and published by John Murray the second, was launched, avowedly 'to undermine' the *Edinburgh Review*, then edited by Francis Jeffrey, the reigning Pope of literature whose vitriolic pen provoked Byron's *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*.

One of the moving spirits in the secret coterie behind the new venture was Walter Scott, essayist, balladist and poet, but not yet novelist, historian, or baronet. He had quarrelled with Constable, and especially with Constable's cantankerous partner, Hunter, Jeffrey's adverse criticism of *Marmion* rankled; each number of the *Edinburgh Review* more and more ruffled his political feelings, and when the twenty-sixth number appeared, with its 'Don Cevallos on the Usurpation of Spain,' Scott vented his indignation in a caustic letter to Constable in which he completed the rupture with these resentful words: 'The *Edinburgh Review* had become such as to render it impossible for me to continue a contributor to it.—*Now*, it is such as I can no longer continue to receive or read it.'

Lockhart, in his *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, devotes considerable space to the history of the rival reviews, and details at length the intimate connexion of his famous father-in-law with both periodicals. The new *Quarterly* was the theme of many letters written by Scott to Murray, Gifford, Ellis, Southey, and others. In an epistle in which he asked his brother, Thomas Scott, to become a contributor, he wrote:

> The management of this work was much pressed upon me; but though great prospects of emolument were held out, I declined so arduous a task, and it has devolved upon Mr. Gifford, author of the *Baviad*, with whose wit and learning you are well acquainted. He made a stipulation, however, that I should give him all the assistance in my power, especially at the commencement; to which I am, for many reasons, nothing loth.

Though Scott enlisted the services of many literary friends as

contributors to the *Quarterly Review* the editor, did not always accept their highly sponsored contributions. In an apologetic letter written to his friend Morritt on July 22, 1809, Scott excuses the editor's temerity thus:

I am much surprised at the rejection of your excellent article on Warburton, but a good deal happened when I was in London to show me that Gifford wants much of the tact which is necessary to conduct with spirit the work he has undertaken.

The quotation is from *Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott* (1894, i., 138), the editor of which informs us in a footnote that

'The numerous letters in the Abbotsford Collection from Ellis, Gifford, and Murray, give a truer idea of the share Scott had in the establishment of the *Quarterly Review* than even the comprehensive statements of Mr. Lockhart.'

Much additional information on the subject is embodied in *The Memoir and Correspondence of the late John Murray*, by Samuel Smiles (two vols., 1891), which includes many letters from Scott to Murray not printed or quoted in Lockhart's masterpiece of biography. The originals of several of these interesting epistles are preserved in a special volume containing fifteen letters written by the 'Wizard of the North' to the head of the famous publishing house in Albemarle Street. This interesting literary correspondence is in the wonderful Honresfeld Collection along with scores and scores of fine unpublished letters written by Scott to various members of his family, including many addressed to his son-in-law, Lockhart. These holograph treasures keep distinguished company with the original manuscripts of *The Antiquary* and *Rob Roy* in a library which is also rich in Burns and Brontë manuscripts of the highest importance.

My grateful thanks are due to Sir Alfred J. Law, formerly M.P. for Rochdale, and owner of the Honresfeld Collection, for full and frequent access to its rarities, and for his kind permission to give the literary world the benefit of unpublished manuscripts.

II

Scott's Letters to Murray

Though several of the Scott-Murray letters were utilised by Smiles, there are others which have never been printed, and one series—entirely unpublished—has quite a fascinating interest. These unknown letters revolve round a mysterious contributor to the *Quarterly Review*, a writer of outstanding merit whose connexion with Scott and the *Quarterly* was either unknown to Lockhart, or deliberately ignored by him in his account of the

rival reviews. Here is the first letter in which we catch sight of this man of mystery.

Walter Scott to John Murray

DEAR SIR,—An idea of great consequence has occured to me which if you can follow out with success it will be of immense use to the Review. But it is of the most delicate nature. You cannot but have heard of that very unfortunate man Dr Greenshields who for a dishonourable or rather infamous cause was obliged to leave Edinburgh where he was long beloved and admired by every human being. He is I believe in London writing for bread and certainly would be [from a] literary point of view, a most important addition to our strength. His principles as to politics are with us, and he would in fact be the best or only match whom we could bring against *Playfair* on articles of general philosophy. But could his assistance be obtained it would be of the last importance to conceal it. Even Mr Gifford I think need know nothing about it, nor in fact any one but yourself You might give his communications as those of a correspondent who wished his name to be concealed. I will endeavour to get some clue to him, unless you know where he is. I conceive he passes by the name of Rutherford All this I recommend to your prudence. The utility of the alliance may perhaps be overbourne by the unpleasant and disgraceful circumstances attached to the individual. Of course you will easily see the difficulty and delicacy of such a negotiation.

I trouble you with a line to Mr Miller, also to Mr Gifford, and to Heber who lives hard by Elliot's Great Brewery, Westminster, and not far from James Street of course.

Yours truly,

W. SCOTT.

10 March, 1809.

Quite a number of Playfairs figure prominently in the annals of Edinburgh, but the one mentioned by Scott in this letter was probably John Playfair (1748–1819), Professor of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh University. Writing to Scott on August 11, 1810 (*Familiar Letters*, vol. i., p. 186), Jeffrey encloses advance sheets of his article on *The Lady of the Lake*, and asks the author of the poem to dine with 'Alison, Playfair, and two American ladies'

Though Lockhart makes no mention of this man of mystery so highly commended by Scott, I have located one printed reference which dovetails into the story revealed by the series of letters now under tribute. In his memoir of Murray, Smiles includes an epistle written by Scott to the publisher nine days after the hitherto unpublished letter in which the 'important addition' to the strength of the *Quarterly Review* was suggested. Scott had evidently busied himself in the interval, for he writes:

I have found means to get at Mr G, and have procured a letter to be written to him which may possibly produce one to you signed Rutherford or Richardson, or some such name, and dated from the north of England;

plete without a mention of pearls and climate, two subjects which dominate life in those waters.

The geological formation of the bottom of the Gulf and the temperature of the water appear to be very favourable to the growth of the pearl-oyster.

Along the Arabian side from Kuwait to the southern end lie some 180 known banks which are fished during two seasons every year—the *Ghaus-al-Kabir* (the 'great diving'), which starts in May and lasts till September, and the *Raddah* ('the return'), which takes place about October. On the Persian side the banks are poorer and are only fished every three or four years.

The right of pearling has become, by prescription and the benevolence of the British Government, more or less attached to the tribe which inhabits the adjacent coast; many foreign attempts have been made by various companies to dive scientifically for pearl, but they have invariably failed. 'The question,' as one writer puts it, 'really settles itself. I should be sorry to go pearling amid a horde of retired pirates unless I had an escort of a squadron of cruisers.'

Peace amongst these retired pirates is kept by one of His Majesty's sloops in the Gulf squadron, which cruises throughout the season along the banks.[1]

The business is a large one. Some 5000 dhows employing 8000 men are engaged in it, and the annual value of the pearl sold, chiefly through Bahrein, has increased from 300,000*l*. in 1833 and about 1,500,000*l*. in 1905 to presumably from 2,500,000*l*. to 3,000,000*l*. at the present prices. This huge sum is produced by men attired in the primitive dress of a nose-clip, ear-pads, leather finger-stalls, a stone weight and a collecting basket, in depths up to fourteen fathoms, during dives lasting from fifty to seventy seconds.

For some fifty years the following remarks have been reprinted in each edition of the sailing directions for the Persian Gulf:—

CLIMATE. PERSIAN GULF.

The climate of the Persian Gulf is one of the most trying imaginable, though perhaps on the whole not unhealthy for Europeans. The intense heat of the summer is aggravated by the humidity of the atmosphere, and by the dust raised by every wind; nor are there rains or clouds to temper the extreme heat.

And under the heading

HEALTH.

In the cold seasons fevers are most prevalent, the so-called Gulf fever of the remittent type is very dangerous, and convalescence can only be obtained by leaving the Gulf. Yellow fever is unknown. Cholera, plague,

[1] The weather-gauge is strongly advocated when anchoring for the night with a pearling fleet. The smell passes description.

or if he does not write to you, enquiry is to be made whether he would chuse you would address him. The secrecy to be observed in this business must be most profound, even to Ballantyne and all the world. If you get articles from him (which will and must draw attention) you must throw out a false scent for inquirers. I believe this unfortunate man will soon be in London.

For further information about the profoundly secret contributor we return to the Honresfeld MSS., where we find this letter postmarked ' Mar. 24. 1809.'

Walter Scott to John Murray

DEAR SIR,—From the Inclosed you will see our treaty is likely to succeed. I believe Mr —— will soon be in town. Remember his name is *Richardson*. Perhaps you had better write a line to him. Privacy is most essentially necessary to this matter and I think you can devise some false scent which may disguise the contributions beyond the possibility of discovery. Don't mention my name as privy to the transaction, and I believe it will give him particular pain.

I am ever Yours truly

W. SCOTT.

The inclosure sent by Scott to Murray was the reply of the mysterious man of letters to the communication sent to him by Scott's chosen intermediary. Fortunately the letter has been preserved. It is addressed to ' Mr. Andrew Rutherford, Surgeons Square, Edinburgh,' and reads :

Corbridge, 19 March, 1809.

MY DEAR ANDREW,—Your most agreeable letter I have only this moment received, and can have no hesitation to contribute my best services for carrying on the *Quarterly Review*. But it is not possible for me to make the proposal, nor have I any guess what terms I ought to ask Let Lord M. arrange the business as he thinks proper I am infinitely indebted to him for his remembrance of me. I shall set out for London the first week of April. If Mr Murray writes to me before the 29th he must direct to Mr Richardson, Corbridge, Newcastle on Tyne. Otherwise let him direct to the care of Mr Donkin, Engineer, Fort Place, Bermondsey. I can say nothing at present about the choice of a book for reviewing, except only that I should wish to begin with some Poetical or Belles Lettres performance.

I have no time for a word more, for I was dining with John Bates, and it is almost the post hour. You will receive another letter which I wrote this morning and to which I entreat your attention. I shall expect to hear from you soon.

Yours ever.

The letter is unsigned, so we are still left in the dark as to the identity of the writer. No doubt Scott was responsible for the phrasing of the letter penned by Rutherford, and the idea of suggesting ' Richardson ' as a contributor may have been fathered

on 'Lord M.' in order to screen the identity of the real author of the proposal. The nobleman indicated was probably Lord Melville, or possibly Lord Minto.

The next letter of the series is without written date, but bears the postmark 'Mar. 25 1809.'

Walter Scott to John Murray

DEAR SIR,—I enclose you another letter from Mr Richardson—*puisque Richardson il y a*—which will quite prepare you for a meeting with him. His help will be invaluable, but discovery the *very devil* Mind this—they have no hand in the *Edinburgh* superior to him in philosophy and Belles lettres—no not a single one

I think a fine and stable sale will be settled here to the extent of 1000 or 1500 even for the next No. Jas Ballantyne has hardly a copy of his last remittance Eke I have a letter from Gifford in good spirits.

When do the novels go on ?

W S.

Contrive to be seen as little with Richardson as possible He is terribly *Kenspickle* I observe he will talk bye and bye about terms, and I take the opportunity of begging that your kind intentions towards me (of which Ballantyne informs me) may not interfere with this or any other arrangement I am quite pleased with my ten guineas a sheet for my labour in writing, and for additional exertions I will consider them as overpaid by success in the cause, especially while that success is doubtful I think Mr Gifford must be put in the secret about Richardson and shall write to him

The second letter written by 'Richardson' to his Edinburgh friend Rutherford, and forwarded by Scott to Murray, is also available It reads .

Corbridge, 23 March, 1809.

MY DEAR ANDREW,—I intend to set out for London on the 5th or 6th of April It is scarcely possible and it does not appear to be necessary for the business on hand that I should go sooner. After my arrival I shall certainly lose no time in appointing a meeting with Mr Murray. If what I am able to produce shall be satisfactory to the conductors of the Review, I do not see that I can do better than devote the greatest part of my time to it For the first or second quarter I should not think of asking more than ten guineas a sheet ; but *then* I consider myself free to make a new agreement I doubt much however if my performances will be thought worthy of the ten guineas, tho' I certainly shall not spare my labour. It is to me a matter of perfect indifference to what person real or fictitious the articles I write are ascribed, nor do I wish that my connection with the Review should be communicated to anybody. But I cannot bear the thought of another change of name At the same time I have no objection that any *business* cards or letters which I may have occasion to send to Mr Murray, should be written in any name which may be thought proper. I only desire that Mr Murray or any other person to whom I may be introduced shall address me by the name by which I am known to my English friends —What can I say more ?—Richardson.

I cannot express to you what I feel from Lord M.'s goodness on this occasion, but I do not think myself entitled to offer him my thanks. I often reflect on the friendship with which he honoured me, and I do not remember any man from whose conversation I profited nearly so much. I hope you will neglect no opportunity of cultivating his acquaintance.

* * * * * *

Here the letter abruptly ends. The bottom of the page has been cut off, probably because it was signed with the writer's real name, which Scott, in his anxiety to suppress the identity of the unknown contributor, would be naturally chary about passing on lest it might chance to be seen by other eyes than those of Murray.

Evidently the 'Anak of publishers' did not quite relish the ordeal of meeting his new 'kenspeckle' contributor in the flesh. He must have expressed his misgivings in a letter to the man who had unearthed the hidden genius and engineered the meeting. Scott's reply, which completes this series in the Honresfeld Collection, reads as follows:

Walter Scott to John Murray

DEAR SIR,—You cannot I think possibly dispense with seeing Mr Richardson, which as he is a perfect stranger to you may be done without the least awkwardness. You will of course apprize him of your intention to meet him. Frequent meetings might give rise to suspicion, therefore be as explicit and full in communication as to render them unnecessary.

Ld. Advocate has promised to speak to Mr Croker about the D. of G's article; but if he is unsuccessful I would sound Mr R. who will do it as well as it can be done, you will of course explain to him, the tone to be used, in case he is willing to attempt it.

I will be very glad to see you to-morrow morning. Rose and Heber are to be with me.

Yours truly
W. S.

6 Halfmoon Street
Friday——

I cannot add to your list and it would be a pity to retrench, as the more Mr R. has to chuse upon the better. Be cautious of saying much about the Review to our friends the Thomsons who are not quite with us. I remember my Monday's engagement of course.

III

THE MAN OF MYSTERY

Who, then, was this exceedingly mysterious 'black knight' of the pen who was shepherded by the kindly but well-hidden hand of Sir Walter Scott into the fold of the *Quarterly Review* contributors? Even erudite students of English literature may be forgiven if they fail to identify the writer to whose genius these

new letters of Scott are such an eloquent testimonial. Some pieces of the literary jig-saw are missing, and others are misleading. We get no assistance from the pages of the *Quarterly Review*, for all the articles are unsigned, and 'Richardson's' contributions are merged in general anonymity which seems to defy their definite location.

However, though the letters themselves do not solve the mystery, and though the pages of the Scott and Murray biographies disappoint us, and the *Quarterly Review* yields no clue, the solution is to be found in another branch of literature. Those familiar with the prose writings of Robert Burns should have no trouble—in spite of Scott's deliberate or accidental misnaming of the mysterious contributor as 'Dr. Greenshields'—in identifying 'Richardson' as the Dr. William Greenfield to whom Burns wrote this letter:

To the Rev Mr Greenfield, inclosing Two Songs, the Composition of Two Ayrshire Mechanics

Dear Sir,—On raking the recesses of my memory the other day, I stumbled on two Songs which I here inclose you as a kind of curiosity to a Professor of the Belle lettres de la Nature, which allow me to say, I look upon as an additional merit of yours, a kind of bye-Professorship, not always to be found among the systematic Fathers and Brothers of Scientific Criticism They were the work of Bards such as I lately was, and such as, I believe I had better still have been.

Never did Saul's armour sit so heavy on David when going to encounter Goliah, as does the encumbering robe of public notice with which the friendship and patronage of some 'names dear to fame' have invested me. I do not say this in the ridiculous idea of seeming self-abasement and affected modesty, I have long studied myself, and I think I know pretty exactly what ground I occupy, both as a Man and as a Poet, and however the world, or a friend, may sometimes differ from me in that particular, I stand for it, in silent resolve, with all the tenaciousness of property. I am willing to believe that my abilities deserved a better fate than the veriest shades of life, but to be dragged forth, with all my imperfections on my head, to the full glare of learned and polite observation, is what, I am afraid, I shall have bitter reason to repent.

I mention this to you, once for all, merely, in the Confessor Style, to disburthen my conscience, and that—'When proud fortune's ebbing tide recedes'—you may bear me witness, when my *buble* of fame was at the highest, I stood, unintoxicated, with the inebriating cup in my hand looking forward, with rueful resolve, to the hastening time when the stroke of envious Calumny, with all the eagerness of vengeful triumph, should dash it to the ground.

I am ever, &c.

December, 1786. [Robert Burns.]

This is taken from a Burns manuscript in the Edinburgh University Laing Collection. Though in the poet's own hand-

writing, it is unsigned, and is no doubt a copy of the original sent to Greenfield, references to whom are to be found in several of Burns's letters. In his second Commonplace Book (now in Alloway Cottage Museum) the poet has this entry:

> Mr Greenfield is of a superior order. The bleedings of humanity, the generous resolve, a manly disregard of the paltry subjects of vanity, virgin modesty, the truest taste, and a very sound judgement, characterize him His being the first [Burns means *finest*] Speaker I ever heard is perhaps half owing to industry. He certainly possesses no small share of poetic abilities, he is a steady most disinterested friend, without the least affectation of seeming so, and as a companion, his good sense, his joyous hilarity, his sweetness of manners and modesty, are most engagingly charming.

Many people who would otherwise be completely forgotten live as links in the lives of the great, and probably had he not been acquainted with Burns the Mystery Man of the *Quarterly Review* would have remained unidentified behind Sir Walter Scott's screen.

The Rev. William Greenfield was translated from Wemyss to St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, in 1784, and in February 1787 he was appointed colleague to Dr. Hugh Blair, of the High Church He became Professor of Rhetoric in Edinburgh University, and had the degree of D D conferred upon him in 1796, in which year he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. However, in December 1798 he suddenly demitted his charge and fled the country. On the 27th of the same month (*vide* the *Scots Magazine*, December 1798, p. 863):

> The Presbytery accepted Dr. Greenfield's resignation, and in consequence of certain flagrant reports concerning his conduct, which his desertion of his charge, and his quitting his country, seemed to preclude the Presbytery from considering as groundless, they unanimously deposed him from the office of the holy ministry, and laid him under the sentence of excommunication.

The university degraded him from his degrees of A M and D.D, and a footnote in the Chambers-Wallace edition of Burns's Works (1896, ii., 20) informs us that 'He lived in the north of England, till his death in 1827, under an assumed name'

The secret of Greenfield's connexion with the *Quarterly Review* must have been well kept. Writing to Murray, Gifford adjures him:

> Pray be careful to remember that the anonymous writer of 'Ricardo is a different person from the anonymous writer of 'Parr' [*Edinburgh Review*], who, I was told this morning was the Bishop of Bristol. Let us keep our own secrets, and we shall do well.

An editorial footnote adds that the authorship of this article cannot now be ascertained, but it was probably by Mr. Ellis.

think it more likely to have been from the pen of the secret contributor discovery of whom would have been 'the very devil'

Some slight hint of Greenfield's association with the *Quarterly* may have leaked out. Certainly there is evidence that his name, far from being entirely forgotten, was vaguely linked with literary affairs Indeed, Scott's unknown contributor was actually thought to be the 'Great Unknown' author of the *Waverley Novels* No less an authority than Blackwood, in a letter of June 6, 1816, wrote :

For these six months past, there have been various rumours with regard to Greenfield being the author of these Novels, but I never paid much attention to it, the thing appeared to me so very improbable . . But from what I have heard lately, and from what you state, I now begin to think that Greenfield may probably be the author.

Some of Greenfield's known writings are extant In the British Museum there is a copy of an 'Address delivered to the Congregation of the High Church of Edinburgh on . . . the 9th of March, 1797, being the day of the National Fast for the War with France' He also published anonymously in 1809—the year when he was invited to become a contributor to the *Quarterly Review*—a volume entitled *Essays on the Sources of the Pleasures received from Literary Composition*

According to *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, Greenfield died in the north of England on April 28, 1827

DAVIDSON COOK

MARCEL PROUST AS CRITIC AND DISCIPLE OF RUSKIN

The name of Ruskin, once so powerful in England and now suffering that inevitable belittlement which follows in the wake of victory, has recently been brought back to our thoughts in an unexpected way. Marcel Proust, whose depth we have not yet measured, and who is so very different from Ruskin by race, intelligence, purpose and achievement, has, by apprenticing himself to that zealous Victorian thinker, and by seeking his greatest inspiration in the 'Ethereal Ruskin,' brought home to us very distinctly that it is not with logic and reasoning that we can measure such things as affinity and attraction and influence.

In Ruskin's *Bible of Amiens*, Library Edition, we come across the name of Proust once or twice in the notes, as the editor quotes a few points from Proust's annotated French translation of this work. That is probably the first mention of Proust in England. As translator and critic of the *Bible of Amiens* and later on of *Sesame and Lilies*, Proust spared himself no pains It is true that once or twice the bold simplicity of Ruskin's language puts him off the track, as when he speaks of Lutetia and its 'tile-fields' in such a way that Proust does not recognise the 'Tuileries' but translates by '*les champs de toits*.' As a rule, however, Proust's translation is so careful and so exact that it seems incredible that, as his friends have said, he really knew very little English and could only translate '*à coups de dictionnaire*.'

Proust not only translates, but he expounds and criticises. He verifies each scriptural allusion and compares each statement made by the author with various ideas expressed elsewhere throughout his work. Of Ruskin's biblical interpretation of the sculptured figures and symbols of Amiens he gives a detailed criticism which, while it may remind us of rabbinical commentaries familiar to his Jewish ancestry, offers, in substance, if not in style, a surprising contrast to his later work. Throughout the many volumes of *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu* we are reminded from time to time of Ruskin, of mediæval architecture, of the stones of Amiens, but never of the great background of biblical thought which is so characteristic of Ruskin's work, and which

Proust examines with such careful attention in his commentary on the *Bible of Amiens*.

On the subject of religious sculpture Proust often places side by side the statements of Ruskin and those of Emile Mâle, whose book on *L'Art Religieux du Moyen Age* he greatly admired, and whom he considers a greater authority than Ruskin on many points, such, for instance, as the meaning which certain symbols conveyed to the mediæval mind. For example, one figure, bearing a standard, is said by Ruskin to represent Hope, whereas Mâle interprets it as the symbol of the Resurrection. Or again, Proust borrows from the very profound investigations of Mâle an explanation of some obscure points on which Ruskin gives us no enlightenment. Ruskin tells us that Folly is represented, among the sculptured figures of Amiens, by the statue of a glutton carrying a club. Proust, quoting Mâle, explains that this symbol is a corruption of the earlier one whereby miniaturists represented Folly by a figure of a man raising a piece of bread to his mouth, thereby illustrating the words of the Psalmist 'The fool . . . devours my people like a piece of bread.'

If Proust's analysis of detail is of considerable interest, his valuation of the whole is none the less so, for, while it brings to light the great faults which mar the work of Ruskin, it also points to the underlying enthusiasm which, in spite of these faults, could charm such highly critical readers as Proust himself was. Also, in his weighing-up of Ruskin's ideas, he shows us, as it were, in a preliminary sketch, those lines which later on his own mature thought will follow.

There is no longer any need to dwell on the faults of Ruskin. Proust has analysed them as carefully as Ruskin's compatriots have done He is in perfect agreement with other critics in saying that sometimes Ruskin allowed imagination to dominate science When he declares that God used bright colours in the creation of pure things and dull colours for harmful things Proust is reminded of Bernardin de Saint Pierre, who affirmed that melons were divided into slices so that they could be eaten more easily At certain times, on the other hand, Ruskin's conception of art is rendered of less value in Proust's eyes because he lays too much stress on intellectual perception, as when he says that for purposes of art each kind of rock ought to be studied with geological exactness. Again, Proust says that what counted most with Ruskin was not the Religion of Beauty, but simply Religion. He admired things because of their beauty, but thought he was being urged solely by the truth they embodied. Hence Proust finds an underlying insincerity which he says deceived not only the reader, but Ruskin himself. But while he condemns as a critic, Proust emulates as a disciple. After pointing out the

flaw in Ruskin's arguments, he wonders if, after all, in art it is not enthusiasm that is the real criterion of truth. It is not what a man believes that makes him a genius, but the strength of his belief. When the truth has vanished the vision stays. Ruskin, he says, may frequently be mistaken in his judgment of things, but often his mistaken conception has more beauty in it than the original object he is judging.

The spell that Ruskin was able to exercise over other minds must have been very great indeed when Proust, after condemning most of his arguments and setting aside almost all his doctrines, could still say that he was one of the greatest writers who ever lived. Ruskin, he says, gave him the power of appreciating beauty, of looking on the world with new vision. He reminds us of Charlotte Bronte, saying that *Modern Painters* seemed to give her new eyes, and, in fact, all those who have come under the influence of Ruskin have spoken in exactly the same way of the increased power of vision he gave them.

After reading Ruskin's *Bible of Amiens*, Proust set off on a '*pèlerinage ruskinien*' to see those mediæval stones that Ruskin had loved so much, and this pilgrimage seemed to him a much truer form of hero-worship than a visit to Ruskin's grave or his birthplace. In the stones of Amiens Ruskin had sought chiefly the soul of mediæval sculptors, and Proust, in his turn, seeks the thought of Ruskin. Not Amiens itself, but Amiens as it was re-created in the mind of Ruskin, was the object of his pilgrimage. Moreover, it is this artistic recreation of a thing in the mind of an artist that will be found later on throughout the whole work of Proust to be the one essential thing in his conception of art, nay almost the one essential thing in his conception of life—the sole reality in a world of illusion. To show us the world as he sees it and not as he knows it to be is the work of a true artist. Elstir, the painter who plays such an important part in the work of Proust, is an artist and a creator in this Ruskinian sense. The roses he paints in a water-colour, for example, are, according to Proust, a work of true creation just as much as if, like a skilful gardener, he had grown a new variety of rose.

Marcel, the hero of *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu*, owes much of his education in art to the work of Elstir, and what he constantly admires in him reminds us very much of those qualities which Ruskin so eloquently praised in Turner. With increased powers of vision, Marcel, initiated by Elstir, contemplates a new heaven and a new earth, and for the very reasons which made Ruskin predict that generations yet unborn would see Nature through the eyes of Turner. Not knowledge, but the intuitive vision of reality, is the essence of a true artist's work. This being so, it is the artist's duty to express that part of reality of which he has

been granted this interior vision. Proust is in complete agreement with Ruskin in believing that the artist has no choice but to obey the voice that dictates to him. For Ruskin, it is the voice of God; for Proust, the voice of the mysterious prompting of the subconscious mind. Art is the Lamp of Sacrifice and the artist must give his life for it. This doctrine of necessity and obedience is of the utmost importance both in Ruskin's work and in Proust's. Ruskin looked upon himself as a scribe writing down a divine message; Proust considered himself merely as the instrument through which certain thoughts were communicated to humanity. Both Ruskin and Proust accepted this yoke of discipline, but it must be said that in the case of Proust the sacrifice was accomplished without even a gleam of that eternal hope for which Ruskin lived. He knew that instead of discovering at each step of his work the Divine Being he would never find anything but illusion and emptiness.

It is obvious to all readers of Proust that though Ruskin may have taught him to see, yet the world he contemplated was very different from that of Ruskin. Nevertheless, Ruskin, engrossed in nature and in art, and Proust, making psychological investigations into hitherto uncharted regions of the mind, very frequently move along parallel lines Both aim chiefly at tracking down falsehood, the one in our representation of nature, the other in our interpretation of sensation. This similarity is all the more marked because Proust, in his psychological explorations, very often uses even the language of art, and treats his subject as if it were a design of which he wished to criticise the perspective Again, as Ruskin is constantly proclaiming the interdependence of things, and that there is no such thing as unconnected colour, but always colour influenced by light, by neighbouring colour, etc., so Proust is always alive to the same 'relativity,' and even when he deals with the simplest sensation he realises that it cannot be studied as an isolated thing, but has its place, as it were, in the great canvas of our life, where it stands in proximity to, and under the influence of, many other manifestations of our conscious and unconscious life.

Ruskin as a painter and Proust as a psychologist instinctively dwell on the study of perspective, and Proust, when he examines the workings of the unconscious mind, is content merely to inspect and never proceeds to sum up or to theorise. He aims at viewing things from every possible angle, but he is no more anxious to seek an explanatory theory than Ruskin is to find a formula by which to sum up the different aspects of any beautiful object, be it stone, or moss, or cathedral, after he has carefully examined it from all the points of the compass. Proust feels that to see things in their true perspective is the only end worth aiming at,

small-pox, are frequent. . . . The hot season does not appear to be absolutely unhealthy; seamen suffer from aggravated prickly heat, boils, etc., but if they are kept out of the sun and ventilation is attended to, there will probably be but little serious sickness. As little work should be done aloft by day as possible [this remark dates the writer]; awnings must be spread and men should sleep on deck, where the dew does not appear to have an injurious effect. Absolute necessity alone can justify the exposure of the men to the sun, and white hats should be insisted on.

Before the principles of keeping fit were understood the Gulf was unquestionably a white man's grave, and the pertinacity of the officers of the Company in holding out at Bandar Abbas may be gauged from the following brief extract from records:—

1739. Mr. Dacres died.

1740. Mr. Rose, surgeon, died.

1743. Mr. Mackenzie died intestate, and his effects 'were sold at outcry.'

1745—6. Messrs. Jones and Science died.

1747. Mr. Ross and a European gunner died.

1750. Mr. Dalrymple died.

1752. Messrs. West and Perceval died intestate also Ensign Burrage, and several topasses and sepoys.

1753. Mr. Sedgwicke died.

1755 Messrs. Parsons and Secker died.

1756. Mr. Pompet died.

1758. Mr. Holmes died and the surgeon was invalided.

1759. Captain Crichton died.

1760. Mr. Nash and most of the European soldiers died. And so on.

The first of the British Residents was appointed to Maskat in 1800, and their record is as follows: Assistant Surgeon Boyle died in the appointment, 1800; Captain Seton died in the appointment, 1809; Lieutenant Watts (acting) died in the appointment, 1808; Mr. Bunce died in the appointment, 1809.

The appointment was abandoned until 1861.

In about 1850 H.M.S. *Liverpool*, entering the Gulf under sail, lost two officers and thirty-eight men in two hours. (The captain must have been weak on the white hat order.) But customs have changed, although the climate has not. In order to counteract heat exhaustion a quart of porter is no longer followed by a bottle of port; ventilation, fans, proper clothing, and a more circumspect taste in liquids have proved the truth of the old sailing directions which we have already quoted, that the climate of the Gulf is not unhealthy to Europeans.

In 1923 and 1924 the only casualty in the three British ships in the Gulf was one Somali boy, who died of cholera at Abadan.

and if we are bent on achieving that, then the desire to judge condemn or weigh up in a moral balance will have no meani for us. It will be something quite irrelevant to the more imp tant business of seeing things in perspective. On this point, course, there is a gulf fixed between Ruskin and Proust. As theologian and a puritan, Ruskin puts morals higher than a whereas the only morality Proust admits is that which comp the artist to sacrifice everything to the one duty of giving to t world the beauty of his art. Nor does Proust find any reas why the artist should thus obey or why he should feel moral bound to strive after the one elusive form which is artistical satisfying although difficult to attain. And yet it is so, and Prou feels as if it was a mysterious moral obligation laid on him in previous life which compels the poet or the artist to be satisfi with nothing less than a perfect expression of beauty It strange that, whereas Ruskin subordinated everything to moralit Proust, in his turn, should regard all moral considerations as bei totally irrelevant and that his only conception of a moral bon should be obedience on the part of an artist to the vision of beaut Surely, if Ruskin made art the handmaiden of morals, Proust h narrowed the scope of morality by considering it to have n existence except as a necessary factor in artistic creation.

This idea of discipline as applied to the artist is at the root Proust's conception of style. He looks upon the form and eve the words of a man's work as being no more chosen by him tha his dreams are. Ruskin liked to think of himself as a prophe unfolding a scroll and not knowing what his message was goin to be, and Proust tells us that not only in the choice of what h says, but in the selection of his form of expression, he obeys, no his intellect, but an involuntary prompting as sure in its workin as the instinct which brings a homing-pigeon home.

Another idea of equal importance in the work of Proust, an which can likewise be traced back to his study of Ruskin, is th conception of memory as being a necessary factor in artisti creation. The part played in the work of Proust by involuntar memory is well known, and Proust in his criticism of Ruskin i very conscious of the fact that Ruskin is constantly resuscitatin countless sensations which have been stored away in his mind and that to write the greater part of his work he simply 'publishe his memory.' The belief that it is involuntary and not intelligen memory that brings back the past most clearly, although it i one of the most original things in Proust's work, is found in Ruskin, although, of course, the latter does not attach to it the same importance as Proust does, or make it one of the main ideas of his work. Proust, bringing back forgotten days of hi childhood by merely tasting a 'madeleine,' reminds us of Ruskin

resuscitating forgotten scenes of the past because of the form of a branch which he involuntarily recalls. (Locke, whom Ruskin admired and read, and on whose work (*Essay on the Human Understanding*) he modelled the plan of *Modern Painters*, had already expressed the same idea when dealing with ' involuntary perceptions.')

It is certain that Ruskin's influence on Proust was only possible because there was a strong affinity between them. They had the same acuteness of perception, the same remarkable receptivity, the same powerful visual memory, and the same capacity for being more attracted by irrational beauty than by intellectual truth. Proust, by far the more intellectual of the two, nevertheless puts aside his intelligence as it were, and seeks chiefly that kind of beauty which mere intelligence can neither produce nor analyse It is this characteristic in Proust which causes him, though he disagrees with all the doctrines of Ruskin and has nothing in common with him in the world of action which he regards as a thoroughly ' inadequate mode of expression,' to feel the irresistible spell of Ruskin's artistic vision and the captivating though irrational beauty of his words.

Finally, this unmistakable influence exercised by Ruskin over Proust seems to bring together in a rather unexpected way two currents of literature which otherwise are very remote from each other in our thoughts—namely, the school of Victorian socialistic and moral literature headed by Carlyle and Ruskin and the much more subtle psychological writings of post-war France. It also brings a new tribute to the name of Ruskin by showing that his work, '*l'esthétique d'un homme du nord spiritualiste et protestant,*' as Taine called it, has, more than a generation later, been very differently judged and revaluated by a greater mind than Taine's.

J. Murray.

CORRESPONDENCE

'WILLIAM BLAKE AND SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS'

To the Editor of The Nineteenth Century and After

Dear Sir,—Mr. Herbert Wright's interesting and just article on Blake and Reynolds seems in a few points to lend support (doubtless unintended) to the popular misconceptions of the doctrines of *The Discourses*, which are not dogmas like those of Blake.

(1) Mr. Wright seems to suggest that Reynolds was the champion of the 'florid' style of the Venetians and Flemings, Blake of Michael Angelo. As a matter of fact, Reynolds depreciates them, both when 'ornamental' and 'characteristic,' and places Michael Angelo as the master of all masters—'superior to the whole world.' Ruskin was the first to appreciate the Venetians.

(2) Reynolds, no less than Blake, enforces 'a firm and determined outline'

(3) Mr. Wright appears to oppose Reynolds to Wordsworth upon the matter of 'generalisation' It is true that Reynolds shared the indifference to detail and to the humble which afflicted his age; but the real core of his practice and of his doctrine of generalisation is the search for essential, typical, characteristic, and universally valid truth; and of this Wordsworth gave an even more perfect description than Reynolds in his words to Aubrey de Vere: 'He should have left his pencil behind, and embodied in verse, not all he had noted, but what he best remembered of the scene, he would then have presented us with its soul.'

(4) On the main issue of 'inspiration' and 'well-directed labour' it should be remembered that Blake directed his labours well, and that Reynolds had genius of a high order; Ruskin (I think justly) calls him 'the Prince of Portrait Painters.' If he felt it wise to warn the young students at the Academy to work and not trust to every unmatured impulse, he was not repeating, but combating, the cant of the age, which was all for 'genius,' as much as the cant of ours is all for 'spontaneity'—which is either a name for knowledge immediately available (however acquired) or for incompetence (however glozed).

Lastly, it is no disparagement of Blake's genius, nor derogation of Reynolds's, to say that Blake lacked and Reynolds possessed critical judgment as well. '*Die Tat ist stets entscheidend.*'

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Delmar Harmood Banner

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It appears probable from a recently published White Paper that the patrol of the Gulf will be taken over by the 'Royal' Indian Navy, which is about to be organised.

In closing this brief account of the Persian Gulf we think it worthy of note that modern historians have passed it by. Justin McCarthy gives only the Czar's will; Herbert Paul apparently knew not its place on the map; Morley mentions it as a nuisance to the Indian Budget and warns the Viceroy to cut down intervention in its affairs to a minimum; the larger advertisement of greater voyages obscured it from the vision of Froude.

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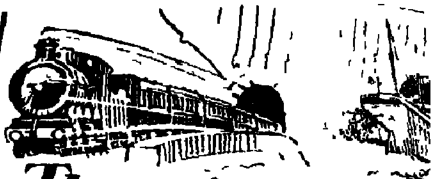
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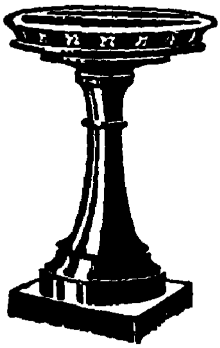
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CHRISTIANITY AND THE AMERICAN INDIA

THE American Indians from the time of their earliest acquaintan with the whites seem to have been the object of missionary solic tude and care. In fact, among many tribes the earliest conta with white civilisation was through the missionary. The eccl siastic brought to the Indian an entirely new mode of life, bot material and spiritual. Our present interest is to observe the effect which the application of that new code has produced upon th aborigines.

It was early discovered that the chief obstacle to the civilisa tion and the conversion of the native was to be found in hi wandering habits, occasioned by the necessity of covering a larg territory for his sustenance. The ideal of the Canadian mis sionaries was to educate the natives in the arts of life, to bring t them French civilisation, and in that way to render them capabl of receiving the spiritual truths presented.[1] The spiritual life o the Indian was to be founded upon a new economic basis. Ir order to accomplish this the Jesuits desired to separate th natives from the Europeans, to hold them in tutelage and t remove the whites from those regions inhabited by their charges.[2] Furthermore, it was essential that the Indians be induced to lea a settled life, but the efforts of the Jesuits to make of the Indian a sedentary people were thwarted in every way. Their migra tions nullified all attempts at permanent instruction of th young—engendered improvidence, lack of foresight and laziness The fur trade encouraged these habits, depleted the game pre serves, and brought contamination in manifold ways. Ever when apparently settled upon the land, the time-honoured custom of the Indians prevailed, and they would depart as soon as th hunting and fishing seasons opened. Not only the very natur of the aborigines seemed to conspire against the Jesuits' aims, but the Iroquois were ever present ready to break up the settle ments and kill or drive off the Indian converts, and the English and Dutch traders, established in the neighbourhood and no

[1] Fr. Christian Le Clercq (tr. J. G. Shea), *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, I., p. 214.

[2] P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes*, I., p. 149.

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NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

No. DCIII—May 1927

TRAFFIC

My reason for writing this article is the introduction of the Road Traffic Bill by the Minister of Transport[1] This Bill is published in the form of a Blue-book, and the prefatory memorandum by the Minister states that it is circulated for discussion with a view to obtaining the greatest possible measure of general agreement and that the Government are in no way committed to the Bill

Plainly, there is a doubt in the mind of the Minister as to whether it meets the case, and the trouble is that at a transitional stage in the development of traffic it is not clear what that case is.

I am also very much impressed with the great importance of the solution of the traffic problem; everyone is intimately concerned, and efficient transport is the lifestream of the modern community In this article I have endeavoured to cover a larg

[1] It was announced while this article was in the press that the Ministry of Transport is to be abolished, but this does not affect this article, as his duties will of course be carried on by another Government department.

subject in a few pages, and I hope that others may be moved to amplify and correct my statements, for it is only by discussion that a way can be found to a right policy.

Before proceeding to any criticism of the draft Bill I shall set down a short statement of the facts as they appear to me, together with some speculations on what the future may hold in store.

The state of affairs to-day is obviously transitional, and ten years hence conditions will be very different from those that now exist. Presently, however, a stable state will be reached in which the number and classes of transport vehicles of all kinds will vary but little from year to year, and this state will persist until the next great upheaval brought about by an invention of the same overwhelming importance as that of the steam engine or the petrol engine. We are now experiencing in a different form what happened when the steam engine was invented and the railways spread over the country.

At the present time there are well-known traffic problems prominently before our eyes There are the difficulties peculiar to cities and the difficulties which come about in the country outside them

The solution of the present troubles of big cities continually exercises the wit of man London in particular, both by reason of its size and its unsymmetrical plan, presents the problem in an acute form. As time goes on and as buildings become higher, so that more and more people are concentrated on one piece of ground in the daytime, as Fordism spreads and more and more people own (or hire-purchase) their own cars, the problem will become more difficult to solve

In these big cities there are two sides to the matter. Most of us are well aware of the congestion aspect and the difficulty of getting about quickly Congestion is bad in London ; it is not so troublesome in other cities, and, as yet, is hardly felt outside them. We who are left alive can also appreciate the safety side of the problem by recollecting occasions when we have been in imminent danger of destruction. Indeed, the spectacle of some of our London streets is terrifying and is too tremendous for my pen, but I can imagine that the student of Milton preparing to cross at Piccadilly Circus may recollect the difficulties of Satan.

> Into this wild Abyss the warie fiend
> Stood on the brink of Hell, and look'd a while,
> Pondering his Voyage , for no narrow frith
> He had to cross Nor was his eare less peal'd
> With noises loud and ruinous, (to compare
> Great things with small) then when Bellona storms,
> With all her battering Engines bent to rase
> Som capital City ; . . .

When we leave the big cities and reach the smaller towns and the country the traffic problem is repeated in another form. Once more there are two sides. On the one hand there is again the element of danger. The country roads have become racing tracks, and it is ludicrous to notice a road and a railway side by side. The railway is carefully fenced and perhaps double-fenced, so that access to the track is impossible The road, equally dangerous, is open to anyone, and children from cottages may play on it.

Running about on the country roads are vehicles of all kinds which carry much of the traffic on which the railways depend for their living, so that the future of these essential undertakings is desperate

I have mentioned the dangers of the road as entering into the traffic problem wherever it occurs—in cities or out of them. These figures, for the year ending December 31, 1926, give the number of road accidents in England and Wales—

Fatal	4,307
Non-fatal	121,783
Total	126,090

For the same period in the Metropolitan Police District alone the figures are

Fatal	1,003
Non-fatal	46,036
Total	47,039

It is roughly true, therefore, to say that now *every day* three people are killed in the streets of London, or that twelve people are killed on the roads of England and Wales. Fatal accidents have increased by 55 per cent. and non-fatal by 125 per cent. in the last six years

Now there are three main causes for this tremendous casualty list—

(*a*) Error or negligence on the part of the driver ;
(*b*) Mechanical defects in the vehicles or unsatisfactory road conditions ;
(*c*) Error or negligence of persons other than drivers.

And in the Report of the Road Fund, June 1925–26, it is stated that the proportion of accidents falling under each of these headings remains remarkably steady from year to year. The percentages for 1923–24, 1924–25, and 1925–26 are respectively, under heading (*a*), 55, 56 and 49 5, under heading (*b*), 30, 28 and 31, and under heading (*c*), 14, 12 and 14

From whatever causes arising, these figures are impressive

and comparable to the casualties in big wars, and we must work and hope for their diminution, as they represent a dreadful waste. It seems absurd that roads should claim more casualties in a week than railways do in a year. If the casualties can be reduced, well and good; if not, they must continue, for it is sure that motor traffic has come to stay. A friend of mine recently remarked 'that the motor car had added greatly to the pleasure of life and the certainty of death,' and we shall not be deterred from this pleasure by the fear of the consequences to ourselves or to others

I believe that there is hope that road traffic may become less dangerous as a generation grows up who are more accustomed to it and will drive cars more reasonably I have noticed, also, that the young schoolboy of to-day shows a greater respect for the dangers of a motor omnibus than do his elders. He is not so much inclined to try to board or leave it when in motion, and he recognises it for what it is, while his elders' *ideal* of an omnibus which they cannot forget is their early recollection of a horse omnibus, and this is borne out by the Report on Street Accidents in Greater London, March 1927.

Now, to deal with the second element of the problem in big cities, namely, congestion This is a formidable business in London, and we only seem to be able to offer palliatives. Suggestions of overhead roads seem to me impracticable talk, and the recommendation of more tubes is met by very great engineering difficulties, for subterranean London is becoming as crowded as the surface.

If the road traffic is to grow and grow, as at any rate for a time it will, it seems to me that certain vehicles must be banished from the streets. What vehicles can go with the minimum of inconvenience? The omnibuses and commercial vehicles are a necessity, the taxis (though not the crawling taxis) are almost equally necessary; but are not most of the private cars quite unnecessary in the congested areas of big cities? I am told that in New York, where, by reason of the topography of the city, the problem is even more acute than in London, people do not for the most part attempt to bring private cars into the central area.

It may be that the future will see the abolition or a great reduction of private cars in London, either because the owner finds it inconvenient or because regulations forbid him to park Moreover, though private and public vehicles are increasing every day, it does not seem to me reasonable to suppose that we are to become a race of centaurs The use of cars will reach a limit Certainly the greater the number of cars the less is the pleasure of private ownership and use, and certainly, also, we cannot see at present clearly the value of a car or its place in the scheme of

things. The car is as yet over-valued because the pleasures of movement, of driving and of ownership are novelties, and will remain novelties, for a long time, but in the end they will stale.

It is interesting to recall the time when the pedal bicycle with pneumatic tyres was introduced. This machine was a great novelty in its time and the fastest thing on the road; a bicycling craze came about and bicyclists swarmed. Now the bicycle takes its due place and is even more largely used, but hardly at all for pleasure. Something of the same sort will happen in the case of the private car, which in the end will be driven for its utility only, and when the first glamour has gone economy will have its way.

Next to turn to the second element of the traffic problem outside the purely city problem—the competition of railways and road transport. The railways to-day cannot pay their way. Railway interests complain loudly that they are being bled by rates and in one way or another in order to subsidise their competitors on the roads, and that this competition is unfair. Trustees who have bought gilt-edged railway stocks watch the turn of fortune's wheel, which threatens dividends to extinction. In the early days of the nineteenth century a system of canals covered the country. After this came the railway age, and the railways competed with the canals, which fell into disuse, much to the public loss. We should remember this and try to find an answer to the practical question, Can we afford to do without the services of the railways? The country does not want to lose a useful service again as it lost the canals. Is it not true to say of the railways that they, and they alone, can cope with the heavy and long distance traffic, and that they are essential both for civil and military purposes, and that without the railways the roads, however used, are quite inadequate? If this is so, something must be done to reconcile the interests and opportunities of railways with road transport undertakings.

May I pause here to discuss the rights of private cars and of omnibuses in the use of the roads? The right of a subject to the use of the King's highway is to *pass along it*, and that is the only right. Clearly this does not allow a private car to 'park.' This is important, because much of the congestion in London is caused by private cars which in between their journeys have to 'park' on the roads. Prevention of parking will diminish the number of cars to be found on the streets (Statutory Rules and Orders, 1925, No. 905, is an instance of legislation in this direction).

Again, the right to pass along the King's highway was never intended to include the use which omnibuses demand from it. In the first place, omnibuses require stopping places, fixed stations which they do not pass, and a man does not exercise a right to pass along by arranging to stop at prearranged points.

npelled by the same ideals as the French, had inexhaustible
ores of liquor to exchange for the pelts secured by the natives.[3]

In Spanish tropical America and on the Mexican and South merican plateaux there were no factors in the environment which were prohibitive of the farm colony, so much desired by he French missionaries. There was neither a strong formation of European communities to compete with and destroy the natives, nor an *advancing frontier of the English type, with its clean sweep* and clash of elemental human forces.

> Since then there was no real race conflict resulting from the impact in he struggle for existence of rival societies, there was left a free field for he religion and benevolent operations of the exclusively male com-nunities of the clergy; and there resulted that unconscious and gradual dvance of frontiers.[4]

Under such favouring conditions the Jesuits were able to stablish three great mission establishments, or reductions, as they re generally called, within the lieutenancy of Buenos Aires, but t a considerable distance from one another—those of the Guaranis, e Chiquitos, and the Moxos.[5] The reduction of the Guaranis of araguay was the most famous, and for that reason we may take as illustrative of this type of mission contact. The first Jesuits rrived in this region in 1588, and immediately set dauntlessly it into the forests of Paraguay, where they passed from tribe to ibe making converts in a wholesale fashion. They were gathered ito a great reduction situated in what Koebel terms 'the Garden f South America,' where the modern republics of Paraguay, razil, and Uruguay now meet.[6]

This country of the Jesuits had every right to be known as a tate. The Guarani reductions contained at one time from o,000 to 150,000 souls, and were divided into missions, each of hich held several thousand. The people of each mission were ollected into a large village or town. The Jesuits, unwilling to se the fruit of their labours by the violent incursions of the razilian slave-hunters, or through the contaminating influence f the Spanish colonists, obtained by decree from the Crown the rivilege of governing the Indians under laws of their own con-ivance, arming them for their own defence, and excluding from ieir territory all strangers or visitors.[7]

The people of each mission town elected their own *cacique*, or vernor, whose election was duly confirmed by the priests in

[3] F. E. Lee, *The Influence of the Jesuits on the Social Organization of the North merican Indians* (Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University, 1916), pp. 72, 95–6.

[4] A. G. Keller, *Colonization*, pp. 296–7.

[5] H. Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies*, I., p. 278.

[6] W. H. Koebel, *Paraguay*, p. 133.

[7] H. Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies*, I., pp. 279–80.

There is, however, a less legal and more common-sense argument. Roads to-day are motor tracks, costly to construct and maintain; omnibuses make use of these roads for the purpose of deriving a profit. There is surely no more sense in allowing them to do this under their simple right to pass along the highway than there would be to allow tramways to come on to the road without special sanction There is no difference of substance between the case of a tramway and an omnibus: one has a fixed rail, the other has not; each obstructs the highway, each uses it for purposes of gain

It may be that in the future it will be necessary to legislate for omnibuses as was done for railways—that is to say, give the operating undertakings exclusive rights over large areas on conditions which compel them to give adequate service over *all* the needed routes, whether all these routes pay or not This would of course mean monopoly and banishing competition, and doubtless taxation would be imposed proportionate to the monopoly value Maybe the matter in the end will be carried a step further and railways and road services will be fused into big combines, so that there can be no question of unfair competition between them. Free and unrestricted competition only leads to cheaper and better travel over *certain* routes and to no other element of good service, and we must not let any blind worship of the rights of the individual cause disorganisation of the country's transport for his sake.

Let me now proceed to the draft Bill. The prefatory memorandum announces that a large part of the Bill is devoted to consolidation and re-enactment, and it will be seen from what follows that the Bill is disappointing from this point of view It does consolidate up to a point, but further consolidation is needed My remarks will be directed to the need for further consolidation and to a point of the greatest importance, the manner in which the Bill deals with competing transport services

Clauses 1 and 2 of the Bill divide motor vehicles into classes, and power is given to the Minister to make regulations regarding the use and construction of each class. Now it seems unfortunate that these regulations should not be collected, revised, and published with the Bill. The present regulations, which (by clause 27) are to continue in force, are scattered in many documents. They could be collected and revised and a fresh start could be made; an Act the gist of which is contained in a miscellaneous mass of already existing regulations published at various times in the past, and which contemplates (without showing) revision, is not a consolidation Act.

The omnipotent Minister's power of making regulations is

comfortably called 'elasticity' in the memorandum, and I often wonder if it would not be wise to limit this kind of elasticity by providing that new regulations can only be made at stated times and intervals of time. If government in these matters must be bureaucratic—and probably this is the only way—there is no reason why the Minister should not approach his task in an orderly manner

There are grave objections to allowing too much 'elasticity.' In the first place, it is not necessary; in the second place, it is a hardship on manufacturers, who have to make plans ahead; in the third place, it makes the knowledge of the law inaccessible, since the Minister issues regulations at his own pleasure, and anyone who has experience of the publishing methods of H.M. Stationery Office will know that it is no easy matter to be sure that the latest regulation on a subject has been obtained.

There is of course in the Bill the usual protection that the Minister's regulations shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament, but this familiar provision is well known to be of very small value, and the Minister of Transport admitted this in the House of Commons on April 1—an excellent date!

Clause 3 of the Bill deals with the speed limit, and with this matter, to which the Press has given some attention, I do not propose to deal I shall leave it to wiser brains than mine to decide if it is better to have a modest limit of speed which nobody obeys, or no speed limit at all or one fixed so high that driving within it is often dangerous This first portion of the Bill also contains a new provision of great importance under which drivers must be up to the necessary physical standard of fitness

Part II of the Bill deals with lights on vehicles; and this is a much-needed piece of consolidation, the law at present being contained in ten different statutes and orders Here again power is given to make regulations, and it would be helpful to know what these are to be

Part III of the Bill deals with the law relating to highways This calls for no comment here, except that by clause 44 the Minister is given power to restrict the use of roads where they are unsuitable for the use of vehicles of any class, or where they cannot be used without danger to the public A clause of this character is contained in the existing Roads Act

It is Part IV. of the Bill to which I shall chiefly devote my attention It deals with the regulation of public service vehicles outside London At present these vehicles are regulated under an Act with the cryptic title of the Towns Police Clauses Act, 1847 This Act is an adoptive Act, and many areas have not yet adopted it! There are thus many areas not at present controlled, and also some vehicles which need control are not

included in its provisions. On the top of this Act there are an immense number of local laws and regulations which have no uniformity at all.

Again, as the Departmental Committee on the Licensing and Regulation of Public Service Vehicles found in their first Interim Report, the possible licensing authorities for these vehicles which now exist are 60 county councils, 79 county borough councils, 246 non-county borough councils, 721 urban district councils, and 643 rural district councils The committee contemplated these astronomical figures and came to the conclusion that the position was 'unsatisfactory' This brief statement is enough to show that at present in these matters 'Chaos Umpire sits'

Now the Bill offers a new code abolishing the Towns Police Clauses Act and the local legislation, and reducing the number of licensing authorities and making their activities uniform This is all to the good, but there is in clause 53 of this fifth part of the Bill a provision which needs very careful consideration. It may mean very much or it may mean little, and it is because of this clause that I began this article by a number of general observations.

The clause provides that a vehicle must not be used without a road service licence, and to this licence there may be attached such conditions as the licensing authority, subject to any regulations made by the Minister, may think fit for—

53 (3). . . . securing the establishment and maintenance of a suitable service of stage carriages . . . and for securing that the route to be followed shall be suitable and that the vehicles to be used shall in design construction or equipment be suitable to the route and . for securing

(a) That the fares shall not be unreasonably high,

(b) That where desirable in the public interest the fares shall be so fixed as to prevent wasteful competition with alternative forms of transport (if any) along the route or any part thereof or in proximity thereto

This is followed by a proviso that failure to comply with any such conditions shall not be an offence if done with the consent of the licensing authority for the area in which the offence is alleged to have been committed.

Later on in the Bill is found a provision that a person 'aggrieved' with the refusal to issue a road service licence or the conditions put upon it may in the 'prescribed' manner appeal to the Minister. The only indication of this 'prescribed manner' is the definition clause of the Bill, which says that 'prescribed' means prescribed by the Minister.

When clause 53 is read a previous provision of clause 44 must not be forgotten, for it gives the Minister power, subject to a public inquiry, to restrict the use of a road by any form of traffic which is unsuitable to the road or dangerous on it.

When clause 53 is pondered over its meaning is far from clear. It is a puzzle to know why the words ' (if any) ' are put in ; but other puzzles are to know what is to be covered by the ' public interest,' and what is meant by ' a suitable service of stage carriages,' and by ' wasteful competition,' and by ' in proximity thereto '

From one point of view competition is always wasteful ; from another it never is Is the ' condition ' likely to be ' thou shalt not charge less than so much ' or ' thou shalt charge so much and no more ' ? Before Parliament passes this clause it should ask itself a number of questions and be sure that the words used express the meaning intended

Is the section designed to—

Preserve the interests of municipal and other tramways (as the Interim Report of the Ministry of Transport Departmental Committee on the Licensing and Regulation of Public Service Vehicles, 1925, openly suggests).

Preserve the interests of large omnibus combines

Preserve the interests of independent omnibuses.

Preserve the interests of the railways

Help to organise the traffic of the county as a whole.

Help to organise *local* traffic alone.

Help to economise road space.

Help to economise the expenditure of the county on transport ?

I need not discuss the draft section any further , it is apparent when it is read that it leaves the matter very much at large

The explanatory memorandum to the Bill refers to the clause as giving ' reasonable control of routes and services ' This is too modest a statement of the possible meaning of these draft provisions What the clause is legally to mean will be laid down on the appeals of those who feel ' aggrieved ' sufficiently to appeal in the prescribed manner, which, as I have said, is the manner chosen by the Minister This will mean that the Minister may allow an impartial hearing and decision of the matter or may with absolute power decide it If he allows a hearing, the ' court ' and the ' judge ' will be of his own choosing I am sure that he will act in a fair-minded way, and do not for a moment suggest the contrary, but I do not think that it can be right that Parliament should give its Minister a vague clause under which he is to take the responsibility of shaping the manner in which the organisation of the country's transport is to take place Parliament can do two things it can either make up its mind clearly what it intends by this clause and clause 44, and give a direction which is plain and specific, or it can leave the clauses in general terms and set

up a strong and independent tribunal which can develop from a general direction the lines on which it is to act.

The danger of vague legislation left in the hands of bureaucratic authorities has been well shown under the London Traffic Act of 1924. This Act deals with the same problem as do clauses 44 and 53 of the present Bill and applies to the London traffic area. The Act is full of contradictions and tautology, and even the Attorney-General has admitted in court that it is 'open to criticism.' The result is that when the Minister endeavours to bring his powers under it into play and makes orders, appeals are brought to the High Court to show that he has acted *ultra vires*, and thus much money is wasted and no control of traffic is exercised. No less than two of these cases were decided in the week in which I write—*May* v. *Beattie* on April 4 and *R.* v. *Minister of Transport, Ex parte H.C. Motor Works, Limited*, on April 5

Some guidance on the present state of affairs may be gained by looking back fifty years to a stage in the development of the railways. In 1877 Lord Beaconsfield, speaking in the House of Lords, said that the management of railways 'is perhaps our greatest domestic problem'—words which might be applied to roads and railways at the present time. In that year a Royal Commission appointed 'to inquire into the causes of accidents on railways and into the possibility of removing such causes by further legislation' published its Report, and this Report and an article upon it by the late Sir John Fowler, which appeared in the June number of this Review of that year, give much food for thought A total of 1307 fatal accidents in a year was the magnitude of the railway accident problem to which the Commission had to address itself, but the Commission seems to have strayed outside its terms of reference, and also discusses the problem of interlocking means of transport and the kind of tribunal which should deal with these matters The Railway and Canal Traffic Act had been passed in 1854, and had proved a failure because the tribunal appointed was the Court of Common Pleas. It was strong and independent, but, as Lord Chief Justice Campbell pointed out in the House of Lords in opposing the measure, it was equipped with no special knowledge While later, commenting on another court, in Sir John Fowler's article is to be found this passage: 'The great danger of delegating large legislative powers to an untried court is unfortunate illustrated in the working of the newly appointed tribunal of t Railway Commission appointed by the Railways Act of 187 It was not until the Railway and Canal Traffic Act of 1888 th the present Railway and Canal Commission came into being.

I can summarise my criticism of these clauses 53 and 44 few words. Do they or do they not intend that a fundamen

reorganisation of traffic should take place? Is something of this sort to take place, or are we to go on haphazard as at present? [a]

It may be very expensive to allow events to take their course. Organisation has ultimately to take place, and if interests are allowed to grow up it is very difficult to take them away without compensation This is plain from many Government reports—for example, 'Omnibus Competition with Tramways, 1926.' I myself am very much in favour of strengthening the draft clauses 44 and 53 and endeavouring to interlock all traffic, roads and railways, to the best advantage, but I think the half-hearted approach made by the draft clauses and the absence of a good tribunal to control the matter will inevitably lead to trouble. Interlocking all transport is the main problem of the hour.

One matter remains to be dealt with This last part of the Bill, which gives a code for public service vehicles, omits to deal with London

Now, though the police of London are very efficient, it cannot be said that there is not the same need for a traffic code for London as for the country outside The need for a consolidated code for London is generally admitted, and the London Traffic Act of 1924 even contemplates that it will be done Briefly the present state of affairs is that London cabs and stage carriages are governed by this formidable list of enactments ·

1 & 2 Will 4, c 22 (London Hackney Carriages Act, 1831).
1 & 2 Will 4, c 120 (Stage Carriages Act, 1832)
3 & 4 Will 4, c 48 (London Hackney Carriages Act, 1833).
5 & 6 Vict c 79 (Railway Passenger Duty Act, 1842)
6 & 7 Vict c 86 (London Hackney Carriages Act, 1843)
13 & 14 Vict c 7 (London Hackney Carriage Act, 1850).
16 & 17 Vict c 33 (London Hackney Carriage Act, 1853).
16 & 17 Vict. c 127 (London Hackney Carriage (No 2) Act, 1853)
59 & 60 Vict c 27 (London Cab Act, 1896).
7 Edw 7, c 55 (London Cab and Stage Carriage Act, 1907)
14 & 15 Geo 5, c 34 (London Traffic Act, 1924)

Some of these laws apply to the City of London, some to the [Co]unty of London, some to the Metropolitan Police District, and [som]e to the London Traffic Area.

One might, in innocence of heart, imagine that these areas [a]re all equivalent, but this is far from being the case The City [of] London stops on the western side at Temple Bar, the County of [Lo]ndon at a point between Barnes and Chiswick; the Metro-

[a] That thorough and complete organisation of all interests—railway and [roa]d—is desirable is the opinion of labour unions See *The Times* of March 23 [192]7

politan Police District does not come to an end till West Drayton is passed; and the London Traffic Area includes 'the parishes of Amersham, Chalfont St. Giles, Chalfont St. Peter, Chenies and Penn, Coles Hill hamlet and Seer Green Chapelry.' Walking last Sunday in the quiet lanes of this beautiful district, twenty-two miles from London and amidst cherry orchards and beech woods, I marvelled at the long view of the bureaucratic mind which from its lofty room in Whitehall saw the connexion between these empty lanes and the traffic of London; but this is by the way.

The London taxi driver and omnibus driver and the police now work under a code which is unwieldy. It contains a certain amount of historical information, and 1 & 2 Will. 4, c. 120, still directs the guard of a stage carriage, whilst the horses are harnessed and whilst any passenger is in the carriage, not to discharge any firearms except for the necessary defence of the carriage. This is interesting, but the bold Turpin is long ago dead and horses do not draw omnibuses any more. On the other hand, we look in vain in these Acts for a provision which is adequate to prevent taxis from crawling or to control standing passengers in omnibuses.

Parliament was as early as 1843 oppressed with a need for the consolidation of the London Traffic Acts. This was at a time when the confusion and multitude of Acts was as nothing compared with what it is to-day. Animated, not by motives of mercy to the drivers of the period, but by the hope that their better instruction would make them more obedient to the law, it directed (by the London Hackney Carriages Act of 1843) that the Commissioner of Police should present each driver and conductor with an abstract of these laws. The abstract exists. Though only an abstract, it contains 50,000 words. It has been made at considerable expense to the taxpayer; it is doubtless duly given to the drivers and conductors as directed by the statute, and it would be a privilege to hear their comments on receiving it.

I will, however, now rest content with the speculations, suggestions and criticisms which I have ventured to make, and will pursue my wanderings no further in the theoretical or practical side of this maze of traffic into which I have dared to stray.

It is a troublesome problem, because the principles upon which a solution is to be sought do not yet clearly appear. Thinking over it, and studying the innumerable Acts, Bills, regulations, reports, and discussions which it has produced in the last year or two, has, I confess, reduced me to that unpleasant state of the mental faculties in which

> Thinking is but an idle waste of thought
> And nought is every thing and every thing is nought.

CARROL ROMER

RECENT WORLD ECONOMIC TENDENCIES

II

In the final paragraph of the first part of this article I stated that the trade of the world had not kept pace with the growth of the production of wealth, and that that fact pointed to where one of the main sources of trouble lies It is estimated that in the year 1925 the quantum of world trade—that is to say, its value after eliminating price changes—was about 5 per cent greater than in 1913 In 1926 the dollar value of world trade will probably prove to be about 10 per cent less than in 1925 How much of this loss is due to lower prices it is too early to estimate; but probably prices were, on the average, some 5 per cent. down. Should this prove to be the case, then world trade last year was about the same, or fractionally lower, than before the war.

In trade, as in production, there has been a shift of the centre of gravity from Europe and the Atlantic to America, Asia and Oceania, and the Pacific Ocean The trade of North America and Asia has grown by well over a third, that of Oceania by nearly a third, that of Central America, including Mexico, by between a third and a quarter. But European trade in 1925 was short of the pre-war level by over 10 per cent, or, if Russia be excluded, by over 6 per cent, and that of the Eastern and Central European countries has shrunk to less than three-quarters of the 1913 amount, although the number of trading countries in this part of the world has doubled

These figures make it clear that the world's commerce has not increased at all in proportion to the world's wealth We saw before that the total index of raw material and foodstuff production in 1925 was about 117, 12 points higher than the trade index, and further that, whatever the truth about Europe may be, in the United States of America, Oceania, South Africa, and Canada industrial production is undoubtedly well in advance of raw material production There are, it is true, a certain number of exceptions to the general rule that a smaller percentage of the goods produced are entering international trade. It does not apply to countries largely dependent on the export of a single

commodity when the demand for that commodity has greatly increased. But, despite these exceptions, the rule holds good, and it is in the poorer parts of the world and the poorer parts of Europe that the phenomenon is most striking.

Within Europe, however, there has been recently a change in the distribution of economic activity which is in some respects reassuring. A rapid improvement has taken place in the last two and a half years in the general economic conditions of the Central and Eastern territories. An exceptionally good harvest in 1925 helped to raise the standard of production in that year. But the progress achieved was by no means confined to agricultural products. The well-being of all countries of Europe is essentially dependent on a restoration of the equilibrium of production, and the point which I want to emphasise is worth illustrating.

	Production of raw materials and foodstuffs		Production of raw materials only.		Trade.	
	1924	1925.	1924	1925	1924	1925
	(1913=100)					
Eastern and Central Europe—						
Excluding Russia . .	88	102	89	100	71	82
Including Russia . .	83	103	79	93	62	73
Rest of Europe . . .	102	108	104	105	97	99
Europe	90	105	93	99	89	94

It is too early to ascertain the results for 1926. No doubt the British coal dispute has adversely affected the 'Rest of Europe' compared with the eastern and central group of countries. But even if there had been no coal dispute, it is probable that the more permanent forces contributing to the righting of the balance in Europe would have continued to make themselves felt.

Though this gradual recovery in Central and Eastern Europe is reassuring, the fact that seven or eight years after the restoration of peace the trade of Europe should still be appreciably less than in 1913 is disconcerting.

But the student of world economic conditions, after studying all this evidence[1] concerning the comparative prosperity of the several continents, may easily commit the error of holding too pessimistic a view of the present European situation. It is indeed dangerous to study the facts of to-day without their historical background. Europe was left at the end of 1918 with

[1] For analysis of production see Section I in April issue.

an industrial equipment partly war-worn, partly demolished, with a population of which the most industrially competent were economically demobilised, with undecided frontiers and indeterminate ideals. The Treaties of Peace cut the economic fabric of the continent ruthlessly into morsels. Industrial centres were divided from their sources of raw materials and their markets, and former trade routes were hastily barricaded by tariffs and prohibitions. A new economic mechanism has gradually been built up; but the machine has hardly yet had time to start running

To losses incurred during the war and the difficulties of reconstruction and readaptation were added a host of new evils resulting from post-war financial pusillanimity In 1920 the budget of only one European State, namely, the United Kingdom, was balanced, no single European currency, save that of Albania, was on a gold basis; and Albania had no ambitions as a teacher of currency theory. The European exchanges for seven years danced and jumped with spasmodic and tireless energy Europe has been passing through what is vaguely dubbed a period of monetary instability That instability has not only rendered the transaction of business from day to day extraordinarily difficult and risky, but has for years excluded the possibility of laying down any elaborate economic programme for the future The word 'unstable' is indeed inadequate as an epithet Values have been mobile and agitated like a choppy sea, for the changes in relative purchasing power which have taken place have been due to distinguishable and individual, if not wholly independent, causes Each country has had its period and rates of inflation, and those periods and rates have not coincided At certain stages of inflation the paper exchanges of this or that country, because they are scarcely subject to direct control and are largely determined by foreign market conditions, have outrun the domestic price movement When as a result domestic prices became lower than prices abroad, the country in question obtained a temporary premium on export, its industries were stimulated, and competitors elsewhere suffered In all inflationary countries the curve of the discrepancy between internal and external purchasing power upon which the export premium depends has oscillated above and below zero and rendered business calculations a question of speculative guess-work.

Cutting across these individual fluctuations of the prices and exchanges of separate States was the more general movement which reached its summit in the summer of 1920 and descended thence with the deflationary policy adopted in the United States of America to touch its nadir in 1921

Since 1921, when Sweden stabilised her krona, one country

charge. Likewise *corregidores, regidores, alcaldes,* and other officers corresponding to those prevailing in the ordinary Spanish city were elected or appointed. In point of fact, however, their authority was titular only, for every function of power from the highest to the lowest was lodged in the hands of the spiritual governor. The native magistrates were forbidden to inflict any punishment whatsoever without first having notified the curate who examined into the matter, and if he found the accused to blame permission was given to seize the culprit immediately and punish him according to the exigency of the case. If it were a more serious offence the culprit received several blows of the whip, which generally was the most severe punishment meted out, for, according to Ulloa, the neophytes were taught to have the greatest horror of murder and other major crimes. Punishment was always preceded by a remonstrance on the part of the curate, who pointed out to the culprit his fault, so that the latter would be disposed to receive his chastisement as a sort of paternal correction. Military instruction was not neglected, each mission having its arsenal with sufficient guns, swords, and bayonets to arm the militia for the repulsion of the Spaniards or hostile Indians. All men capable of bearing arms were formed into various companies, the most capable and intelligent being chosen as officers.[8]

The missions were recruited by inducing the wild Indians (*Indios bravos*, those who had not learned to make the sign of the cross) to join them, or by raids into the country occupied by peaceful tribes of Indians. In these incursions, dictated by excess of zeal and fanaticism, the priests and their militia seized all persons that they could, especially children, women, and old people; they separated children from their mothers, and broke up the families lest a concerted attempt should be made to escape. The priest in charge of the expedition distributed the children to the mission Indians, who contributed most to the success of the undertaking; these youthful captives were known as *poitos*, and were treated as slaves until they were of marriageable age. It was the desire of having a number of *poitos* to assist in their labour which inclined the mission Indians toward such raids.[9]

The discipline of the mission was as minute as that of a school: the unmarried youth and maidens were locked in at night; none of the converts were permitted to outdo his or her neighbour in the matter of dress, the priests decreeing that every Indian should be garbed exactly the same, both in material and cut, as were his brethren and sisters. The men wore a species of shirt above short breeches, while the women were dressed in petticoats, above which was an armless chemise known as the *typoi*, for clothing

[8] Don Antoine de Ulloa, *Voyage de l'Amérique*, I., p. 544.
[9] A. de Humboldt, *Nouvelle-Espagne*, II., pp. 40–2.

after another has returned to a gold standard—some, like the United Kingdom, by a policy of painful and protracted deflation, some, like Germany and Austria, after suffering all the ruinous uncertainties of hyperinflation, by devalorisation, and others again, like Denmark, by violent and uncontrolled deflation. Whether deflation be gradual or brief and violent, its broad effects are the same. Business with falling prices contracts, confidence in the possibility of making profits is undermined, money wages have to be forced down, and to the natural shrinkage of production resulting from a slackening of demand is added the loss from labour disputes. More especially when the deflation is rapid and is caused by exchange speculation *à la hausse*, as it was in Denmark and Norway, the internal price level is liable to be left above the world level and the quantum of exports shrinks. Stabilisation and devalorisation, as the experience of Germany and Poland has shown, likewise involve a stoppage of business, though recovery may be more rapid than under deflation.

Meanwhile during this whole period, and still in a few countries, over and across the bigger waves of these changes in national and international values have passed the ripples of the day-to-day irregularities of paper exchanges.

The conduct of business in Europe under these conditions has been extraordinarily difficult. As we have seen, the relative strength of the demand for different commodities in inflationary countries was rendered abnormal; international market connexions were broken by the constant changes in relative costs resulting from purely monetary causes; accurate estimates of the costs of production became impossible; the organisation of business suffered owing to the waste of time on almost insoluble problems of accountancy, savings dried up and were diverted either to useless ends or from the very countries in which they were least to those in which the conditions for saving were most favourable

Since 1918 there has been no year in which the economic revival of Europe has not been checked by some event or series of events which has dammed back the deeper flowing currents of economic progress—the slump in trade in 1920 and 1921, which spread west from the United States and Japan; the uncontrolled inflation in Germany, Austria and Poland in 1922, the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923; the stabilisation crises of 1924 in Germany and Poland; the slump of the French and Belgian currencies in 1925, which almost synchronised with the deflation difficulties in the United Kingdom, Switzerland and elsewhere; the British coal dispute in 1926.

But the situation to-day is incomparably more favourable than it has been at any moment during the last thirteen years

There are now only nine countries in Europe which have not introduced legislation for the effective stabilisation of their currencies, and of these nine only France and Italy are of sufficient industrial importance to constitute a serious danger to general European equilibrium, were their currencies to depreciate again. The threat of renewed inflation in any of these nine countries with one possible exception is not grave. The budgets in five of these States are in equilibrium, and in the whole of Europe to-day only six countries are suffering from budget deficits. Although in Eastern Europe interest rates are still extremely high, in Central Europe, as a result largely of the influx of foreign capital, the price of capital no longer constitutes one of the major obstructions to industrial recovery

But perhaps the most reassuring fact concerning the economic situation of Europe, and indeed the world, to-day is that, if a reasonably optimistic view of the chances of permanent stabilisation in France and Italy be adopted, we have good grounds for believing that the problems which business has to face are known Up to at any rate the end of 1925 it was impossible to foresee what the immediate predominant factor in the economic situation would prove to be, and it was accordingly impossible to seek solutions Now, if the will to act is forthcoming, the difficulties should not prove insoluble What, then, are the problems of to-day? What are the factors which still check economic progress? They are no longer the lack of raw materials, as in 1919 or 1920—raw material prices are low, nor the destruction of fixed capital—factory and mining equipment has been restored; nor a critical phase in a commercial cycle as in 1920–1; nor the continuous dislocation of demand through inflation, though we may expect the demand for capital goods to grow stronger. Too often we hear the word 'crisis' employed; there is no general crisis.

There is a surplus of plant, as we have seen in certain industries. England is particularly affected by the new plant in some of her former markets—in China, India, and Japan. In this connexion Europe is faced by the particular danger of cheaper labour in those parts of the world on which she relies for her raw materials under-selling her in the markets in which that labour is employed and thus affecting the value of her fixed capital This danger is enhanced by higher tariffs imposed with the special object of protecting the new industries in these countries It is rendered the more acute by the increase in the number of customs barriers and export duties in Europe itself.

Certain of the major industries in Europe, and more especially in England, were dependent to an important extent upon the supplies of capital for export. They sold goods required for the opening up and development of new countries, and these countries

themselves borrowed the money with which to pay for them in London and other European money markets. The contraction in the supply of capital has thus adversely affected both production and trade.

But in addition to these special causes, which have their roots in the conditions resulting from the war and will tend automatically to lose power, there are a number which will continue to influence economic development in the future unless action is taken to control them. They may almost all be classed under one of two general headings—lack of freedom and insecurity

Economic theory is still based largely on the assumption that the movement of labour, of 'free capital,' of goods and of prices is unimpeded. But ever since the middle of the nineteenth century this freedom of movement has tended to become more and more subjected to control either by labour and capitalist organisations or by Governments Rates of wages, and therefore the numbers of persons employed, can be and are affected by collective bargaining by labour organisations, the relative prices of goods, and therefore the quantity produced and sold by combinations among producers—the rates of interest and hence the volume of savings by bankers' rings This tendency towards control and concerted action has grown in force since the war, and it is essential that its importance should be recognised. I am concerned here mainly with such of these obstructions as have an international character

Since international movement is always and necessarily more restrained than movement within a single country, the establishment of new States in Europe has automatically reduced the freedom of economic intercourse But it is further probably true that in all fields of activity the control imposed by Governments on economic freedom is more stringent than it was at the beginning of the twentieth century The movement of persons has been restricted by new immigration laws, by passport control, by excessive charges for passport visa, by laws restricting the freedom of foreigners to establish business or pursue their professions in foreign countries The net immigration into the United States of America in the four years ending June 1913 exceeded 600,000 persons per annum, of whom the majority came from Europe The total immigrant quota is now fixed at 165,000. As the American melting-pot is thus to be allowed to simmer without the addition of more metal, the surplus European population will have to find other camping grounds.

The movement of goods is impeded more seriously than it used to be because the number of customs frontiers has increased, because tariffs are on the whole higher, because trade is directly controlled by Governments either by a monopoly of trading

rights, as in Russia, or by prohibitions on imports and exports, and finally because important changes have been introduced in the manner in which new tariffs are drawn up and enforced and commercial treaties negotiated.

It is by no means easy to measure the extent to which tariffs have on the average been raised or lowered. The tariff of any country consists generally of a very large number of distinct taxes on a long series of commodities, and, if an average of these rates be struck, it may be found in certain cases to have only a very restricted significance. An attempt to calculate tariff indices for a considerable number of countries has, however, recently been made,[2] and although the results should not be treated as more than generally indicative of recent tendencies and must certainly not be accepted as mathematical verities, a good deal can be learnt from them.

Two distinct methods of calculation have been employed. The first shows the averages of the various conventional and of the general schedules separately and the second the joint average of all the rates enforced In addition, special indices have been computed according to the second method for manufactured articles only The more important results are reproduced on page 640.

While it would be foolish to attach too much importance to a single figure, certain conclusions may be drawn with a reasonable degree of confidence from the general direction of the changes which are shown to have taken place since 1913 In Central Europe, where the number of barriers was increased by the Treaties of Peace, the general level of tariffs is higher than before the war and higher than in most of the rest of Europe In Scandinavia rates have been reduced In Spain they have been raised and remain, as they were in 1913, amongst the highest, if not the highest, in the world. In France they were lower in 1925 than in 1913, but are now considerably higher than is shown in the table

Most of these facts are of course well known. The extent to which the duties on manufactured products have run away from the average of all duties is, however, not perhaps so generally recognised This is due not simply to the facts that raw materials are generally admitted free and average rates have risen, but to a change in agricultural policy. Agricultural products to-day are as a rule—Spain is an exception—admitted for import at rates of duty which have been increased appreciably less than those which have to be paid on manufactured articles The new duties have, therefore, raised prices and the cost of living in a manner detrimental to agricultural interests. Special studies which have

[2] *Tariff Level Indices* League of Nations, Geneva, 1927 (Messrs Constable & Co, London)

INDICES OF TARIFF LEVELS[3] (average of duties).

	Method A. All Commodities		Method B. All Commodities		Method B Manufactured Articles only	
	1913.	1925	1913	1925	1913	1925
Argentine	—	—	26	26	28	29
Australia	12–13	14–24				
Austria	18–22	13–15	18	12	18	16
Belgium	6	7–23	6	8	9	15
Canada	12–19	12–19	18	16	26	23
Czechoslovakia	18–22	17–24	18	19	18	27
Denmark	—	—	9	6	14	10
France	14–21	9–31	18	12	20	21
Germany[4]	12–16	15–16	12	12	13	20
Hungary[5]	18–22	19–22	18	23	18	27
India	—	—	4	14	4	16
Italy	—	16–18	17	17	18	22
Poland	—	24–28	—	23	—	32
Spain	23–30	28–81	33	44	41	41
Sweden	—	—	16	13	20	16
Switzerland	—	—	7	11	9	14
Ugoslavia	—	20–30	—	23	—	23
U.S.A.	—	—	33[6]	29	44[6]	37

been made in a number of countries into agricultural prices an costs seem likewise to point to the conclusion that the agricultur is obtaining less remuneration for his labour than formerly Th new duties constitute, therefore, not only an obstruction to trac but an impediment to the production of certain raw materials a foodstuffs

I have omitted the United Kingdom and the Netherlands fro the table for technical reasons. In both countries the avera

[3] The reader should be warned against the danger of a false interpretat of these figures Owing to the character of the data on which they are b they are necessarily of only approximate accuracy and represent a measurem of tariff levels dependent on a somewhat special conception and definitio that term The absolute size of the indices has little significance Atten should be paid only to their ratios and these ratios should be accepted onl illustrative of general tendencies For a detailed discussion of the princ and problems involved the reader is referred to the Memorandum from which figures are extracted

[4] In October 1925 a new tariff was introduced which raised the duties indices here given are an average of the old and new rates, and are lower those which might be calculated from the rates in force to-day

[5] Since 1925 average rates have been slightly reduced as a result of conventions.

[6] The 1913 Tariff The 1914 Tariff was very much lower

rates of duty are higher—though still lower than in any of the others. They are higher, however, for quite different causes: in the United Kingdom because a few highly protective duties have been imposed, in the Netherlands because the small administrative duty has been raised from 5 to 8 per cent.

Outside Europe Parliaments have been no less busy with erecting tariff walls, not, it is true, on the American continent except in the United States, but in Australia, in India, and in Japan and elsewhere. The newer industrial nations build these walls to foster their young industries, and the older nations build them to protect the fixed capital invested in existing industries.

In addition to tariffs being in most countries generally higher than they were before the war, recent changes in commercial policy have also tended to reduce the business man's freedom of action and power to forecast the probable course of events. Immediately after the Armistice the general feeling of insecurity, the price chaos, the idea engendered by poverty that each nation should conserve such riches as it possessed, the blind groping after some means for employing demobilised armies, the ultra-nationalistic aspirations of the very young, the animosities which the war bequeathed, all combined to induce States to insulate themselves and to prohibit all imports and exports save by special permit. The policy of general prohibition and specific free lists gradually gave way to one of general freedom and specific prohibition lists, and that second expedient in its turn to the system of contingents. As economic conditions gradually improved and the fear of a shortage of raw materials disappeared, contingents were abandoned in favour of the more normal and indirect control of trade through customs duties. But so long as currencies were unstable these duties were subject to continual modification, with the object either of checking imports when the exchange of the country in question depreciated, in the hope that by so doing the balance of trade might be righted and the value of the domestic currency upheld, or of preventing what is called 'exchange dumping.' With the economic fallacies on which much of this policy was based I am not concerned here, though they were largely responsible for the slow economic recovery of Europe, but it is important both to appreciate the progress in ideas which has been achieved since 1919 and the extent to which Government commercial practice to-day still remains more restrictive than it was in the opening years of the present century. Export prohibitions have been greatly reduced in number, but they are far from being wholly abolished. The German-Polish commercial war is still being waged and reciprocal and specific prohibition lists are still in force. In many cases for direct prohibition were substituted export or import duties which were

so high as to be prohibitive in fact. The majority of the prohibitive export duties have been done away with, but the number of duties imposed on goods sold abroad is still much greater than before the war. There are, first, the historic export duties, which are preserved apparently as possessing archæological interest, like the almost universal duty on bones; secondly, those which have been imposed on raw materials with the special object of benefiting the connected industries of those countries in which the raw materials are found or grown; thirdly, those, as in Roumania, which were intended to keep down the general level of domestic prices and the cost of living; and finally, revenue duties

Export prohibitions and export duties, however, may as a general rule be looked upon to-day as the slowly decaying residue of a policy which is generally abandoned More important than export duties are certain characteristics of the last phase of European commercial policy

The practice of binding tariff rates by commercial treaties for a decade at a time, which was common before the war, has given way to a system of conventions which are subject to cancellation on six months' or a year's notice. Of the 180 odd commercial treaties published in the *Board of Trade Journal* between January 1920 and August 1926 all excepting twenty-seven can be altered before the expiration of one year,[7] a period quite inadequate to permit of trade adjustments being made Further, in contrast with the old system of enforcing new tariff rates after the conclusion of special conventions, the habit to-day is to enforce at once what is known as a fighting tariff for bargaining purposes and reduce the rates little by little subsequently by means of a series of independent negotiations The result is that, until the new conventions are signed, rates much higher than was ever intended should ultimately be applied are in force, and trade is hampered Further, although the conventions, once concluded, can be terminated at brief notice, their negotiation, sometimes owing to national jealousies and disputes which have little connexion with economic interests, are frequently painfully slow, and during the period of discussion new vested interests grow up behind what were intended to be temporary barricades, and those barricades are converted into a permanent rampart

Tariffs, moreover, are not only higher—they are infinitely more complex than they were at the end of the last century This is due largely to the gradual abandonment of *ad valorem* duties. When duties are imposed on the weight of the goods traded in, as they are in most European countries to-day, those goods must be classified in great detail, for otherwise the cheaper

[7] See *Methods of Economic Rapprochement* Professor Grossmann, Geneva, 1927. (Messrs Constable & Co, London)

and coarser qualities would be disproportionately taxed. These new tariffs have grown up independently of each other, the systems of classification differ from country to country, and, since production is largely influenced by tariffs, costs are increased by the existing lack of uniformity and the constant changes which are introduced Commercial opinion is, however, generally distinctly in favour of specific tariffs, and the solution of these difficulties is sought, not in a return to *ad valorem* duties, but in some international agreement concerning tariff classification and the prolongation of the periods during which rates are enforced I am, however, not concerned here with the solutions proposed, but only with the character of the present obstructions to trade and with the causes which have tended to restrict the international exchange of goods.

Though much still remains to be done if trade is to be revived, the progress which has been achieved in the last few years towards commercial sanity is much greater than many writers—especially in England—are willing to admit The situation to-day is similar in certain respects to the conditions which obtained during the four years 1902–6 when new conventions were being negotiated and gradually enforced, though the present negotiations do not promise to produce the same degree either of freedom or of security as was reached by 1906 The initial rates of duty and the conventional rates are generally higher, less scope is allowed to the most-favoured-nation clause, and the currency of the conventions signed is briefer and too brief But, for all that, there is a steady improvement year by year There are even a few brightly-lit breaks in the clouds Estonia and Latvia, for instance, have quite recently signed a treaty intended to bring about a complete customs union between the two countries They propose to effect a unification of legislation concerning customs and excise duties, monopolies and labour, to render transport tariffs uniform, to co-ordinate the discount and monetary policies of their central banks

Deliberate restrictions on the free flow of capital are to-day far rarer than hindrances to the movements of persons and goods. Most inflationary countries have at one time or another endeavoured to stop the export of capital—and failed But as currencies became stabilised these restrictions were abolished, and few countries—Roumania was an interesting exception for a time—have objected to the import of capital The accumulation of capital has been checked by inflation, and after stabilisation in certain cases by Government action—in Poland, for instance, by Governmental interference with the market rate of interest and in Austria by special taxes on monetary transactions · the distribution of capital has left much to be desired in countries where the money market was disorganised; but there can be

but little doubt that, if during the last three years the movement of goods had been as untrammelled as that of capital, Europe would be more prosperous to-day than she is.

All these factors which we have been considering—the excess of plant, the acuter overseas competition, the new territorial divisions in Europe, the legal restrictions on free intercourse—have stimulated the pre-war tendency towards national and international industrial combinations, and these combinations in their turn have in certain cases further restricted the production of goods and limited markets. In the face of the difficulties which exist, concerted action is not only inevitable but indispensable. But when industrial agreements are confined to an allocation of markets or rationing of production, though they may steady prices and protect the weaker producers until more favourable conditions arise, they may equally well extend unnecessarily the life of the unfit, victimise the consumer, and maintain prices at a level which is opposed to the wider economic interests of the countries concerned. In many cases, however, their object is more general or wholly different and is directed towards the exchange of information, the technical development of the industry and the promotion of its general interests, whether in connexion with the provision of raw material or the modification of economic legislation.

If Europe is to compete successfully with the younger industrial nations of the world she must produce cheaply—she must produce scientifically; and, as the British inquiry into industrial conditions in America has just shown, that scientific production 'has undoubtedly been made easier by the power of the large combinations of industry.' What on the continent of Europe is called 'rationalisation'—the standardisation of raw materials and products, the simplification of processes, the scientific study of economic tendencies—necessarily demands the active co-operation of the leaders of industry, an exchange of information and of ideas and a joint endeavour to solve the problems of production and sale. The tendency in business to-day is clearly towards such co-operation. It remains to be seen to what extent industrialists will by this means be able to overcome such hindrances to economical production as legal restrictions on the movement of persons or goods may involve, or to what extent economic conditions in Europe in the near future will prove sufficiently stable to render the elaboration and execution of a long-sighted policy possible. But the economic prosperity of Europe cannot be secured by private action alone. Collective Government action is required both in order to remove obstructions to economic freedom and to protect the consumer from the dangers which lurk in all forms of monopolistic control.

Geneva. A. LOVEDAY.

SOME FORESTRY PROBLEMS IN THE EMPIRE

As one of the outcomes of the recent Imperial Conference of the Prime Ministers of the Dominions and the Representative of the Indian Empire it has become evident that at length forestry and the question of formulating a Forest Policy for the several parts of the British Empire is emerging from the position it has so long occupied as the hobby of the planting enthusiast and the profession of a handful of experts, and is taking its rightful place with other industries as a component part of the life and work of the country In one sense the word 'industry' is correctly applied to forestry, for there are many industries in the world to-day whose raw products either wholly or in part are directly derived from the forest and are dependent upon the maintenance of the forest During the past century innumerable substitutes have replaced wood and other materials—tannins, gums, dyes and so forth—of forest origin

Yet no check in the demands on the resources of the world's forests has resulted thereby The demands have increased manyfold Great as was the exploitation of primeval areas throughout the latter two-thirds of the nineteenth century, the consumption is far greater to-day Blocks of forest are now cut wholesale to provide us with our daily news-sheets, and, as a somewhat startling instance that we have not reached the end of new methods of utilising wood, the forest has now to bear the additional brunt of providing the raw product for articles of feminine attire

With a recognition, even if as yet but partial and half-hearted, on the part of administrators and politicians of the gigantic demands made on the arborescent areas of the globe at the present day, it may be regarded as scarcely surprising that the position of forestry, using the word in its widest sense, has forced itself to the front and gradually come to hold the imagination of sections of the communities which go to make the British Commonwealth of Nations

It is impossible to deal in this article with the previous history of forestry either in Britain or elsewhere within the Empire. Parts of it have already been treated of in the past in the pages of

was the mark of the civilised Indian. This uniformity was carried so far that even the hair had to be plaited into one or two tails. Indeed, to such a degree did this doctrine of similarity become implanted into the minds of the natives that after the expulsion of the Jesuits they could not for a long time be induced to adopt any variations in their dress. The same theory of social and economic equality was made to apply to the very dwelling-places, which resembled each other as closely as one drop of water resembles another.[10]

In many ways the economic system of the reductions bore a striking resemblance to those advocated by Socialistic schemes of modern times, but with one great difference—the Jesuits were able to enforce the observance of equality, and their subjects were bound to them by ties of absolute unqualified obedience. The village land was divided into two portions—the field of the community and the field of God, the latter of which was cultivated by the labour of all for the purpose of raising commodities which the Jesuits exchanged for such articles as were wanted for maintaining the splendour of their ritual and other ecclesiastic needs. The other field was cultivated for sustenance of the community, and for obtaining by exchange those manufactured goods which were not produced on the mission itself. It seems that in the Chiquito Reduction each Indian enjoyed the fruit of his own field, but in the Guarani Mission surplus produce was sold for the benefit of the community by the Jesuits; this appears to have been the usual practice in most of the mission colonies.[11] The labour policy of the Jesuits was indeed one of great tactfulness, combined with a remarkable degree of insight and discernment. The day of the Jesuit Guarani, for instance, was mapped out for him with meticulous care. Every hour of his labours and restings was worked out to the minute, and even the intervals of his recreation were planned with the same exactitude. It is very interesting to note how skilfully the ecclesiastics combined the work and play instinct for their charges. They saw to it that the tasks of the Indians were made as attractive as possible Thus the Guarani Indians, preceded by a small band of instruments, would march to the fields singing chants, and when the labours of the day were over they would return in the same impressive fashion.[12]

> The communal arrangements, the pomp of uniform and title, the ceremonies dividing off the day, the seclusion of young women, the attention paid to diversion and play—these and many minor details could not have gone astray in their effect upon native predispositions.[13]

[10] W. H. Koebel, *Paraguay*, pp. 133, 136.
[11] H. Merivale, *Lectures on Colonisation and Colonies*, I., pp. 280–1.
[12] W. H. Koebel, *Paraguay*, pp. 138–9.
[13] A. G. Keller, *Colonisation*, pp. 292–3.

The Nineteenth Century. One point in this connexion may, however, be made. In the past it has been customary to regard the problem from the individual standpoint of the particular portion of the Empire concerned. In Great Britain, for instance, a perusal of forestry literature of the last half-century will show that the idea of forestry in Britain, or the afforestation problem, has mainly revolved round the question of whether so many million acres of land could be planted up in the island. Progress elsewhere in the Empire was no concern of ours, and until comparatively recently the fact that there existed in one part (India) an efficient forest service with a definite forest policy was unknown, or at least not appreciated, and the possibility that lessons might with advantage be learnt from the experiences of that service was ignored. If any distinct idea was held on the subject of the necessity for having a forest policy it was regarded from the insular standpoint that, the conditions being so different (for so it was assumed, and by many the belief is probably still held), each portion of the Empire would have to work out its own problems And, moreover, as in some of the Dominions there existed enormous forest areas, the necessity for enunciating a forest policy was held to be of slight importance, whilst in many of the Colonies there was little or no demand save for one or two species of trees which were being exploited, more or less unchecked, for the world's markets, without expense to the Governments concerned. With the sole exception of India, the Governments of the Dominions or Colonies received little revenue from their forests The chief object was to replace them by agriculture or planting and mining interests, from which revenue in the shape of assessments and so forth could be obtained—the grants for the latter purposes being made without consideration of the future possible demands by the community upon the remaining forests. Or, finally, offers of long leases, or, worse still, sale outright, of large forest tracts to timber merchants were regarded as a statesmanlike policy tending to 'open out' a new country

Proceeding hand in hand with this ignorant utilisation of great natural forest resources was the eminently British (and often wise at the outset) policy in administration of interfering as little as possible with the habits of the 'native' or indigenous populations, however wasteful these habits might be One of the oldest and most pernicious forms of wasteful utilisation of the forest, both in Europe (formerly) and elsewhere in the world at the present day is the unchecked practice of shifting cultivation. The cultivator hacks down an area of forest, burns the material *in situ*, grows a crop on the area for a year or two, and then proceeds elsewhere to repeat the process. In many parts of our Empire this practice continues unchecked, even though we are now well aware of the

enormous destruction of a potential wealth of a country it involves and the possible deterioration of the soils so treated. We have been administering territories for years in some of which we now have forest services, and yet the practice is still in force. The destruction is the work of small and backward populations, is against the interest of the community at large, and is a direct check to the advancement in general progress and well-being of the country concerned. The practice is not confined to the British Empire. In many of the South American republics the method is still in force. These countries are held to contain inexhaustible resources of tropical woods which some day will be placed on the market in a utilisable form. What proportion of these great areas has been subject to this shifting cultivation and is consequently covered with an aftermath of worthless jungle is unknown. The Indian forest officer could perhaps form some idea, for India has been through this experience in the past.

Where has this policy or want of policy with reference to the forests of the Empire led us? Lord Clinton summarised the past history as regards this country in an address he recently delivered to the Edinburgh University Forestry Society. Alluding to early times, he wrote:—

> The very fact that this country was, in the words of a Roman emperor, 'one horrid forest,' may have proved our own undoing; where you have an overwhelming supply there will always be waste; this is typical not only of the British but of the whole human race. It is only demand, use and scarcity that constitutes a value, and with these lacking there is little possibility of preservation.
>
> But from a very early date a note of anxiety as to the future of the forests had been struck, and, in view of our present position, it is worthy of remark not that so few efforts were made to attempt preservation, but that the efforts were so many. Right through the centuries, increasing as they grew older, the Statute-book teems with well-meant laws and regulations dealing with the forest problems, and we may wonder that the effect has been so small. The real trouble lay in this, that with no possibility of looking forward, our ancestors had no real objective before them, consequently there could be no continuity in their action or method.

Tracing the forestry history from the action of the Norman kings in enclosing areas for hunting purposes, he passed from the Act of 1543 for the preservation of woods to the action of Pepys and Evelyn (1660), who voiced the general alarm that no oak would be left for shipbuilding. A century later the same question again came up, and afforestation work was again undertaken to deal with the crisis. In the following century iron replaced timber in ship construction, coniferous timbers replaced to a great extent broad-leaved species, and planting work was left to the private proprietor, the Government taking no further interest in the

matter. It is true that commissions were appointed at intervals, but their recommendations remained a dead-letter. Lord Clinton correctly summarises the position as 'feverish activity when the danger is present, entire forgetfulness when the danger is past, and so on right up to the present day.'

Outside Britain the history of the Empire forests, with the exception of India, has until recently been mainly confined to lumbering—in other words, the exploitation of such timbers situated in accessible forests as could be placed on the world's markets. In this direction both the Dominions and Colonies have, in varying degrees and according to the values of the timbers, taken part In those countries where the forests were large utilisation for local requirements has been unchecked and wasteful in the extreme, combined with an increasing destruction by fire, causing conflagrations of such a magnitude as to threaten to engulf and at times destroying whole settlements.

The realisation arrived at by the few in different parts of the world that a shortage of supplies threatened industries dependent either in part or wholly on wood came before the Great War But even then the question as envisaged at the time related to one source only, the coniferous, or soft wood, timbers The reckless lumbering of the great, and for a time apparently inexhaustible, forests of the United States during the latter half of the nineteenth century, combined with the heavy exploitation of the forests of Sweden and Norway, to supply the British markets, indicated to those cognisant with the facts that a dangerous position was being reached by the end of the century Already early in the twentieth century the United States was resorting to Canada for pulp supplies. The increasingly wasteful exploitation combined with fires in the latter Dominion was becoming notorious. The demands of the markets were ever on the increase, and so were prices The possibility of being able to replace the soft woods in some industries by timbers from the tropical forests appeared, even to those best acquainted with the economics of the timber industry, remote What was to be the outcome?

So far as the British Empire is concerned, it cannot be said that the responsible administrators of the various parts had paid any serious attention to this problem or were even satisfied that a problem of any vital importance had arisen.

The war brought about a sudden realisation both in Britain and throughout the Empire that there was a forestry problem to be considered, if only owing to the enormous difficulty, which faced us on every part of our far-flung fronts, of obtaining the necessary supplies of timber. In Britain our troubles yearly increased throughout the struggle, and the price we had to pay for the timber and other produce was colossal owing to what Lord Clinton

rightly designates as 'our entire forgetfulness when the danger is past.' Had it not been for India and the fact that in that country there was an organised forest service to deal with the sudden gigantic demands, it is difficult to see how the supplies essential to carry on the campaigns in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Salonica, Aden, East Africa, Persian Gulf ports, etc., could ever have been obtained.

It is not proposed here to recapitulate the activities in forestry matters which have been one of the outcomes of the war. The chief factor of importance is based upon the recognition by the Imperial Conference that the formulation of a forest policy has now become imperative in the future administration of the component parts of the Empire—that, in fact, there is a forestry problem to be considered, and that a forest policy in accordance with the local requirements of the several communities should be drafted and adhered to.

This result is one of major importance, but its acceptance and enforcement must depend upon popular opinion. It is in this matter that education and enlightenment seem to be required. The position already arrived at in the Empire and the problems which face us merit a short study.

Prior to the war work either of a purely protective nature, such as attempts to introduce fire protection in Canada and Australia and so forth, had been commenced, though the efforts were of a spasmodic kind. In other parts in South Africa and New Zealand plantations were being formed, with the object in the former case of reducing the sums of money paid for imported coniferous timbers and of supplementing the small area of indigenous forest that country had to depend upon. In India concentrated methods of regeneration by planting and sowing were being experimented with in several provinces, whilst in some of the Colonies the first attempts at forming plantations were being inaugurated. In other words, the constitution of new forest areas or the regeneration of old ones was making progress.

It has been said that previous to the war the chief problem in timber requirements was connected with the soft woods alone. The experiences of India in supplying the demands of the war fronts in the Middle East showed that a number of timbers previously of no market value outside India, and but in small demand within that country, were utilisable for a variety of purposes. In fact, they were used in increasingly larger amounts. Experiments since made with some of these timbers and others previously characteristically lumped together as useless 'jungle woods' would appear to show that with proper seasoning or other treatment they may replace some of the finer timbers, the real luxury woods, for general purposes in railway and other industries.

In other words, the stage has been reached when it appears possible that some of the timbers of the tropical forests may come to the assistance of the world's markets, or parts of them, in replacing the decreasing supplies of the coniferous soft woods. Already in India research and experiment have obtained results which lead the Railway Department to hope that in a near future they may be able to depend to some extent on other woods than those commonly in use, such as teak, sal, and deodar, for a portion at least of their requirements in sleepers, carriage-building timbers, and so forth.

Here we have a problem the solution of which will open out demands from forests as yet untouched in many parts of our Empire, and reduce the dependence of the world's markets for some 80 per cent of their requirements on the diminishing primeval conifer tracts, now mainly restricted to Canada and Russia This opens up a new and most hopeful factor At the World's Forestry Conference in Rome last May it was suggested by a French representative that France could undertake to supply Italy from West Africa with a considerable portion of her requirements in timber—a proposition which throws a startling light on the new possibilities in front of the tropical forests.

The utilisation of the resources of the forest, great as is its interest and economic value to the present community, is, however, but one side of the question. There have rarely been insuperable difficulties to the extraction and utilisation of timber supplies, as the history of the world's forests well demonstrates It may be assumed, therefore, that man in one way or another will find it possible to utilise what remains of the virgin forests once the demand makes their exploitation commercially remunerative or necessary.

A problem of greater significance and importance at the present time would appear to be that connected with these new young forests now being brought into being in many different parts of our Empire.

At home the Forestry Commission have the work in hand In India increasingly large areas of young woods of many diverse kinds are annually being added to In South Africa a great conifer plantation scheme is being achieved, and New Zealand is engaged in the same work. Other Dominions and Colonies are employed in formulating schemes all having for their object a similar outcome.

What is, then, one of the most important forestry problems facing the administrative and executive foresters to-day? It would appear to resolve itself into the question, How are these increasingly large areas of young woods and forests to be adequately thinned?

In the past work of this nature in Britain was either not done or left too late, and then the woods were over-thinned. The result was the production of a poor, rough quality of timber which the markets would not accept, and which led to the disrepute into which British timber fell. In India until comparatively recently the staff were engaged in removing the large trees from the primeval forests, and, owing to the enormous areas involved and the paucity of the staff, thinning operations *quâ* thinning scarcely came into the province of possible practical forestry operations Elsewhere in the Empire the question had not made its appearance.

The thinning of young woods, we know, costs money, and in many cases the material removed may prove unsaleable To those having a knowledge of forestry it is a truism to say that there comes a time in the life of a young wood when the thinning must be made, questions of expense being ignored or subordinated, if the wood is to produce ultimately the best results Starting from this basis, how is the increasingly large amount of work of this nature to be undertaken? It is a new problem in the history of forestry within the Empire as a whole, and is increasingly urgent

In Britain the Forestry Commission are to some extent making provision by only planting up a portion of any area they acquire during the present planting period They will thus ensure a sequence of crops, and may hope with an increased staff to be able to cope adequately with the necessary thinning work. But this is only one side of the afforestation work in Britain. It is to be hoped that the private proprietor will still prove a mainstay and will continue to plant It will be eminently desirable that his woods are properly thinned in the future, even if the State undertakes or assists in the work in the younger stages when the material is unsaleable

There remains India, with its expert and efficient Department, and the rest of the Empire in which the younger Forest Departments are yearly becoming more efficient Has the gigantic work which the proper thinning of the extending young woods overseas will entail been as yet realised to the full? It would appear that the adequate realisation by the few, the older administrative officers, is only a beginning Since in order to make the necessary thinning in the woods of a district a fully trained staff in sufficient numbers must be available and an appropriate sum must be annually budgeted for, it would seem necessary that the administrators and their finance departments should be educated in the matter of this new problem. The men who will in the end be responsible for the actual performance of this work will be the district officers, already for the most part

overburdened with work. Every decade the work connected with thinnings will become heavier, and a larger staff having an expert knowledge of this, the most exacting of the trained officer's work, will be necessary. And adequate funds must be made available.

It is held by some that this work will be rendered easier by wider planting, by the research work carried out by sylviculturists, and so forth. These may be or are necessary aids But the last word in this matter rests, first, with the desirability of producing the best article possible for the market, and the wider the spacing the rougher and knottier the timber ; and, secondly, with the district officer, the man who will always remain, together with his subordinate staff, the responsible agent for carrying out the work, in whose hands lies, in fact, the future of the young woods now being created.

It would seem, therefore, that a paramount duty of the expert forest administrative officer of to-day is to draw the attention of the responsible authorities of his Government to the importance of this new technical problem, which is now becoming so urgent a factor in its bearing upon the future of the new forests of the Empire—a problem as vital as it is novel in our history

E. P. STEBBING.

THE NEW ROUMANIA

A LOVE of travel and journeys in recent years through Soviet Russia and Poland had turned my thoughts to Roumania, and more particularly to the province of Bessarabia, which adjoins the Russian frontier and was until recently under Russian rule. It was therefore a privilege early this year to be given the opportunity of a journey through Roumania with exceptional facilities provided by the kindness of the Roumanian Government. All through my travels I met with the greatest hospitality and assistance I was also impressed and touched by the very genuine friendship and admiration everywhere expressed for England.

In judging the new Roumania that has sprung up since the war, one must bear in mind two things—first, her very rapid growth, for she has increased threefold in size since 1914; and, secondly, that it is only sixty years since she was under Turkish rule These new possessions, which came to her at a time when she was exhausted by the Great War, are proving a weakness rather than a strength, for they have caused her neighbours to cast eyes of envy upon her. Bulgaria and Hungary, both potentially strong from a military point of view, are merely awaiting a favourable opportunity to regain some of the territory taken from them and allotted to Roumania by the Treaty of Versailles, and, whilst awaiting their opportunity, are preparing the ground by incessant propaganda. Again, in the north, Bolshevist Russia has never ceased to endeavour, first by force and later by subtler methods, to undermine Roumania's authority in Bessarabia In addition to these difficulties, only some six or seven years ago universal male suffrage was placed in the hands of a totally uneducated and largely illiterate population. When we Westerners, with hundreds of years of political experience behind us, exclaim in horror at the corruption of the Roumanian election methods, the Roumanian answers quite frankly: 'It must be so; you cannot leave the choice of a Government in the hands of ignorant peasants.'

The political situation in Roumania to-day is comparatively simple. The People's Party, which is in power, is led by General Averescu, a man of great personal charm, honest, more soldier

than statesman, and universally beloved. After the war he was the idol of the army, and to him the credit is largely due that the Roumanian troops escaped the infection of Bolshevism although in such close contact with the Russians. Actually, however, the strongest party in the State is the Liberal Party, which numbers in its ranks the great majority of able and intellectual men. At the head of this party is M. Bratianu, the ex-Prime Minister and a great personality. He may be described as the power that directs the destiny of Roumania and that will leave its mark on the history of the Balkans Of other parties only the Transylvanian Nationalist Party and the Peasants' Party are of importance. Not long ago these parties formed an alliance, but this has broken down on the question of the succession of Prince Carol, and a potential political danger to the Government has thus been removed.

The tragedy of the country is the illness of King Ferdinand (a good and very popular king), and the consequent difficulties of the succession. A long regency is bad for any country and might be disastrous for Roumania. On the other hand, the suggested reconstituted regency may prove strong enough to deal with any emergency. I think the possibilities of Prince Carol succeeding are remote. He has a certain following among the younger officers of the army, but the army as a whole may be trusted to remain loyal to the Government. Except for the rather disgruntled Transylvanian Party, he appears to command little political support, and this party uses the succession question chiefly as a pretext for making difficulties for the Government. Various alarmist articles have appeared in the Press from time to time regarding the possibility of a revolution in Roumania in the event of the King's death. In such a possibility I do not believe, both for the reasons given above and also because the Roumanian is by nature a peace-loving and easy-going individual

When studying the conditions in new Roumania one must not forget that here, no less than in Russia, a great revolution has taken place—the Agrarian Revolution. The difference is that in Roumania never in a single instance did it cease to be legal and not a single drop of blood was shed. To General Averescu must be given the credit for this reform, though it was in the King's mind as long ago as 1912. The Agrarian Reform measures gave the land to the peasants and prohibited anyone from owning more than 300 hectares of arable land. The remarkable thing about the Reform was the spontaneity with which 8000 to 10,000 big landowners voluntarily gave up their heritage in order that, as a reward for their services in the trenches, the desire of the peasants to possess their own land might be satisfied. The landowners gave up their land without a protest, even though

owing to the sudden fall in the lei at the time, they were in many cases reduced to great poverty by so doing. I know personally of one man who, in return for all his acres, received the sum of 400*l*. To-day the peasant farms his own property of from five to ten hectares, according to the density of the population in his district. Of late years his prosperity has greatly increased; there are more cattle in the villages, food costs him nothing, and taxes are low. His only outlay is on cotton yarn imported from Lancashire for making clothes. He is, on the whole, well fed, well dressed, and has an altogether higher standard of life than formerly. The conditions, of course, are not perfect, and many grievances and inequalities exist, more especially in Bessarabia. The reforms in the year before Roumania's occupation were carried out in a drastic manner at the instigation of the Russian soldiery, who, already permeated with Bolshevist ideas, were deserting the army and hurrying home to seize their land before it should all be divided up.

Against the advantage that Roumania has gained in averting the imminent danger of Bolshevism by her Agrarian Reforms must be set the great financial loss to the country owing to the consequent decline in production Before the war Roumania was one of the six or seven largest grain-exporting nations in the world, but now this export trade has practically ceased. As in Russia, the breaking up of the large estates has greatly reduced the production of corn Large acres can supply large shipments, small acres cannot. This state of affairs will doubtless be remedied to some extent with the introduction of co-operative methods, agricultural machinery and improved transportation facilities, and the Government has already initiated measures to this end. The Roumanian peasant is very adaptive, eager to learn, and quick to grasp new methods. He is also capable of appreciating the value of new machinery and of acquiring the necessary knowledge for its employment In any case, whatever may be the advantages and disadvantages of the Agrarian Reform, it must rank as one of the most important political events in Europe since the war. The great point about it was that it was carried out in time The tragedy of most revolutions is that they are the outcome of years of bitterness and discontent, and when finally the crisis comes, it is too late, and changes which might have come about peacefully are born in violence and bloodshed.

Improved communications are one of Roumania's most pressing needs, and to this her Government is fully alive. Her railway system is entirely inadequate and many new roads are required All her commerce is handicapped by the lack of transportation facilities. The production of oil, for example, which is one of Roumania's greatest sources of wealth, could be

As already suggested, the Jesuits were very jealous lest tl *protégés* be contaminated with the outside world; consequentl was essential that they should take charge of all commercial tı sactions on behalf of their constituents. It was rare that a tra was permitted to stop longer than one night at the mission, then any negotiations had to be made through the priests.[14] In Paraguay missions a considerable quantity of cotton was rai some of which was manufactured into cloth at the missions the rest exported. A great deal of tobacco, rice, some sugar, a large quantity of *yerba maté* were produced for sale outsid the missions. These products were generally sent to Santa Buenos Aires, and other markets, where the Jesuits had ag who attended to the sale of the goods consigned, and after deduction of the tribute or tax which each village, or rather e Indian, had to pay the Crown, they purchased whatever gc might be desired.[15] The staple commodities offered by the C fornia missions consisted of hides and tallow, about 2000 h being cured annually, and as many *botas* of tallow. These gc were disposed of by the missionary either to a mercantile establ ment in Monterey or to vessels in the harbour.[16] The Francis of California were noted by early travellers for their readines trade, but here all profits were supposed to be for the benefi their charges. It appears that at one time many local missiona had acquired in some not very mysterious but unrecorded mai certain silver watches for themselves. When knowledge of reached their superiors they were ordered to send the watche Guadalajara to be sold for the benefit of the Indians. They not even permitted to sell them to naval or military officer California lest stories of missionary luxury in that province consistent with their vows of poverty, should become current

The principal benefit which the missionary, as an agent in Spanish native policy, afforded the native was to introduc him many of the economic and social factors of a higher cult This was in accord with the theory of the Spanish Governm which made it the duty of the missionaries to instruct the nat fit them for citizenship, and finally turn them over to the reg clergy, for the missions were never intended to be perma institutions.[18] But this ideal could never be realised under prevailing ecclesiastical practice, as we shall see. The missio hastened cultivation, but in a restricted sense, in that savage was made acquainted only with those ways which

[14] P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la Colonisation*, I., p. 16.
[15] Don Antoine de Ulloa, *Voyage de l'Amérique*, I., pp. 543–4.
[16] F. W. Beechey, *Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait*, p. 314.
[17] H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States*, XIV., pp. 164–5.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 399.

eadily increased were it not for the impossibility, as matters tand at present, of transporting any greater quantity away from he oilfields. The improvement of her road and railway systems ; no less essential to Roumania's full agricultural development, nd this applies in particular to Bessarabia, which possesses some f the richest black soil in Europe. From the military point of iew also it is vital to the defence of Roumania's northern frontier hat existing railway lines should be increased in carrying apacity, so as to facilitate the movement of troops to the)niester front. The whole problem is fundamentally one of nance, and Roumania's greatest present need is a foreign loan or railway development. If England does not avail herself of he opportunity for floating such a loan, there is little doubt hat Germany will step in. The placing of capital in a foreign ountry is, of course, entirely a business proposition, and it would ot be reasonable to advocate it on purely sentimental grounds, or from the desire to help a deserving friend. I am, however, onvinced that a loan to Roumania for the purpose of improving er railway system would repay itself many times over in the icreased production and export of corn and oil alone, and would, i addition, by increasing Roumania's military security, render iore remote the chances of war in South-East Europe.

So much has been written about Bessarabia lately that I esitate to add, however slightly, to the volume. Only the fact a very recent visit, coupled with unusual facilities for studying er multifarious problems, has given me the courage to do so

Bessarabia, which is now again part of the parent nation, turned to Roumania after a lapse of 106 years, for it was nexed by Russia in 1812. During that period, however, the iree provinces of Kahul, Ismail, and Bolgrad were given back Roumania after the Crimean War, but were once again returned Russia in 1878 under the Treaty of Berlin. The general arrangement of Europe and events in Russia gave Bessarabia er independence immediately after the Great War, and her overning body voted for reunion with Roumania. This fact, iat Bessarabia elected of her own accord to throw in her lot ith Roumania, is an important factor in the present situation. ngland, France, and recently Italy have recognised the new oumanian boundary. Roumania is now separated from Soviet ussia by the River Dniester, which is the frontier not only tween two countries, but between two different worlds and two terly different conceptions of life. On one side we find the old nception of a gradual evolution of humanity by peaceful and nstitutional means, and on the other a new conception working rough destruction, violence and terror. With the exception of

the period already mentioned, the River Dniester has been the frontier since 1367, when the ruling prince of Moldavia, Etienne le Grand, claimed Bessarabia as his own and defended the frontier forts, whose ruins can still be seen, against the onslaughts of the Turks, for which services he was given the title of ' Defender of Christendom ' by the Pope. For the second time in history these grim old forts now witness the warfare which is being waged by the forces of destruction and barbarism of the East against the civilisation of the West.

The difficulties which beset Roumania in Bessarabia to-day are many There is the shortage of transport facilities, of which I shall have more to say. Next comes the question of education, with which must be taken into consideration the nationality of the population. This comprises Jews, Turks, Bulgars, Armenians, Ukrainians, Russians and some German and Swiss colonists in he south, besides Roumanians and Moldavians. Many of these nationalities were introduced by Russia over 100 years ago, partly to colonise the country, and partly to dilute the large Moldavian (Roumanian) population which then, as now, formed a arge majority of the inhabitants. Obviously the universal anguage to be taught in the schools must be Roumanian in the nterests of the inhabitants themselves, since it is essential for he children on leaving school, in no matter what capacity they are to earn their living. I was much impressed by the excellent education given, which included several languages, French and German being compulsory and English optional. Northern Bessarabia and part of the Bukovina are inhabited chiefly by Ukrainians, whose language is Russian, and these people, who naturally attach a great value to their language, labour under a grievance that Russian is not taught in the schools. I would suggest that it might be good policy on the part of the Roumanian Government to remove any semblance of a grievance by providing Russian teachers in schools where there is any large number of Russian-speaking pupils and by making small grants to aid existing Russian schools which are to-day entirely supported by the impoverished Russian population By these foregoing remarks I do not, however, intend to suggest that the Russian language is forbidden or that the Russian population is in any way oppressed.

The most crying need of Bessarabia is an improved road and railway system Railway lines are few, and, since they were built solely in order to take goods to Moscow and Odessa, they are badly situated to meet present-day conditions. Of roads there are practically none ; in the whole of Bessarabia, a country nearly half as large as England, there are only two sections of metalled road, each 60 to 80 kilometres long. For about six

months in the year, when the ground is literally a sea of mud, towns remain completely isolated for weeks at a time; in summer, and when the land is frost-bound in winter, tracks are used by carts and sleighs wandering across country over the steppes. This lack of communications, besides preventing the economic development of Bessarabia, makes the problem of moving troops and stores one of extreme difficulty in organising the defence of the province against invasion.

The Roumanian Government has been exceedingly fortunate in the choice of General Rascanu as governor of Bessarabia. He is himself a Bessarabian, and therefore thoroughly knows the people with whom he has to deal. He is a man of arresting personality and a hard worker. He has the gift of understanding and sympathising with the people, coupled with a realisation of when a light hand is required and when severity is necessary. It is difficult, however, for Roumania to provide the right men to hold official positions, as there are not enough educated men of any one political party to provide not only the prefects, but the considerable number of subordinate officials in the various districts. To remedy this state of affairs the results of the improved educational system must be awaited.

There is, of course, some discontent and grumbling among the population, and it must be admitted that there are faults on the Roumanian side, but, in fairness to Roumania, one must remember that these people look back to the pre-war Russian *régime* as to a perfect time. Russia was so big and the seat of government so far away that no one interfered with them; living was cheap and taxes low in those days, and if not paid one year they drifted on for two or three years; Russia forgot—she was rich and did not need the money. But in the poorer post-war world of to-day taxes, even though moderate, must be paid; schools must be built; roads and railways must be constructed. In addition, Bessarabia has been through four lean years of bad harvests, and in the south large wine-growing areas have lost their market owing to the route to Odessa being closed. This last grievance will, however, be remedied to a great extent in the course of the next year, as new markets are being found in Poland and new transport facilities are being arranged. On the whole I do not think that it is the yoke of a new Government that presses on the people of Bessarabia, but rather the inevitable conditions of an impoverished world.

From the wider point of view the chief interest of Bessarabia is undoubtedly the fact that along the River Dniester a barrier has been erected by Roumania against Bolshevism. It is being maintained unaided at great expense and at some cost of life, for never a week goes by but some frontier sentry loses his li

When, knowing as I do the state of things existing on the other side of the Dniester, one sees the conditions in Bessarabia—the comparative prosperity, contentment and freedom—one cannot fail to be struck by the large measure of success Roumania has achieved. The matter interested me particularly because when I was in Russia eighteen months ago so much was heard of the Soviet Government's concentration on Bessarabia, both by armed attack and by propaganda. It was said openly: 'If we can win Roumania, then we shall have a very convenient jumping-off place from which to attack the rest of Europe.' I think this point is hardly sufficiently realised in England, nor do we sufficiently acknowledge the debt of gratitude we owe Roumania for maintaining her barrier. We are inclined to be slow to recognise the danger at our gates, but I think that the peril of Bolshevism has been brought home to us by now and should prove an incentive to us to support Roumania in her self-appointed task

The Soviet tried at first to create trouble in Bessarabia by means of its usual weapon terrorism, and, up to 1924, incessant revolutionary risings took place But the Bessarabian peasant is, on the whole, level-headed, and the comparative failure of violent methods has caused them to be abandoned in favour of the more insidious weapon of propaganda This is chiefly spread by Jews in Russian pay, and the task of combating it is by no means easy The Jewish population in Bessarabia is numerous, amounting to 60 or 70 per cent in some towns and villages, and provides a ready medium for the spreading of Soviet propaganda. It has been proved that the instigators of three out of four of the Communist plots and risings which have troubled Bessarabia during the last few years have been Jews On the other hand, no one is more opposed to Soviet rule than the Russian minority in Bessarabia, whilst the peasants generally, no matter of what nationality, equally have no wish for Bolshevism. This is not surprising, as the peasants have only to look across the frontier or study the Russian refugees who come across the frozen river in winter to be struck by the difference in the condition of their neighbours This contrast impressed me very strongly, as my recent visit to Russia enabled me to compare the comparatively prosperous Bessarabians with the terrorised poorly-clad people on the other side of the Dniester. As regards military action on the part of Russia, I do not think that there is at present much danger of an invasion by the Red army; but nothing is certain in Russia, and, in the event of some crisis in foreign politics or in internal affairs, a frontier war might serve as a counter-irritant, and an attack on Bessarabia might in consequence be attempted.

Some of the more salient characteristics of the New Roumania, and more particularly of the province of Bessarabia, have now

been outlined, and some account of the difficulties and dangers confronting her has been attempted. In conclusion I may say that my visit to Roumania has convinced me that she is a country of great possibilities, is fortunate in having wise and far-sighted leaders, and possesses almost unlimited undeveloped wealth of all kinds. Given foreign capital and a period free from internal and external strife, I can foresee her becoming a power, and a power for good, in the commonwealth of the world.

DOROTHY HANBURY.

THE CHINESE PROBLEM THROUGH CHINESE EYES:

SUN YAT-SEN AND THE THREE PEOPLE'S PRINCIPLES

[*The first part of this summary of Sun Yat-sen's lectures appeared in the February number and the second part in the April number of this Review Dr. Sun's writings are the most potent political influence in China at this moment; his book was published in China a little more than a year ago, and very large numbers were sold. No English translation of these writings exists, and an understanding of Dr Sun's teaching is necessary if the outlook of the Chinese is to be appreciated.*—EDITOR, *The Nineteenth Century and After.*]

III

THE third part of the San Ming Chu I deals mostly with China's internal problems. It is an attempt to outline a theory of social reconstruction applicable to the peculiar social conditions of modern China. If there is not much of originality in his suggestions, Sun at least displays some shrewdness in his selection of ideas and methods drawn from Western programmes of social reform, and in his adaptation of these to the needs of his own country But unfortunately he allows his anti-British bias to emerge more than once in the midst of an otherwise interesting exposition, and usually with the effect of spoiling his argument. In summarily outlining these lectures the same endeavour has been made as in the previous two parts to do Sun full justice by giving as much prominence to his reasonable pronouncements as to his wilder extravagancies. But since, in this third part in particular, Dr Sun appears to allow himself the licence of now and again departing from his proper subject, in order to indulge in his quite gratuitous innuendoes against Great Britain, it has seemed permissible to retaliate by inserting into the outline of his lectures a little more of criticism and of refutation than we have previously permitted ourselves.

That China has some just causes of grievance against the Foreign Powers no open-minded man would dream of denying.

The worst of these are connected with abuses of the privilege of extra-territorial rights held in China by foreigners. Curiously enough, this is a subject to which Dr. Sun does not refer in the whole series of these lectures. On the other hand, many of the so-called grievances which are causing the present agitation in China are purely imaginary. The fact that the Chinese are raising such an outcry about certain matters is a proof of their ignorance either of economic laws or of historical facts.

One of the chief causes that excite the rage of the Chinese against foreigners is the existence of large and wealthy foreign settlements, or 'concessions,' in close proximity to many of their largest cities. They see splendid buildings, broad and well-kept streets, open parks. They see foreigners living in luxurious houses, driving in cars to racecourse and club, and enjoying all the modern conveniences and comforts that money can buy. They contrast these things with their own narrow, squalid alleys, their uncomfortable houses, and the huddling together of their massed population. Then they say: 'The foreigners have acquired all this wealth by exploiting our country It is the foreign trade that is robbing us and keeping us poor. All these things rightly belong to us. If the foreigners will not give them up, we ought to take them by force.'

What the Chinese cannot or will not understand is that honest trade is not exploitation If wealth has come out of China, then wealth must have been given in exchange If the foreigners have received China's raw materials, they have paid honest silver for them. If they have taken silver from China, they have given all kinds of manufactured articles in return The foreign merchant has acquired wealth, undoubtedly. But so has the Chinese merchant who dealt with him. Furthermore, a respectable proportion of the foreign merchants' gains has been returned to China. For the construction of all these buildings and streets and public works has given employment to thousands of Chinese coolies, with higher wages and (in all probability) more humane treatment than they would have received at the hands of any Chinese capitalist.

Beside the existence of concessions, the other main cause of discontent on the part of the Chinese Nationalists is the foreign control of China's maritime customs. This certainly, as Dr Sun shows, involves a considerable amount of hardship to China under modern conditions. It must not be forgotten, however, that during the past sixty years these customs dues, imposed at foreign dictation and collected under foreign supervision, have provided one of the two reliable sources of income upon which the Chinese Government could always depend, the remaining one being the Salt Gabelle. It must also be remembered that the

system arose out of certain historical circumstances. At the period of its initiation it was seen to be the only *modus operandi* which made it at all possible for foreigners to carry on trade with China. How far the system now requires to be modified, or whether it ought to be superseded, are questions which ought to be settled, not by boycotts and mob violence, but by a sober inquiry into present conditions.

PART III.—THE PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD

The third part of the San Ming Chu I deals with the subject of 'The People's Livelihood.' By this is really meant 'Socialism,' but for two reasons Dr. Sun prefers to avoid the use of the latter term In the first place, there is, he says, considerable confusion (in Chinese minds) between the practical methods of Socialism and the study called Sociology. In the second place, 'Socialism' is itself an ambiguous term which may indicate any one of a considerable number of social policies: there are said to be fifty-seven different kinds of Socialism. For these reasons Dr. Sun prefers to use two Chinese characters whose meaning is perfectly well understood by all classes of Chinese, and which can perhaps be best rendered as above by the phrase 'People's Livelihood.' For the root problem of a society is the maintenance and preservation of life of all the members which compose the society, and this is well indicated by the term adopted.

Now human society has passed through five well-marked stages of development The first (primitive) stage was that of vegetarianism, when men simply subsisted on the food which they could find ready to hand among the products of the earth This was succeeded by the period of the fisherman-hunter, when men contrived weapons and snares with which to catch and kill fishes and animals for their food. The third stage was that of the nomad shepherds, who kept domesticated animals and wandered from place to place seeking pasture-lands for their flocks and herds The fourth stage was that of agriculture, in which men settled on the land and grew their crops of grain and vegetables for food The fifth is the stage of industrialism, ushered in by the invention of machinery and the growth of the capitalistic system.

Each of these five stages has been more complicated and more toilsome than the one before it. The last one in particular, owing to the speeding up of production, the crowding together of workers in manufactories, and the concentration of wealth in a few hands, has led to a host of social problems, and it is in order to try to solve these problems that the various theories of Socialism have been propounded. The development of industrialism has proceeded much further in Europe and America than it has in

China ; indeed, China is only now beginning to feel the effects of the so-called 'industrial revolution' which took place in Europe during the nineteenth century. But the effects of industrialism are commencing to be experienced in China, as the following example will show.

For many centuries, and until a few decades ago, all the merchandise which came from the inland provinces to Canton was carried on the shoulders of men along one or other of two great roads, the one by Nan-Hsiung and the other by Yoh-Chang. These two high-roads were thronged with coolies coming to and fro, and teashops did a prosperous business all along the way. Each coolie could carry a load of 100 catties (about 140 lb), and with this he could travel about 50 li (20 miles) per day. But now a railway line connects Hwang-Sha in the north with Shao-Kwan near the sea, a distance of 500 li. An engine drawing twenty loaded trucks can travel in eight hours what used to be a ten days' journey, and each truck will hold the loads of 500 men. Consequently the railway can transport in eight hours a weight of goods which formerly required the labour of 10,000 coolies for ten days. To put the matter in terms of money, if we take the wages of a carrying coolie to be $1 per day, the cost of transport by men would amount to $100,000, while the railway freight is only a few thousands of dollars. So now few coolies are to be seen plodding along the two high-roads to Canton, most of the teashops are closed, and thousands of men are left to starve or else to find other employment.

There are other signs that the industrial revolution, which has already transformed life in the West, is commencing to dawn upon China. The establishment of large cotton mills in Shanghai, Hankow and Tientsin ; the introduction of machinery for various purposes such as weaving and knitting ; the opening of coal mines, all these are fast bringing China face to face with many social problems, new to her, but already of long standing in Europe and America. Western theories of Socialism have all sprung out of the attempt to remedy the evils which have arisen from the new industrial conditions. Socialism, in fact, is an endeavour to mitigate the sufferings and relieve the injustices which are borne by the labouring classes in a highly industrialised state of society. The only opponents of Socialism are the capitalists, who are an entirely selfish class, and who approve of the present system because it is most beneficial to their own interests.

The earliest Socialists belonged to the Utopian school. They were stirred by the sight of social wrongs, and earnestly desirous of succouring the workers who were groaning under the burden of the capitalistic *régime*. But they made no endeavour to understand social problems. Their theories were spun out of

their own heads instead of being based upon experience, and they had no concrete programme of reform.

Later there arose the Scientific school of Socialism, of which the first exponent was Karl Marx. Marx taught that mere benevolence and goodwill are not enough. What is needed is a systematic study of the facts of social development, leading to the discovery of social laws upon which theories of reform may be based. So Marx devoted his life to the carrying out of a systematic inquiry into the economic causes of social problems and the facts of social evolution. For some twenty or thirty years he laboured in the British Museum, collecting his materials and amassing facts. The final result of his labour was a theory of Socialism which has permanently influenced thought about social subjects in many European countries and has led to more than one revolution.

The remainder of this lecture is occupied with a criticism of Marx's theory Sun first of all objects to the Marxian thesis that 'matter is the centre of history,' by which he appears to mean that the material basis of life is the root of social problems. Sun would substitute the proposition that 'the people's livelihood is the centre of history,' which he says, has been the doctrine of the Kuomintang for more than twenty years. Now, if by 'livelihood' Sun means 'physical life,' his statement does not appear to be different in meaning from Marx's. If, on the other hand, he means to include moral and spiritual life, he certainly scores a point against Marx's materialism. But he does not say so clearly.

Dr Sun proceeds to demolish the Marxian doctrine of the class war He points out how many social improvements, which Marx had declared could only be brought about after a bitter struggle between capital and labour, have actually been achieved by peaceful legislation He mentions, among other steps towards social progress in the West, the advent of universal education, the improvements of sanitation, the amelioration of labour conditions, the nationalisation of public services (especially in Germany), direct taxation upon income, and the growth (in England) of co-operative societies. All these benefits, according to Marx, could be achieved only as the result of an internecine class struggle in which the workers would rise up and overthrow the tyrant capitalists. Sun points out that they have come about in the West as the fruit, not of revolution, but of evolution. The interests of capital and labour are really identical; for increased production leads to increase of wealth, and should cause higher wages and better conditions of labour. The class war is not a means of progress, but a disease of society. In all this we may congratulate Sun that he has not been led astray, as on other questions, by his friends the Bolsheviks.

cclesiastic deemed expedient. The practice of the Spanish and 'ortuguese priests was invariably to keep their converts from oing anything for themselves, to make of them great children, stening without understanding, and obeying without know-edge.[19] The natives were completely isolated from contact with ;uropeans, other than their preceptors, and were never instructed ı the Spanish or any other European language, save so much, erhaps, as was necessary to patter certain prayers by rote.[20] 'hus the Indian was helpless without the direct guidance of his ıaster. This is well shown after the expulsion of the Jesuits by ıe colonists, who had long been looking on the growth of Jesuit olicy and independence with discontent and jealousy. Under ıe civil governors the elaborate system of the Jesuits fell to ieces; the natural inequalities of society came to light through ıe fragments of the old artificial restrictions: some Indians ecame rich, and many more were ruined; but the tendency of ıvage life prevailed, and as the veneer of civilisation wore off ıe habits of primitive life returned.[21] The same situation sulted in California when the Mexican Government emancipated ıe Indians of the Mission.

Accustomed, many of them from their infancy, to as much restraint as ildren, and to execute, mechanically, what they were desired and no ore, without even entertaining a thought for their future welfare, it was tural that such persons, when released from this discipline, should andon themselves entirely to their favourite amusements, pastimes, and es. Those also who had been converted in later life would return to eir former habits, and having once again tasted the blessings of freedom hich confinement and discipline must have rendered doubly desirable, uld forget all restraint, and then being joined by the wild discontented dians, they would be more formidable enemies to the missions than fore, inasmuch as they would be more enlightened.[22]

In Canada, where local conditions prevented the establish-ent of mission colonies such as were found in the Spanish minions, both the Recollect Fathers[23] and the Jesuits scrupu-usly avoided trade. Le Jeune explained that although they did ot trade in furs, yet to do so was necessary for occasional urchases within the countries, as the pelts constituted the only nown medium of exchange.[24] The absence of the French priests om trade may be explained partially by the presence of the great

[19] H. Merivale, *Lectures on Colonisation and Colonies*, I., p. 287.
[20] R. G. Watson, *Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial eriod*, I., pp. 272, 278.
[21] H. Merivale, *Lectures on Colonisation and Colonies*, I., pp. 286–7.
[22] F. W. Beechey, *Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait*, p. 299.
[23] Fr. Christian Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, I., 250.
[24] Le Jeune's Relation, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, IX., pp. 173–5.

Further criticism is directed against Marx's assumption that the surplus wealth of capital is all snatched from labour. This is manifestly not true. Take, for instance, the case of the cotton mills in Shanghai, Tientsin and Hankow. The owners' profits do not depend simply upon the labour of the mill-hands. The farmer who sowed the cotton, the labourers who transported it, the makers of farming implements and builders of railways, the people who buy and wear the manufactured cloth, all these contribute toward making the capitalists' enterprise possible. The fact is, all classes of society have their contribution to make towards the creation of wealth The labourers alone cannot claim the credit of production. It thus appears that, in an industrial country, it is not the labourers only, but also the whole body of other classes of the useful and able, who are pitted against the capitalist If the capitalists will only learn to co-operate with other classes the class war can be averted, and social progress and national prosperity will be assured.

Marx prophesied that the capitalists of a country would swallow up one another, until the country would contain only very wealthy capitalists and very poor labourers. Then the industrial revolution would commence, the workers would rise up and overthrow the capitalists, and the Socialistic State would be the result. But seventy years of history have proved Marx a false prophet. Instead of plotting revolutions, the Socialists have become a political party in most Western States Communists sit in the German National Assembly, and England has actually had a Labour Cabinet. Reforms such as the eight hours day for workers, which Marx declared could never be brought about except by a revolution, have become the law of the land i Western countries. Marx also foretold that the capitalist woul be abolished before the tradesman But, on the contrary, th co-operative movement in England is leading to the extinction the retail merchant, while the capitalist still holds his place Th tendency is for all business houses to become producers as well sellers. Once again Marx is proved a false prophet.

So far we may justly applaud Sun as having successfu countered Marx on his own ground, in a manner which he doubt learned in his student days when he was receiving British education at British expense. But his bias reveals it when he comes to prove the failure of another law of Marx connexion with the Han-Yeh-Ping Company. This compan the largest coal and iron mining corporation in China I partly a State enterprise It has ironworks at *Hanyang* Hupeh, iron mines at Ta*yeh* lower down the Yangtse, and collie at *Ping*-Hsiang in Hunan ; hence its name of Han-Yeh-P The mines are particularly rich both in coal and iron, and

company was started with plenty of capital behind it. According to Marx, the success of a business enterprise depends upon these two factors, productivity and capital. Yet the Han-Yeh-Ping Company has proved a failure. Sun's account of the matter is as follows.

The Han-Yeh-Ping Coal and Iron Corporation, formed before China's Revolution, was capitalised partly by the Chinese Government and partly by private firms. Its products of steel and iron were sold to America and to Australia before the European War; but since the war they have been bought by Japan. Meanwhile, China buys nearly all her steel from America. Now America produces 40,000,000 tons of steel per annum, and 40,000,000 or 50,000,000 tons of iron; while the Han-Yeh-Ping Company produces only 200,000 tons of iron, and even less of steel. Yet China exports the whole of her annual output, and has to go to foreign markets to buy steel for her own use. The reason for this is that the Hanyang Ironworks have no blast furnaces to produce the highly refined steel required for China's purposes. What China needs is hard steel for construction work, for arms, and for tools The Han-Yeh-Ping Company only produces steel rails and cast iron, which are not wanted in China. America is willing to buy these products, because they are cheap. Hence the reason for the failure of the Han-Yeh-Ping Company is that there is no demand for its products in the home market, so that it is obliged to sell them cheaply in foreign markets This gives the lie to Marx's theory, that productivity and capital alone are sufficient to ensure the success of industry. A demand in the home markets is also essential.

Now the above argument is pure nonsense, and Dr. Sun must have been perfectly well aware of the fact. The reason for the failure of the Han-Yeh-Ping Company is precisely the one which has caused the failure of every public enterprise in China since the Revolution The cause is not in economic laws. It lies in the dishonesty and incapacity of the officials. Suppose, for instance, that some new engineering scheme is to be started in China under State patronage. It may be taken for granted that the technical experts and the managers of the works will be appointed, not because of their rectitude and ability, but through private influence Next, everyone employed in the enterprise, from the chief engineer down to the clerks in the office, will owe his position either to bribery or to favouritism. Consequently everyone connected with the scheme will be chiefly concerned, not for the success of the business, but for his own private enrichment. Peculation or 'squeeze' will be the order of the day. Money which ought to be used for the upkeep or purchase of machinery will find its way into private pockets. Workmen will be robbed

of their wages in order that office clerks may waste their time in gambling and opium smoking. The dividends which ought to find their way into the pockets of investors will be squandered by company directors in feasting and extravagance. Presently the company will be on the verge of bankruptcy. In order to stave off the failure more capital will have to be borrowed, usually from abroad. By this means the financiers (or perhaps the Government) of some foreign country come to possess a controlling interest in the company. Foreign directors will then of necessity be appointed in order to control the finance, and foreign overseers in order to secure efficiency of working. So the enterprise finds itself dominated by foreign capital and direction, and the Chinese set up the howl that the foreigners are robbing them of their industries and encroaching upon China's sovereign rights.

The above, or something like it, forms the true story of the failure of the Han-Yeh-Ping Company. Only a few years after its inception this company was faced with the necessity of borrowing fresh capital. Within the space of a few more years the company was indebted to Japan to the extent of many millions of dollars. Japanese engineers were in charge of the Tayeh Iron Mines. The Japanese Government obtained practical control of the enterprise, and by stipulation the ore from the Tayeh mines, instead of being taken up the Yangtse to Hanyang, was being carried to Japan. Fourteen specially constructed Japanese steamers were plying between Tayeh and Yokohama engaged in the transport of this ore, while the ironworks in Hanyang were gradually closing down owing to the lack of the raw material and hundreds of Chinese workmen were thrown out of employment. All this is carefully ignored by Sun when he attempts to use the circumstances of the Han-Yeh-Ping Company to refut the doctrine of Marx.

In his second lecture Dr. Sun sets forth the programme of th Kuomintang for the remedying of social conditions in Chin This programme is not the mere adoption of any Western for of Socialism. Still less is it Marxism. Marxism is an admitt failure in Russia, where its principles have been most ful carried out. Politically it has been a success; but it has fai to solve Russia's economic problems. Its advocates claim th the failure of Marxism in Russia has been due to the countr backwardness in industrial development. They declare that principles of Marxism are still applicable to countries like Engl and America, which have reached a far higher stage in econo organisation. In these countries the more moderate Social are being driven to despair by the determined opposition capital to any programme of reform. It may be that, in Wes

countries, this moderate party will be driven to join hands with the revolutionary type of Socialists, and to adopt more violent methods, leading to the class war foretold by Marx. Sun seems rather to go back here from what he has said in the previous lecture.

So far as regards China, the Kuomintang is committed to two principles—namely, equal rights in the land and the limitation of capital. These two principles practically amount to 'Communism'; in fact, the aim of the 'People's Livelihood' is identical with the aim of Communism. Both seek to relieve the sufferings of the poor and to free the depressed classes. Their difference will be found to lie in the methods proposed for accomplishing this aim; and this difference in method depends upon the difference in social conditions between the people of China and of Western countries.

In the first place, China has no wealthy class. The majority of her people are poor, and even those who are comparatively wealthy would count as poor men beside a Western capitalist. The social division of China is not into rich and poor, but into less poor and more poor. Second, the land question has not yet become acute in China. The class of wealthy landowners does not yet exist, but it is a nation of small landowners. The big landlord is a relic of the feudal period, which is still extant in Europe, but was abolished in China 2000 years ago at the fall of the Ch'ing Dynasty.

Nevertheless, the land question is beginning to appear in China, owing to the enormous increase in land values in the neighbourhood of foreign settlements. For instance, the value of land in the neighbourhood of Shanghai and of Canton has increased ten thousandfold in the past sixty years. Sun tells the story of a Cantonese who, in a fit of drunkenness, entered an auction mart and bought a piece of land for $300. The next morning he had forgotten the transaction, and when the deed of sale was brought to him, he was forced to ruin himself in order to raise the money. But in ten years' time the value of the property had increased to such an extent that this drunkard found himself a millionaire, the richest man in Kwangtung

Now this method of acquiring huge wealth is manifestly unfair The landowner has never schemed or toiled for his gain, as the merchant and capitalist are bound to do. The value of the land is increased by the fact of other people coming to live and carry on business in the neighbourhood. The increase of wealth is produced by the community, and not the individual; consequently it ought to belong to the community. In order to remedy this evil Dr. Sun proposes a tax of 1 per cent. upon all land. The value of the land is to be declared by the owner himself, and the

State is to have the option of purchase. By this means the landowner will be compelled to quote a fair price for his property: for if he quotes too high he will be taxed proportionately; if he quotes too low the State may demand to purchase his land at his own price. After this Sun would confiscate to the State any subsequent increase in value. Thus the profits derived from social progress and commercial enterprise will be reaped by the community instead of by private individuals. For the revenue thus collected by the State will enable it to dispense with all other forms of taxation. There will be no rates for water and electricity, and no levies to pay for repairing of roads and policing This settlement of the land question will solve one-half of the problem of 'The People's Livelihood.' It should be added, however, that improvements made by the landowner himself will be exempt from taxation. Such improvements may consist in buildings, trees, embankments, drains.

It is noteworthy that, in outlining the above proposals, Dr Sun does not condescend to mention the name of Henry George, just as in the preceding lecture he ascribes to German initiation reforms which are usually associated with the name of Robert Owen. It seems to be his set policy to ignore, as far as possible, all contributions which British Socialists have made towards the solution of these problems But he is not ashamed to pluck the fruit, even when he despises the tree

The difference between the method proposed above and the method of Communism is clear Communism would advocate the wholesale confiscation and redistribution of property The principle of 'People's Livelihood' merely introduces the land tax, and forbids further inflation of land values. This is all that is necessary in China, where the tide of modern economic conditions has only just begun to flow in from Europe. Nor is it necessary in China to lay any further tax upon capital For the Chinese capitalists are few in number and small in resources, and therefore they need to be encouraged rather than checked China requires railroads, canals, mines and machinery for the development of her resources. The State ought to undertake such enterprises, but it can do so only by enlisting private capital. But since the national wealth is small, it will be necessary also to borrow from foreign countries. China must have means of communication, factories and mines For these she will be dependent in the first place upon foreign capital and foreign exports. If these enterprises are conducted by the State, the common people will benefit. This is the Communist policy. It is also the policy of 'The People's Livelihood.' The class war, which has been rendered inevitable in the highly industrialised Western countries, may thus be averted in China. Community of blood, com-

munity of power, community of gain—these are the three aims of the 'Three People's Principles.'

Having dealt with the land question in lecture 2, Dr. Sun devotes lectures 3 and 4 to the food problem and the clothing problem. The solution of the land question will carry with it the solution of one-half of the problem of 'The People's Livelihood' But the problem of feeding China's huge population is the biggest question before China's reformers. How important this problem of food is to any country was demonstrated during the Great War, when Germany owed her downfall entirely to food shortage Germany was superior to the Allies in arms, in strategy, and in all inventions of war She was victorious in the field Her collapse was due to the blockade which deprived her people of food

It is essential to security that a country should be self-supporting. Yet there are few countries in the world to-day which realise this ideal England, for instance, only grows enough grain to support her population for three months in the year. Japan could support her own population for eleven months, Germany for ten China also is dependent upon imported food. The province of Kwangtung alone imports $70,000,000 worth of foodstuffs annually. Kwangtung would suffer from famine if the imports of rice were stopped for one month Now France, with a population of 40,000,000, is self-supporting China has ten times the population of France, but she has twenty times the area. Consequently China ought to be able to support twice her present population, or 800,000,000 people. Yet in China more than 10,000,000 people starve to death in each ordinary year, and more than this number in years of flood and famine. China's total population is generally reckoned to be about 400,000,000. But a recent estimate, made by a reliable foreign authority, has placed it at only 310,000,000. Therefore China has lost 90,000,000 of population in the last ten years The main cause of this diminution is the backward state of agriculture. But a second cause is the economic oppression of the foreign nations.

How are the foreigners robbing China of her food supplies? By exporting the food which ought to support her own people. China's annual loss through foreign trade is $1,200,000,000. Part of this goes in silver, part in foodstuffs. America, for instance, takes 1,000,000,000 eggs. This is quite apart from the whites of egg, of which large quantities are exported for chemical purposes. Japan and England also import huge quantities of eggs from China In Nanking a big tinning factory prepares large supplies of Chinese pork, chicken and game for export to England. From the north are exported wheat, barley and beans. Three years ago (1921), while Chinese peasants, within reach of railway

transport, were starving to death, quantities of grain and beans were being sent abroad from the ports of Newchwang and Dairen. This kind of thing is going on all the time. China's people are being starved in order that the people of other nations may live.

Now we have above a good instance of the manner in which Dr. Sun juggles with figures and presents us with one side only of a case. He commences with a probably reliable modern estimate of China's present population. Against this he places for comparison a hypothetical round figure, which he arbitrarily assigns to a date of ten years ago. Conclusion : China's population has diminished by so many millions in the past decade. Having thus established the fact of a loss in population, Sun proceeds to inquire into its cause. He admits that the greatest cause is the crude development of agriculture in China at the present time. There are other contributory causes which he might have mentioned, but does not. Civil wars, bandits, floods, exorbitant taxation, all these have played their part in depressing the peasant classes of China during the ten years of which he speaks The destruction of huge numbers of people by one or other of these causes has not been uncommon in Chinese history, either in ancient or modern times. For instance, the Taiping Rebellion (1853-64) is supposed to have been responsible for the extermination of 20,000,000 of people. The famine of 1877 in Shantung is said to have destroyed at least 9,000,000. But no, it is not Sun's purpose to lay the blame of China's trouble at any other door than that of the Westerner. It is the foreign merchant who has been robbing China's people of their food ; it is the Western capitalist who has been exporting foodstuffs and battening upon the misery of Chinese peasants. What he forgets or ignores here is that there must be two parties to any business transaction. No country can force any kind of trade upon the merchants of another country. If the foreign merchant buys up part of China's necessary food supplies, it is the Chinese merchant who sells them and makes a large profit by doing so. Perhaps China's capitalist class is not nearly so small, nor so innocuous, as Sun has assumed in the previous lecture.

Having had one more fling at the foreigner, Dr. Sun returns to the much more vital question of agriculture. The development of agriculture, as he quite rightly insists, is China's most pressing need. Eight or nine tenths of her population are farmers. The way to encourage food production is to protect and stimulate the efforts of the farming class. First they should own the land which they cultivate. At present a great many of the small farmers are crippled by having to pay rent for their land. In Kwangtung it is reckoned that six-tenths of the farmer's produce goes to enrich the landowner, only four-tenths to

the cultivator of the soil. In passing we may say that it is questionable if Dr. Sun's statement is correct regarding China as a whole. In most of the inland provinces, at any rate, the small farmers do own their own land, which is handed down from generation to generation. But if Dr. Sun is correct regarding the position in Kwangtung, then the land question must be more acute than he has admitted in the previous lecture.

There are seven ways in which agriculture needs to be developed: (1) First, in the use of machinery and modern appliances for all farming operations. (2) Second, in the application of manures to various kinds of soil. (3) Third, in teaching the Chinese farmer to preserve the fertility of the soil by a proper rotation of crops. (4) Fourth, by taking means to exterminate insect pests (5) Fifth, by introducing methods of preserving foodstuffs for transport. (6) Sixth, by extending facilities of transport. (7) Seventh, by construction of dykes to prevent floods, irrigation systems to avoid drought, afforestation to protect the soil, and other means of preventing natural calamities. In all these respects China is sadly behindhand, and the conservatism as well as the poverty of the Chinese agricultural classes has hitherto prevented them from adopting these new methods.

But, in addition to the above seven methods, there are other means required for promoting agriculture. For instance, America has trained specialists who visit China, Manchuria and Mongolia to search out new seeds or new methods of production But the food problem has not been fully solved, even in America, the reason being that all production is in the hands of the capitalists, and fair methods of distribution are not considered. As a matter of fact, under a capitalist *régime* fair distribution is unattainable. Witness the case of India, where famines occur frequently, although India ranks as the third great exporting country of foodstuffs in the world. British merchants are simply starving India in order to feed Europe.

Here we may remark how Sun has wandered from his subject in order to have one more smack at the British Empire. The above statement is absolutely untrue, yet it is probably believed throughout the length and breadth of China. Are such false slanders bred of ignorance or of malice, or of both ?

To return to Sun: the object of the principle of 'The People's Livelihood' is to break the power of capitalism If this principle, which is practically Communism, is brought into play, then there will be no temptation to one class of the people to acquire wealth by withholding food from other classes. In the Communist State the motive of the food producer will be, not to acquire wealth, but to feed the people. The way to effect this is to insist that all surplus food supplies shall be stored and no

export allowed to foreign countries until after a period of three years, and then only in case of plenty. When food is thus made plentiful in the country it will automatically become cheap. The capitalist will be deprived of the power to get rich by starving the people, as the foreign merchants are now doing to China's population.

According to modern economic theory, the three chief necessities of life are food, clothing, and housing. To these we ought to add a fourth, namely, means of travel. In order to secure the 'People's Livelihood' these four necessities ought to be made cheap and accessible to all. For this end the State ought to control the means of supply instead of leaving these matters to private enterprise. If the Government of a country undertakes this duty, all classes of the people ought to respond by shouldering their particular responsibilities. Farmers must till their land, workers must manufacture tools, merchants must carry on their business, scholars must use their ability—all for the common good. This is the ideal of the Communist State, and is also the principle of the 'People's Livelihood' preached by the Kuomintang.

The fourth and last lecture discusses the problem of clothing the people. Unlike the food problem, this is a question which concerns neither animals nor savages, but only civilised man. Primitive men were covered with hair, just as animals have fur and birds have feathers. In the fisherman-hunter stage of development men began to clothe themselves with the skins of beasts. When they took to wearing clothes the hair upon their bodies began gradually to disappear. The more civilised men became, the smoother their skins. Chinese have less hair upon their bodies than Europeans, because they have been civilised for a longer period.

Now the materials of life may be classed as necessities, comforts and luxuries. Taste in both food and clothing has passed through these three stages. The question of the 'People's Livelihood' is only concerned with necessities. These two problems must be solved so far as necessities are concerned, or China's population will continue to diminish. We must first discuss the source of the materials from which clothes are made. These ar[e] four in number—silk, hemp, cotton, and furs. Two are supplie[d] by the animal kingdom, and two by the vegetable.

The breeding of silkworms and the use of silk for clothi[ng] were known in China long ago, when the inhabitants of Euro[pe] were still naked hairy savages. But during the past 200 or 3[00] years Western civilisation has made great progress, and they ha[ve] learned to use silk, not only as a necessary article of clothing, b[ut] also as a luxury. There are many Chinese who cannot afford

wear silk; yet most of China's annual production of silk is exported to foreign countries, where it is a luxury. When China first commenced to trade with the foreign nations silk was her greatest article of export, and her total exports exceeded her imports in value. Another chief article of export was tea. Before the foreigners had tea they drank wine. Now they have grown accustomed to the use of tea, and it has become a necessity to them In those days there were not many foreign products for which China had any use, and so for several decades she held her own in trade. But now the foreigners have stolen China's silk trade by importing and breeding the silkworm for themselves. China's imports have simultaneously increased, and at present her imports far exceed her exports. France and Italy now produce silk by improved methods. Japan has copied them There is now no demand for China's silk in the international markets. Her trade in tea has also been partly taken from her by Indian production Consequently China is made to pay an annual tribute to the foreign Powers of something like $500,000,000. Much of this loss is due to the fact that China has failed to adopt modern scientific methods. The foreign improvement in the quality of silks was due to Pasteur's discoveries There are only two places in China where scientific methods for improving the culture of silkworms are being studied Until China learns to apply modern methods to her silk industry she will be unable to compete with foreign silks in the world's markets At present, wealthy Chinese wear mostly silks imported from abroad China is being robbed of her wealth because of her own backwardness

We may notice in passing how Dr. Sun, by arguing both ways, deprives his argument of much of its force. Are the foreigners buying China's silk? Then her own people are being deprived of its use Are China's silk manufacturers being driven by competition from the world's markets? Then the foreign Powers are taking advantage of China's backwardness to deprive her of her trade It is this querulous spirit, determined to find a grievance, and moreover to lay that grievance at the foreigner's door, that is causing much of the present trouble in China.

Turn next to the two vegetable products. China was the first producer of hemp But she has never progressed beyond her primitive methods of cultivation, and consequently her trade in hemp also has been filched from her. Cotton came originally from India America is now the first cotton-growing country in the world, India the second, China the third. Foreign cotton cloths and calico are both superior in quality to and also cheaper than China's home products. Therefore Chinese prefer to wear cotton stuffs imported from abroad, and Chinese weavers use foreign-spun cotton yarn. China is forced to export the bulk of

fur companies. At first the missionary interests were welcon conducive to the fur trade by bringing distant tribes with limits of French influence; but as soon as the Jesuits attemp change the habits of the natives, to make of them agricult rather than hunters, and to oppose the rum traffic, they i diately incurred the enmity of that grasping commercial mon which controlled the fortunes of New France.[25]

Let us now direct our attention to the methods of conv employed by those intrepid carriers of the Gospel in the World, and to the almost insurmountable obstacles which them. The work of the missionaries is indeed excepti interesting from the standpoint that they are endeavouri change some of the customs of the people among whom th labouring. The contrasts and the antagonisms of the mores two groups, the savage and the civilised, constitute the stun blocks in the way of all missionary enterprise. We think th 'ways,' particularly those connected with religion, are the and that their superiority is so obvious that all heathe eagerly embrace them. But savages and barbarians d 'white man's ways' with indifference, unless they can immediate objective, which, of course, is lacking in the c religion.[26]

These facts are clearly borne out in a consideration difficulties which beset the religious teacher, and the expe which were adopted to win the natives to Christianity. native cannot conceive of religion, its purposes and aims, other terms than those of his own experience. Thus the landers

> could not understand that the sin which Adam and Eve committed be so great and involve such melancholy consequences' as that th human race should be condemned on account of it. 'Since God k things, why did he permit the first man and woman to sin?' The free-will seems to them, frankly speaking, mere rubbish, and, but f will, Adam's offspring would never have been corrupted and the God need not have suffered.

The sacrament of the altar, and baptism likewise, was by the Eskimo as the most arrant witchcraft. Once, wh missionaries informed a man 'that he should especially than who had given him many children,' he became very ang answered, 'It is a great lie to say that God has given me ch for I made them myself.' 'Is it not so?' he said, turning wife.[27] It was almost impossible to convince the Indian there was but one God who ministered to all. They

[25] F. E. Lee, *The Influence of the Jesuits on the Social Organizati North American Indians*, pp. 90–1.

[26] W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 111.

[27] F. Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, pp. 303–4, 306.

her raw cotton, because she has hardly any mills for spinning and weaving. Most of it goes to Japan, the rest to Europe and America. The manufactured product is sent back and sold to China. This is not because Japan has more workers, nor because Japanese work for lower wages than Chinese It is simply because of China's backwardness in industrial methods. Thus the foreigners make profit out of China's weakness. As we have already seen, the total amount of China's annual loss to the foreign Powers lies between $1,200,000,000 and $1,500,000,000. Most of this is in excess of imports over exports. According to the last two or three years' trade returns, this excess is more than Hk. Tls. 300,000,000, which is equivalent to $500,000,000. The biggest imports are in linen and cotton yarn, which are responsible for Hk. Tls. 200,000,000, or $300,000,000. This is equivalent to a tribute of one dollar per head of the population. Hence China's people are dependent upon foreign countries for their clothing.

During the war no cotton or linen from Europe and America came to China. She had to turn to Japan for her supplies. But Japan was engaged in supplying the Allies with all kinds of materials, and had little to spare for China. Then Chinese merchants took the occasion to set up cotton mills and spin and weave their own cotton. In Shanghai many mills were opened, and every dollar of capital produced $3 or $4 of return. In this way a number of Chinese became 'cotton kings.' But in the end a lot of these mills failed, or had to close down in order to avoid failure, and their owners were reduced to poverty again For as soon as the war was finished foreign cloth and yarns began to come to China once more, and the Chinese manufacturers were unable to compete against them.

Now here, says Sun, is another puzzle The Chinese cotton manufacturers had their raw materials ready to hand, their mills were equipped with the best modern machinery, and Chinese factory hands can exist on very low wages. The foreign manufacturers, on the other hand, had first to export their raw material from China and then to import them again in the form of finished goods; their mills had no better equipment; foreign factory hands require much higher wages How was it that the foreign capitalists were able to beat the Chinese in their own home markets?

The answer to the question lies, not in economic, but in political causes. It is the unfair tariff conditions imposed upon China by treaties with the foreign Powers that make it impossible for Chinese industries to succeed against foreign competition. If China were allowed to impose protective duties upon foreign manufactures she could easily hold her own. But China's import duties are limited by treaty to a levy of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*; on transit

the interior foreign goods must not pay more than 2½ per cent., making a total of 7½ per cent. The Chinese-made cloth has to pay the same 5 per cent. before leaving Shanghai; but in the interior it is taxed at every likin station, and pays altogether several times the duty which is levied upon the foreign goods. Consequently Chinese cloth is dearer to buy than foreign. Other countries can safeguard their home manufactures by means of a protective tariff upon foreign articles. But China is not allowed to do this. The unequal treaties bind her hand and foot, cripple her trade, and ruin her capitalists.

In order to solve the problem of 'The People's Livelihood' it is necessary first of all to free China from political oppression and to recover her sovereign rights. The other nations not only possess economic advantages because of their machinery and their wealthy capitalists, but in addition they possess political advantages based upon the unequal treaties. America levies a duty of 50 per cent. or even 100 per cent. upon English goods. Chinese goods entering Japan have to pay a 30 per cent. duty. Germany, by means of a protective tariff, has developed in a few decades from being a largely agricultural nation to one of the first industrial nations of the world. All these countries have established their home industries by means of protective tariffs. But China is not allowed to do so. The unequal treaties deprive her of her freedom; and her own Government is powerless to save her

With regard to furs, these can be found in China in abundance; but because she has no home manufactures in this line, they are exported Some of them are reimported and sold to Chinese, bringing large profits to the foreign makers of fur clothing. There is no reason why Chinese should not make up their own furs for winter wear and also export them abroad

Clothes are necessary—(1) to protect the body from cold, (2) for appearance' sake, and (3) to distinguish classes. The Government should establish model tailoring departments in order to provide the people with suitable clothing The people must also shoulder their responsibility towards the Government. Idleness ought to be punished by forced labour. Thus all the people will take their proper share in production, and the problem of 'People's Livelihood' will be solved.

With these rather abrupt remarks Dr. Sun closes the San Ming Chu I

IVAN D. ROSS.

ON LAWS GOVERNING THE USE OF ARMED FORCE

In a *Study of War* [1] an attempt has been made to set forth a theory of war different in some respects from those hitherto put forward by other writers. Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Cæsar, and other classical authors wrote detailed accounts of the wars waged in their own days and have been followed by others in later times, but their works supply no more than the raw materials out of which a theory or philosophy of war can be evolved.

Further, the German Clausewitz, in the early part of the last century, wrote *On War*, but his book was regarded by himself as only 'a collection of materials from which it is intended to construct a theory of war.' The book as it stands is no more than a disconnected series of abstract arguments, through which the reader has to find his way as best he can. Even the opening chapter, which the author considered to be complete, leaves the reader uncertain as to the relations between the political object, the will, and the armed force Further, the author only discusses war on land and makes no reference to war at sea Seeing that the two are interrelated, it is evident that he did not collect all necessary materials out of which to evolve the theory he sought.

Again, Marshal Foch wrote a book on the *Principles of War* but he deals only with the technique on land, makes no reference to war at sea, and pays little attention to the political object Evidently he does not look for any general laws.

Further, Admiral Mahan in his various works dwells upo principles, but does not define them with any exactness. Hi books contain a mass of detail—the material out of which a theor can be evolved. Nowhere does he enunciate any such theor standing out four-square, with logical simplicity as a leading ma in all wars and applicable equally at sea or on land, irrespective the weapons and means of locomotion in use.

Each of the above-mentioned books tends to confuse thought since no attempt is made to select from the mass of detail t really relevant facts and to show the relations between the The reader has great difficulty in 'seeing the wood for the tree

[1] By the author (2nd edition · Constable).

'his is specially noticeable in Clausewitz and Mahan—less so in 'hucydides, who is more illuminating than any modern writer.

It was out of a mental atmosphere thus fostered that I set out ı search of the meaning of war, its cause, its object, and its aim. 'he methods of previous writers had given no definite lead. They ad collected facts, but had not drawn from them any satisfy-ıg logical theory. It was determined, following the advice of lacon and the practice of Darwin, to examine the facts thus col-·cted and if possible to unveil any general laws which govern them.

The wars of the ancient Greeks are illuminating because the roblems are comparatively simple, the scale of the operations is nall, and the theatre of war is limited. Further, the whole drama , seen complete with all its antecedents and consequences These ars were analysed by me, and the results were set out in *War at ea*,[2] published in the year 1919. The pages of Herodotus, Thucy-ides, and Xenophon were found to unfold general laws, which ere confirmed by the results of later wars when these were nalysed in their turn

In the first place was noted each side starting, consciously or nconsciously, in every war with an object, which may be called olitical, and with an aim, which may be called Military, to use ıe armed force to attain the political object In the Græco-ersian war of the fifth century B C. two antagonistic political 'stems based on different ideals were in collision, brought about y mutual fear of being undermined The Persian autocratic eal, under which the individual will was held subservient and ıslaved, was opposed to the Greek self-governing ideal, under hich the individual will was held free The security of each stem was reciprocally menaced. The Greek victory assured ıe security of Hellas and its political system for the time being, ıt the campaigns of Alexander the Great showed that the curity of the Persian political system had been also at stake. nalyses of the great French war at the end of the eighteenth 'ntury and of other wars taught the same lesson, but the poli-cal object varied and was not always the security of a political 'stem The conclusion was reached that the reciprocal political ɔject is security for every questioned right, every threatened iterest, and the State itself, including its political system and 'rritory

That war culminates in battle, and that the destruction of the med force is the decisive act, was evident from the double 'cision by sea and land at Salamis and Platæa in ancient and at rafa' ar and Waterloo in modern times, and from its single luivalents at Ægospotami and Jena. In each case the political ›ject was attained by destroying the enemy armed force in

[2] Blackwood.

battle. But that is not always possible, in which case the next best thing to do is to neutralise its action—either by the threat of battle, as did the Greeks in the Salamis campaign and the English in the case of the Armada; or by evading battle, as was the plan of Napoleon during the campaign of Trafalgar; or by postponing battle to await a more favourable opportunity, as did the Greeks at Samos and Miletus during the Peloponnesian war, as did Ruijter during the third Dutch war, and as did both sides at different times on the Western Front during the late war, by awaiting attack. Hence the primary military aim of each side is battle, or the threat of battle, with a view to destroy, or if that is not possible to neutralise, the enemy armed force while sparing its own

During the interval which elapses before the double decision or the single equivalent, opportunity may be taken to weaken the enemy armed force and to strengthen the position by impairing his material and moral resources and by increasing our own This can be done, on land, by overrunning enemy territory, as, for instance, Attica by the Spartan army in ancient and Europe by the French army in modern times; at sea, by stopping enemy trade and by preventing our own trade being stopped, as was done by Athens in ancient and by England in modern times These are secondary military aims, because neither can terri tory be overrun nor can seaborne trade be stopped until th primary military aims have been more or less completel achieved—that is to say, until the enemy armed force has bee more or less completely put out of action. This was seen in th late war when the German armies were driven out of France an their submarine campaign failed as soon as the Allied armies an navies, not having been put out of action, were properly used

It is very important to realise the difference between tl primary and secondary military aims. The one is directed again armed forces, the other against resources. The former is mo important than the latter. When both aims can be prosecute he secondary prepares victory, the primary achieves it B when the principal armed force is a navy on the one side and army on the other, the two cannot come into direct collision Th as the Peloponnesian war showed at the Peace of Nicias, and t great French war confirmed at the Peace of Amiens, the achie ment of secondary military aims leads only to compromise and armed truce, whereas the achievement of primary military aims Ægospotami and Waterloo resulted in a military decision and pea

Furthermore, every armed force is controlled by a direct will which is intimately bound up and falls with it. Theref the whole military aim of each side is to destroy, or if that is possible to neutralise and to weaken, the enemy armed fo

ncluding his directing will, while sparing and strengthening its own. In this definition attention is concentrated on the armed orce, which was the practice both of Nelson and of Napoleon, Was it not equally so of Themistocles ?

The political object and the military aim having been defined t remains to state the relations between them which are covered by the word *Strategy*. As hitherto understood, strategy deals with the movements of armed forces into positions to achieve the military aim. This is a purely military definition. In order to bring the political object into the picture we must understand hat strategy attains the political object through the complete, partial, or threatened achievement of the military aim under the existing political, economic, and military conditions. The extended meaning of strategy follows directly from our original premise, and extends it to meet the varying importance of the political objects or interests at issue, and the varying political, conomic, and military influences at work on the controlling minds and public opinion The military effort is greater when he national existence is at stake than when some minor interest s threatened In the one a complete overthrow of the enemy rmed force may be required, in the other a mere threat may uffice The above influences react on each other and tend to trengthen or weaken the national effort according as they pull n the same or in opposite directions The political influence lepends mainly upon the political objects of the war. The conomic influence is manifested in the efforts required to provide resources to carry on the war. The military influence finds xpression in armed force. Each influence possesses a mental, a moral and a physical side, as has been so well explained by Colonel J F C Fuller.[3]

By introducing the common term 'armed force' the word strategy,' as defined, is made applicable to all three services, ince the political object and the military aim are the same for ach, and battle, like armed force, is a common term, although he sea-air battle, the land-air battle, and the air battle differ actically Thus it covers a common doctrine and a general law governing the use of armed force, which is that, when armed force s used instead of moral suasion, security is reached through battle or the threat of battle—that is to say, by destroying, or if hat is not possible by neutralising and by weakening, the enemy rmed force.

The reader will note that the clearly defined terms 'strategy,' political object,' and 'military aim' have been substituted for hose taught at the schools and much used—namely, 'grand trategy,' 'major strategy,' and 'minor strategy,' which tend to

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confuse thought, since they bear no indication of their different meanings. How can it be supposed that the ordinary man will distinguish between these different strategies? He cannot be expected to see by intuition that the addition of the word 'major' covers a political and of the word 'minor' a military interpretation.

Other ambiguous words and phrases tend to confuse thought. Consider the statement often made that 'war is a contest between two wills and the aim of each side is to enforce his will on his opponent.' Is not this a half-truth, seeing that no reference is made either to the political object or to the armed force? The picture of war is incomplete, since our general law declares that the political object, the will, and the armed force are interrelated and react on each other. The enemy will and armed force are together destroyed, neutralised, or weakened when the military aim is completely or partially achieved. The extent of the overthrow required depends upon the political object, or the magnitude of the interest to be made secure. The conquering will may demand what its armed force can make secure, but cannot with impunity demand more than its own security requires. Any demand beyond that prepares future wars and will endanger its own future security, as was seen when Germany annexed Alsace-Lorraine in the year 1871.

Again, security governs the size of the armed force required in time of peace. This depends not only upon the strength of the armed force which threatens, but also upon the distribution of the interests to be made secure. Security is reached by neutralising the enemy armed force, which is done by watching it. This is possible in the case of a single concentrated massed force, but not of many widely scattered detachments, as privateering at sea and guerrilla warfare on land have proved. The watching force has to be transferred from the point of departure to the destination, that is to say, to the convoy. Hence, besides the massed fleets which neutralise each other, the nation with a large seaborne trade has for its security to provide and to distribute an armed force varying in numbers with the size and ubiquity of its seaborne trade. This additional force gives no more than security and does not disturb the balance between the massed fleets. Further, it threatens no one, seeing that, as has been shown, the need for a double decision or its equivalent is a proof that a navy, however strong, is of itself not a menace to a continental Power, but is a security against war, since it can cut off seaborne supplies from any Power which disturbs the peace. This is the justification for the larger cruiser force claimed by Great Britain.

Again, consider the statement that 'the purpose of an army is to gain command of the enemy land.' This is very near to the

dangerous theory that territory, and not armed force, is the military aim, which led to the Anglo-Austrian defeat in the Low Countries in 1793–4 at the hands of Carnot and was shown to be a fallacy by Buonaparte. The military aim of an army is to destroy, or to neutralise, the enemy armed force and to weaken that force by impairing enemy resources, which last is done by overrunning his territory. It is the resources which are the aim, and not the land, except positions of strategic importance. To overthrow the enemy armed force is the military aim, and not necessarily to occupy land, which may or may not accompany it.

The phrase 'command of the sea' is quite as misleading. Both mean the achievement of the military aim—that is, the attainment of the political object, security Both conceal the attacks on the armed force and on resources, through which security is attained. In consequence it has been held that an army acts only against armed forces with purely military results, a navy only against resources with purely economic results, and an aery only against the will with moral results The underlying idea is that the army can win a war by destroying the enemy army, the navy by stopping his oversea resources, and the aery by frightening his civil population

These are the ideals of the directing minds which existed in armies and navies before the late war and have been developed in the aery since the war They are the result of thinking in water-tight compartments Not having any accepted common theory of war, the importance was not realised of weakening the enemy army by stopping his oversea supplies and of strengthening our own by new and improved weapons and equipment, although M Bloch had foretold the need and Xenophon had indicated the method to follow Equally, men failed to understand that it was important to destroy the enemy navy when opportunity offered, to provide a new weapon to deal with the submarine, and to put in practice the principle underlying the convoy system that an armed ship should be placed alongside the convoy as being the destination of the submarine, and therefore the most likely place to find her. More extraordinary still was the intention to divert from attacking the German army and its supplies an aerial force to bomb the civil population of Berlin

To what were these failures due ? Did they not arise from a habit of mind which declines to think out first principles ? Was not this the reason why no logical theory of war existed ? This failure to think out principles left the professional schools without any guidance. Unconsciously it may be, the Army became tinged with the thought of the German Clausewitz, and the Navy with that of the American Mahan. It is difficult to say whether the German or the American was the more misleading. Clause-

witz, with a purely continental outlook, pushed the primary military aim without sufficient regard to the secondary. The result was seen in the bloody assaults on the Western Front during the late war. Mahan pressed forward the political object at the expense of the military aim, with the result that they were not seen in their proper relation, but he did not clearly explain the relation between the two military aims. The result was that a school arose who exalt the secondary aim—to weaken the enemy armed force at the expense of the primary aim, to destroy it. Neither Clausewitz nor Mahan thought in terms of a logical theory of war, which was the cause of their undoing.

Again, too much attention seems to have been paid to the details of particular wars which are usually misleading, since future wars will always differ from those of the past, and the future, not the past, is the interest of the present. The real use of naval and military history is to supply the material out of which can be evolved a theory governing the use of armed force and applicable in every war. Apart from the necessary professional technique, which is more or less mechanical, the schools should teach this theory in order to ensure that the student understands first principles. But as we live in a changing world they must repeatedly ask themselves, Is our teaching correct? The student should keep an open mind and not accept any statement without convincing himself of its truth. With correct first principles firmly implanted in his mind he will be in a position to give his native genius full scope to deal with every question on its merits. When studying any particular campaign he will know what to look for; he will be able to analyse correctly the strategies of the opposing sides, to account for the failures on the one side and for the successes on the other side. When reading history he will be able to judge whether the author understands what he writes about.

The reader will realise the difficulties under which the instructors in the professional colleges have had to work in the past. They were able to teach the technical side of the military art, but the important philosophical side was necessarily outside their ken, since they were not supplied with any logical theory of war and had no time to evolve one.

Finally, it may be suggested that the statement often made that war is not an exact science seems to require some qualification, since the laws governing the use of armed force can be stated with as much scientific accuracy as those governing any other art. It is the application of those laws which varies so much and offers so many difficulties. Trouble comes to him who transgresses those laws.

REGINALD CUSTANCE

THE CHANGING CONDITIONS OF WAR

THE idea of war, when it faces us in a concrete and not merely an abstract form, at once suggests to us the idea of policy, which means the line of conduct to be adopted, or the principles upon which action is to be based. What are these principles? They are well known; but how seldom are they connected with the word 'policy.'

The first of these principles, the maintenance of the direction decided on, presupposes that we have in our minds a definite aim. When we apply this principle in its most general form, we can say without fear of contradiction that the object of the fighting forces is to secure law and order during peace-time, and to impose our will upon an enemy during war-time These general ideas, or aims, are obvious to all, but what is less obvious is the carrying of them out when policy is to be converted into action. Here we are called upon to answer a whole host of complex questions, for action entails using military force according to conditions, many of which are in nature speculative. Those who set out to fashion a war policy must, consequently, understand the powers of the fighting forces, and also, as far as it is possible, they must grasp the probable nature of the conditions in which the fighting forces will be called upon to expend their powers. When once the nature of conditions is gauged, the action required can be deduced. And once this action is deduced, the policy-makers can turn to the fighting forces, and, knowing what their powers are, can, by equating these powers with the action required, arrive at their strategical, tactical, and administrative limitations. Should they consider these limitations too great, then they can either modify the action proposed or the organisation of the fighting forces.

The main difficulty lies in conditions. What are the characteristics and influences of the conditions which face us to-day? Until this question is answered the foundations of policy must consist to a very large extent in guess work.

Since 1914 political conditions have completely changed, and so has the social outlook. The gross constructive materialism of the nineteenth century was badly broken by the war, and an ignorant and somewhat hysterical idealism was released. This

generally respond with some such argument as this: 'If we had been of one Father, we should know how to make knives and coats as well as you.'[58]

Le Jeune states that even the most intelligent of the Indians could not comprehend the motive that caused the Jesuits to leave France and come so far with so much labour and difficulty. Observing that the priests neither claimed any advantage or profit from their residence among them, nor from the kindnesses that they rendered them, the natives concluded that the Jesuits must have some hidden motive, such as aiming at the destruction of the Indian race through supernatural means. This idea was further strengthened by the reluctance of the fathers to bestow the rite of baptism upon any except those whom they were sure would not abuse the sacred waters because of their proximity to death. Thus death and baptism were associated together in the native mind.

> It is useless to tell them that this our coming is to announce to them he blessings and riches of the other life; they have no conception of these, ealizing no other good things than those they see with their eyes. And s we are obliged to tell them the blessings we preach are seen only after eath, those speeches into which death enters confirms them more than ver in their notion that we make them die—so that the most moderate, nd even some of our poor Christians, quite artlessly think that it is so in heir case, but that what we accomplish upon them is through love, and hrough our desire to reveal God to them the sooner, and to give them the njoyment of the blessings we value so highly.[59]

In general, it was clear to the French Jesuits that their minis- rations were valued solely because their religion was supposed y the natives to be a 'medicine,' or charm, efficacious against mine, disease, and death. The fathers did not fail to seize upon is belief to advance the propagation of the faith, justifying in eir own minds the promises made to the Indians, because, as ey fervently believed, the saints and angels were always at and with temporal succours for the faithful. Thus at the town Wenrio, where small-pox was raging, the people tried all the asts, dances, and preposterous ceremonies by which their medi- ne men sought to stop the pest, but without avail. At last they solved to try the 'medicine' of the French, and consulted the iests. 'What must we do, that your God may take pity on ?' Brébeuf answered: 'Believe in Him; keep His com- andments; abjure your faith in dreams; take but one wife, and true to her; give up your superstitious feasts; renounce your semblies of debauchery; eat no human flesh; never give feasts demons; and make a vow that, if God will deliver you from

[58] F. Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, I., pp. 177–8.

[59] Le Jeune's Relation, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, XVII., pp. 125–7. e also VIII., pp. 251, 253.

idealism, though outwardly directed against war—for mankind is sick of slaughter—is full of the fighting zeal of a new cult. In 1914 there were two great groups of antagonistic Powers in Europe, nations outside these groups being mere spectators of their quarrel. These two groups were urged into opposition through fear of each other; now this fear is gone, and with it the stability of Europe, for, the universal danger of a German hegemony having ceased to exist, all nations are free to snap, snarl, bite and lick as they like. Fear of the German navy consolidated the British Empire, and fear of the German army was the foundation of the Entente Cordiale Fear having gone, the British Empire has changed, our relationship with France has changed, and the outlook of every other country has changed and become far more self-centred and material.

Whilst interminable squabbles occupy the nations, most of whom have been attempting to revive the epoch killed by the war, a new adversary has arisen, a foe whose hostility is directed not so much against the policy of any particular nation as against the social fabric of Western civilisation. This adversary is Russia, and for nine years she has been waging a truceless war against the rest of Europe.

To understand the Russian aim it is first necessary to accept the fact that ethically Russia is an Asiatic nation Next it must be realised that the present social ferment was not originated by the war, though the war released it Its origins are to be sought in the Industrial Revolution Every country now has an enemy within its frontiers, a class of society which is opposed to materialism, to majority rule, and to gross numbers generally. The ideals of this class are yet vague, but they all tend to be antipathetic to democracy. Democratic government is in fact being steadily undermined, and already in half a dozen countries dictatorships have been established The centre of gravity of all this turmoil is Russia Her policy to-day is still the policy of Peter the Great—namely, imperialism. Checked on her western frontier, she is aiming at establishing a Russified Asiatic League of Nations. Meanwhile her ideals are percolating through and around international politics, and wherever she sees a chance of sapping national *moral* she opens her attack.

In 1914 we were confronted by a tangible foe, an enemy we could hit at, but to-day our antagonist is intangible, and to use military force against him is of little account. Political conditions have so completely changed, that though Russia is at war with us we are not at war with Russia. In 1914 the aim of military force was to secure law and order within the country, and to protect our frontiers from invasion. Now our enemy has discovered a system of war—namely, propaganda—which can

surmount all frontiers, and which, in spite of military force, can corrode the very vitals of national existence. Since 1918 military force has failed in Ireland, in Egypt, in India, and is likely to fail in China; because, though military force can terrify materialists, its terrors only stimulate idealists. With the one it is like pouring water on a fire until it is extinguished; with the other it is like pouring oil—the more poured on the greater is the conflagration. The simile may not be exact, but it is sufficiently true to illustrate the amazing political and social changes which are to-day influencing physical force

Whilst Russia is waging this relentless war against Western civilisation, what do we see happening in other nations? The French army is steadily being transformed into a militia; the German army has been placed on a professional basis; our Army is yearly reduced in size; the size of our Navy is governed by a one-Power standard, and the League of Nations is deeply concerned in disarmament Whilst in 1914 we were free to pick and choose our allies, to-day, by the Locarno Treaties, we are bound to take part in practically every European war of any size The whole situation is, in fact, contradictory, for whilst Russia has established a deadly form of psychological warfare, the rest of Europe is wrangling over material things, and her statesmen are carrying on as if few changes had taken place in the last twelve years

These changes in the political conditions which influence war must of necessity modify strategy In 1914 our strategy was clean-cut—it was definitely based on command of the sea, which enabled us to secure ourselves at home, to protect our frontiers, and to assist in the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe. To-day, with the exception of Russia, no nation wants to go to war with us, and against Russian methods of war command of the sea is about as potent a weapon as a steam hammer against a wireless wave

An European balance of power no longer exists, and, though every European nation is being attacked by a common foe, there are no signs of the establishment of a common front In 1918 the idealists at Versailles hoped to replace the old diplomatic machinery by that of the League of Nations The one had been concerned with balancing—and, very frequently, juggling with—power, the other was to substitute round-table conferences for secret negotiations, and defensive alliances were to be replaced by interdict. The ideal was noble, but the machinery whereby aspirations were to be rendered concrete was non-existent Interdict, or excommunication, of a defaulting nation was impossible, unless the defaulter happened to be an insignificant and accessible Power. It was like attempting to control

the Christian Churches, not by a papacy, but by a committee the members of which were drawn from all sects in Christendom.

Whilst statesmen and idealists were wrangling, the direction of strategy was being shaped by an unconscious pressure and resistance of events. In Europe strategy is still crystallising around the problem of maintaining the artificial frontiers established after the war, in Asia an amorphous nationalism is breaking up nations by fermenting within them the alcohol of liberty We see this distinctly in China and India, yet no man can as yet clearly see what the end will be

Between Europe and Asia the eternal problem of communication continues, which means that, whatever nation is to control the strategy of a great war in the Old World theatre, power to command the seas is an essential. This command is still in British hands, but in a weakened form; for whilst before the war our object was to command near waters, the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea, to-day our main naval problem is to control the Mediterranean and the southern portion of the Pacific Ocean, so that no Oriental Power can by sea strike at Australia, New Zealand, India, and South Africa Strategy is urging Great Britain eastwards, and the result is the establishment of the Singapore base.

Whilst sea-power is forcing a reorientation, changes in land-power are doing the same A principle of British strategy, as important as command of the sea, is that of the invulnerability of land frontiers, and the fact that the Empire from a defensive point of view possesses only one vulnerable land frontier is a sure proof of the importance of this principle. This frontier is the North-West Frontier of India

From the middle of the last century onwards to 1914 the Russian menace to India rose and fell according to the temperature of international politics Up to 1905 the menace was obvious, but the defeat of Russia in Manchuria, coupled with the rise of Germany as a great naval Power, tucked it up to sleep awhile After the war it was said to have died in its bed, for the internal state of Russia prohibited a military invasion of India. This death was, however, illusory, since it was soon discovered that the wraith of insidious propaganda which emanated from the corpse could surmount all frontiers, and could attack the foundations of military power, namely, patriotism and civil *moral.*

To-day, as before the war, the defence of India embraces three problems—namely, the maintenance of internal security, frontier security, and the integrity of Afghanistan. In 1914 the first was subsidiary to the second and the third, which were interdependent Then Afghanistan was definitely friendly, and the Government of

India autocratic. Now Afghanistan, if not openly hostile, is suspicious of our intentions, and the Government of India is amorphous. The result of this is that not only has our influence in Kabul declined, but weakness in our rule has had a repercussion in India. This has taken the form of a rising nationalism, and, as India is a continent of many nations, intercommunal strife has steadily grown. As long as this strife continues, our position as ruler is assured, for, in spite of sporadic non-co-operation and boycott, it renders impossible a strong concentration against us. But on our strategy it reacts, in that, as law and order must be maintained, its maintenance falls more and more on the British Army, whose primary object is the defence of the Frontier, and not police work in the interior, which by rights should fall on the Indian Army In its turn the integrity of the Frontier largely influences internal security. For any disaster on the circumference would at once release subversive forces around the centre

Our strategical problems, simple enough before the war, have to-day grown into a complex tangle More and more are British soldiers called upon to act as policemen, yet daily is the Frontier calling for their assistance so that its problem may be solved before Russia can grow strong enough, or Afghanistan weak enough, to create a disaster In order to solve this problem it is necessary to examine the foundations of our Frontier policy.

Until a few years ago our so-called control of the Frontier was by means of punitive expeditions, and it was radically faulty The idea underlying it was to maintain a barbarous and roadless no-man's land in which an invader would become entangled. It was purely defensive, since this roadless area would equally impede us should events demand an advance into northern Afghanistan The tribesmen who inhabit this area found it impossible to live on the land ; consequently they had no choice save to raid or to starve, so they adopted the first In retaliation we in our turn raided their villages and destroyed them as well as their crops and herds , this only rendered starvation more sure This system continued until 1919, when the last Afghan War opened our eyes to its folly A new policy then took shape it was to replace obliteration by pacification, which could only be accomplished by occupation and civilisation, and both demanded the construction of roads So far this new policy has proved so successful that, if it is progressively continued, within ten to twenty years the North-West Frontier is likely to become as peaceful as the Punjab

This problem solved, we are next faced by that of Afghanistan. To-day, as before the war, the policy is to discourage the opening up of the country by roads and railways so that a Russian

advance may be impeded. But has Russia any intention of advancing in the tactical sense? Is not her policy one of disruption by fomenting internal rebellion under the ideal of nationalism? If so—and it undoubtedly is so—then a weak and barbaric Afghanistan is the best medium she can operate in. Our policy should, consequently, be similar to our present Frontier policy—that is, to encourage her to civilise herself and so render her Government stable. Civilisation and stability demand wealth, and wealth demands trade, and trade demands communications. These cannot possibly be purely strategical in nature, and geographically the areas in which they will run are well defined. They must tap the rich areas of Herat and Seistan, and run southwards and westwards to the Indus, and thence to Karachi, for the great wedge of mountains in the centre of the country, as well as the Hindu Kush, prohibit them running into the Punjab. The ultimate conclusion, and one dictated by commerce and trade, is that railways will eventually be built from Herat to Seistan, and from Seistan to Baghdad and to Quetta. This being so, our strategy will one day have to conform —we shall in fact, more so than in the past, be compelled to base our plans for the defence of India on an offensive in place of a defensive idea.

Political conditions being in a state of flux, since Europe and much of Asia are in the melting-pot, and strategical conditions being in a process of change, since strategy is largely influenced by politics, it follows that modifications will take place in tactics unless the art of war is to fall into a decline.

In the war which Russia has been waging with us during the last nine years we have received many psychological blows, and suffered more than one moral reverse, yet we have delivered no single blow in return, since we do not possess weapons that can reach her. Her aim is to undermine Western civilisation, and her main tools are gold and propaganda. There is nothing new in this form of attack, for it is patently Oriental, yet we have no certain means of protecting ourselves against it, since for centuries we have been thinking in terms of physical warfare.

Here is opened up to us a tactical area which we shall be compelled to exploit, and as Russia's aim is to destroy civilisation by setting class against class, the remedy lies not so much in attacking Russia in a similar way, but in eliminating the social diseases which have evolved within our civilisation.

Though this purification of society is not the duty of soldiers and sailors, it must not be forgotten that the first purpose of military power is to maintain law and order through a constant threat of the application of physical force. Consequently, if military power cannot accomplish this, its organisation must

either be changed, or a new instrument must be fashioned which can do so. Obviously no would-be invader can be dealt with effectively unless military force is based on the loyalty of the nation threatened. To enter upon a war from a rebellious and divided base would in a short time paralyse any Government. In fact, the main reason why Governments delay so long in declaring war on an aggressor is that they wish to make certain that the nations they represent will full-heartedly support them.

Besides these psychological changes which, sooner or later, will compel us to investigate the moral sphere of war, changes in the physical world are daily taking place Since 1914 time and space have been contracted in a manner which borders on the miraculous, for movement, which is the soul of tactics, has become more rapid , and by movement I do not only mean increased powers of locomotion as introduced by aircraft and motor cars, but also movement of ideas and the transmission of information

To-day the theory of Relativity is generally accepted, and the foundations of a new scientific world have been revealed. The law of gravity has been impeached, and the atom has been dematerialised, and has all but vanished into a vibration The motor car has largely replaced the horse, and the day cannot be far distant when it will not necessarily require a road to travel by. Aircraft have crossed the Atlantic, and have flown to India and Australia, and the wireless telephone has enabled any citizen in London to talk to any citizen in New York

The last twenty-five years have seen such stupendous changes due to physical science that we are apt to be blind to the fact that the tactical strength of fighting force is drawn from civil science and industry Every one of the above-mentioned inventions must influence military action as they are influencing our peaceful activities A few years ago we moved by roads, and our thought travelled along roads in post-bags Movement was, in fact, linear , now it is all but universal, for the aeroplane needs no road or rail, and the wireless wave no wire or cable

In the last twenty-five years the world has become more three-dimensional than ever before, and the art of war must follow suit if it is to remain an art, and not merely become an historical curiosity During the war the submarine clearly demonstrated the possibilities of three-dimensional sea warfare, since the German 'U' boats nearly brought us to our knees , the aeroplane of three-dimensional air warfare, since armies and fleets could be avoided, and the nations they were protecting attacked ; and tanks, being invulnerable to bullets and unimpeded by wire entanglements, re-established land warfare on a mobile footing. Besides these inventions, we find gun-ranging by sound and by flash ; wireless

telegraphy being able to establish communication with unknown recipients, and gas being employed as a weapon against targets which not only could not be seen but were not even located or known to exist. The inner tendency of tactics from 1914 to 1918 was closely related to the general tendency of civil industry and science. When the old war instruments of 1913 failed in 1914 and in subsequent years, willy-nilly, and by a destiny which was inevitable, the soldier, sailor, and airman were compelled to fall back on science, industry and invention, just as in the Middle Ages soldiers were forced by circumstances to fall back on agricultural implements for their weapons.

Once the war is won, what do we see? The soldier and sailor, in spite of the fact that the armies and fleets of 1914 did not win the war, go back to their organisation and equipment with the addition of a few *et cetera* The soldier still believes that infantry is the decisive arm on land, whatever this may mean, and the sailor thinks likewise of the battleship The airman alone steps forward, because he can look at war fairly and squarely and is not blinded by tradition.

The armies and navies of 1918 won the war, this fact is beyond controversy. These armies and navies differed materially from those of 1914 which did not win the war, and the differences between the two can be deduced with little trouble. If the war had dragged on to 1922 we may be certain that the armies and navies of that year would have differed still more, and had it endured until November 1926 we may be certain that our Army and Navy to-day would bear little resemblance in organisation or equipment to their great-grandparents of 1914. By this I do not suggest that in organisation and equipment we should have progressed during the last eight years as if we had been at war. But what I mean is that in tactical thought we should never rest content, always remembering that though in peace-time we cannot have everything we desire, this in no way should prevent us thinking out the possibilities of the future, so that when the next war comes we may be mentally if not physically prepared to meet it.

From the above it will be seen that during the last thirteen years stupendous changes have taken place in the political, strategical and tactical conditions of war. The military and naval defeat of Germany removed the pivot around which international politics had revolved since 1871. The cost of the war and the destruction it entailed led to a social revolution which affected all countries, and in Russia established a new *régime* the ideals of which are antipathetic to Western civilisation, and sympathetic to the disturbed under-world in every country

Incapable of attacking others physically, and herself all but invulnerable to physical attack, for nine years Russia has waged a relentless war on European nations, against which the old means of defence are all but worthless. This war is being fought out not only to establish a new ideal, but to keep Europe occupied whilst Russian imperialism creeps over Asia. The war area has thus shifted eastwards, the system of attack has become moral in place of physical, and is likely to remain so until political and social stability have been reinstated. Should such a condition be established, then—so I think—will physical force come back into its own, and as science is daily changing the means of civil life, war organisation must keep pace with these changes.

To revert to the opening section of this paper: the aim of policy is to secure a state of prosperous and contented peacefulness. This aim is fundamental, and is as essential to-day as before the outbreak of the war. Its fulfilment demands internal tranquillity and power to resist external pressure: these are the two great problems of government, the solution of which depends very largely on equating military force and world conditions. What is the nature of these conditions? Once this question is answered, the actions required to meet them can be formulated. Once this is done, then the next problem is to compare these actions with the limitations of existing military force, and the answer will show what can and cannot be accomplished with what we have. Then we can consider what steps we should take to strengthen or modify existing organisation, and so, by arriving at a perfected instrument, be in a position to formulate a war plan which will fulfil the aims of policy.

J. F. C. FULLER.

THE GERMAN LOSSES ON THE SOMME

THE appearance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's *World Crisis* a few weeks ago has led to a revival of old controversies on many details of the history of the Great War by land and sea, and to the starting of one or two new ones. Discussion has ranged from the general problem dear to the 'Eastern Front' and 'Western Front' enthusiasts down to technical details of the tactics used at the Battle of Jutland—on which naval pens wax furious and prolix.

The *World Crisis* contains two chapters—mainly statistical in character—on which one who was immersed in statistics from morn till eve during two years of the Great War feels bound to make his comment, lest figures should pass undisputed and deductions from them should grow into generally accepted truisms. These are the chapters on the 'Blood Test' and the 'Battle of the Somme'—sixty pages of closely reasoned and most interesting controversy With their bearings on the general thesis of the book I shall have little to do But it seems to me that many of the basic tables of statistics on which that main thesis rests need investigation and revision.

The Battle of the Somme is a terrible memory—only less terrible than the memory of the offensive of the following year, which, starting at Arras, finally died down in the mud and blood of Paschendaele The offensive of 1917 was longer, and more costly by some 130,000 casualties, than that of 1916; but in all its months there was no single day so deadly to the British Army as the 1st of July of the earlier year, when fifteen gallant divisions flung themselves against the long German trench-line that stretched from Gommecourt to Maricourt—not much under twenty miles—and failed to break it, save on one comparatively short section at the south end of the hostile front. That day cost the assailants something like 40,000 casualties: the remembrance of its slaughter is still heavy on the minds of all who can recall its first impression. And four months of fighting only a few degrees less costly were to follow, till we had fought an irregular scrap of ground twelve miles long by seven miles deep at the price of something like 400,000 killed, wounded, and missing—not to speak of

the very considerable losses of our French allies at the south end of the battle line.

Now Mr. Winston Churchill's deduction from these deplorable figures is that while we were suffering heavily we were inflicting no corresponding punishment upon the Germans. On page 51 of his first volume he puts the casualties of the British in the Somme period at 481,842, and those of the enemy at only 236,194. The latter figure, however obtained, is (as I shall show) much less than half of the total German loss upon the Somme between July and November And the total casualties of the British and French armies really work out, not at a 2 to 1 proportion, but to practical equality with those of the enemy. The figures are lamentable enough—but at least let us get them correct. And then the deduction from them may be somewhat different from that drawn in the *World Crisis*

What no reader of that most interesting work would, I think, realise is that all through those dreadful five months the Germans, far from opposing us with inferior forces and suffering losses not half so great as ours, were being hit no less hard than the Allies, and were thrusting into the great *mêlée* on the Somme, one after another, every available unit that they possessed on the Western Front which was considered fit to stand the strain They emerged from it with 50 per cent., 60 per cent , even 70 per cent losses, and were sent to the rear in rotation, to be out of action for months, while the skeleton cadres were being refilled with recruits. Some reappeared after a long interval with a new personnel, others were relegated for good to quiet fronts, or even sent to Russia, where the highest military qualities were not required in the German front line

A wholly unfair effect is produced on pages 176–179 of the *World Crisis* when the awful losses of our 8th Division on the first day of the Somme battle—5500 of all ranks—are contrasted with the comparative immunity of one German regiment, the 180th, which, though in the front line, lost under 300 officers and men in its three battalions Such a comparison is, of course, deceptive The figures of the 8th Division ought in common fairness to be placed parallel to those of a German unit which fared badly on the bloody 1st of July, not to those of one which was fortunate A very different effect on the reader's mind is left if we cite, not the figures of the 180th regiment, but those of its near neighbour in the line, the 111th Reserve infantry regiment, only half a mile away, which was taken out of the front by the enemy at the earliest possible moment and sent to the rear reporting 1850 casualties in its three battalions out of 2700 present, no less gloomy a record than that of our 8th Division ; the whole of this loss was suffered on July 1 alone Clearly the 180th had exceptional luck, and should not be quoted as a typical case.

this pest, you will build a chapel to offer Him thanksgiving a praise.'

At Ossosane, a few miles distant, the terror-stricken peop accepted the conditions, promising to renounce their superstitio and reform their savage customs One of the principal sorcere ran through the streets proclaiming that the God of the Fren was their master, and that henceforth all must live according His will. 'What consolation,' exclaimed Le Mercier, 'to see G glorified by the lips of an imp of Satan!'[30]

Many times the methods employed by the French priests their zeal to snatch the souls of dying natives from the 'inferr wolf'[31] embittered the aborigines against them. Whenever priest heard the wail of a sick infant he pushed boldly into the te asked to buy some trifle, or spoke of the latest news of Iroqu raids, and then, when suspicion was disarmed, would appear observe the sufferer for the first time. The visitor then approach the child, felt its pulse, asked of its health, and, while apparen fanning its fevered brow, would touch it with the corner of handkerchief, which he had previously dipped in water, murm ing the baptismal words with motionless lips. Another soul v saved! Many other devices were used to baptise dying child without their parents' consent, one of the favourite methods be to feed the child with sugared water and then accidentally to le drop fall on its head.[32] But baptism alone did not end the trou if by any chance the child died. The parents naturally would w to bury their offspring in the accustomed way, and in their o burial place, while the priests were just as desirous of interr the child in holy ground, and without the ornaments and pro sions which the Indians thought necessary for life in the ot world.[33] Thus the fathers incurred the antagonism of the sava

Owing to the undeveloped state of the savage mind, and consequent inability to cope with the abstract doctrines of Ch tianity, the French and the Spanish clergy adopted the met of vivid portrayal by pictures and tableaux. The principal ap of the fathers was to fear. 'You do good to your friends,' saic Jeune to an Algonkin chief, 'and you burn your enemies. ' does the same.' Hell was painted to the startled neophyte place where, when he was hungry, he would get nothing to eat frogs and snakes, and when thirsty nothing to drink but fla With respect to the value of pictures the Father Superior stat

These holy representations are half the instruction that can be giv the Indians. I wanted some pictures of Hell and souls in perdition, a

[30] F. Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, I., pp. 179–80.

[31] A title often bestowed in the 'Jesuit Relations' on the devil.

[32] F. Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, I., pp. 185–6, 206–7.

[33] Le Jeune's Relation, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, VIII., pp. 2 267–9.

I may cite another equally deceptive comparison made on page 51 of the *World Crisis*. We are shown figures purporting to prove that the British loss in officers on the Somme was four times that of the Germans—21,974 to 4879. A footnote does indeed remark that German commissioned officers were 'less numerous' per battalion than British. But who would guess from this note that in July 1916 we were sending into the line battalions with twenty-five combatant officers or more—the Germans battalions with only nine or ten?[1] For by this time the places of half the original commissioned officers in a German unit were being supplied by '*offizierstellvertreter*'—'substitute officers' who were in theory non-commissioned officers only. Having looked over many German regimental histories, which describe individual battle incidents, I can vouch for the fact that in very many German battalions more than half the platoons were at this time in charge of 'substitutes,' and that a company was lucky if it had more than three regular officers to lead it. To make a fair comparison of officer casualties we ought to reckon on the German side all these N.C.O.'s discharging officers' functions, and if this were done, the proportion of losses on the two sides would be not far from equal. In the German casualty lists, when totals and percentages are added up, it always appears that the proportion of officers killed, wounded, or missing is not much over 2 per cent. of the total losses of all ranks. This does not mean that they were told to spare themselves, but that there were not more than 2 per cent. of commissioned officers in the fighting companies of the unit—the duties of officers being discharged by N.C.O.'s to an extent of which we had at the time little conception. Hence an unjust criticism sometimes made on the paucity of casualties in the commissioned ranks of the German army: they exposed themselves freely, but were not numerous.

Turning back to the general topic of German losses on the Somme, we must remember that in July–November 1916 a normal German army corps had eighteen infantry battalions—not the twenty-four with which it started the war. From nearly every brigade one three-battalion regiment had been deducted, to make up the so-called 'reconstituted divisions,' with new and high divisional numbers, all of which had only three regiments and nine battalions. The infantry, therefore, of any army corps was now somewhere about 18,000 strong, and of a division no more than 9000 strong, if the cadres had been duly and recently filled up with drafts. But many units were not in this happy condition, having been hurried up from some distant part of the Western Front without full completion of their numbers, because they

[1] Not including, of course, paymasters, transport officers, surgeons, etc., on the staff of the regiment.

were so urgently required on the Somme that prompt appearance was more important than numerical completeness.

Now the German front against which the Allied attack was directed on July 1–5 was held by nineteen divisions, of which twelve had been on the spot on the first two days of the battle, while the other seven were hurried up on or before July 5. It may be worth while to give in detail the losses (first and last) of these original holders of the German line, in order that the reader may appreciate the fact that it was not British units alone which were suffering devastating casualties. The troops in line on July 1–2 were

	Casualties reported.
2nd Guard Reserve division	5,982
11th division, 12th division } forming the 6th corps	16,688
11th Reserve division, 12th Reserve division } forming 6th Reserve corps	14,811
26th Reserve division, 28th Reserve division } forming 14th Reserve corps	16,488
36th division (of 17th corps)	4,027
52nd division	5,906
111th 'Reconstituted division'	4,002
121st 'Reconstituted division'	6,278
10th Bavarian division	5,644
Total	79,726[2]

I do not, of course, say that all these 79,726 casualties of the original German front-line troops on the Somme were suffered in the first five days of the battle, nor that they should be deducted only from the 108,000 men who would have been engaged if each of the 108 battalions in question had put 1000 men in line. That would imply a 70 per cent loss all round, and a 90 per cent loss in some cases, such as the 6th and 14th reserve corps But some of these divisions were kept in the front line for many days after July 1–5 and received drafts, while others were withdrawn, rested, refilled, and sent into the line again in October or November. And the main losses of some of them (*e.g.*, the 111th Reconstituted division) are known to have been suffered at dates later than the early days of July. But undoubtedly the first-comers to the Somme fighting were hit no less hard than their British and French opponents. The 121st division, taken out of the line as early as was possible, reported 6278 casualties in the opening days, was sent to the rear at once, recruited, and despatched to Russia as incapable of Western-Front fighting any

[2] The British losses July 1 to 6 were precisely 71,506.

longer. The 123rd division, which reached the front on July 5, was withdrawn before July 12 with 4402 casualties and sent to Russia also. Of the 14,811 casualties of the 6th Reserve corps—original troops of July 1–2—we know that at least 12,000 belong to the first days of the Somme battle: of the 5048 casualties of the 185th division, which came up on July 5, and was gone by July 12, we know that 4000 date from its earliest appearance in the line

Nor did the divisions which arrived at a later date than July 5 suffer less than their fellows. There were in line before the end of the month of July the 3rd Guard Reserve division, which registered 5010 casualties, and was sent to Russia in August; the 7th and 8th divisions (forming the 4th corps), reported 17,147 casualties, the 44th Reserve division of the 22nd Reserve corps, 8625, the 183rd division, 6833, the 17th and 18th divisions (forming the 9th corps), 17,289—besides eleven other divisions which did not report quite such annihilating losses, though none of them (I think) registered, first and last, less than 4000 casualties

Of units arriving in August on the Somme, the 17th and 18th Reserve divisions of 9th Reserve corps reported 16,114 casualties, the 26th and 27th divisions (forming the 13th corps), 10,100, the Guard Corps (1st and 2nd divisions), 11,480; the 4th Guard division, 6298; the 23rd and 32nd Reserve divisions (forming 12th Saxon Reserve corps), 15,543, the 8th Bavarian division, 6429; the 3rd and 4th Bavarian divisions (forming the 2nd Bavarian corps) 12,307—besides five other divisions which suffered less than 50 per cent losses, though none (I think) less than 35 or 40 per cent. ones

And so matters went on till November, new combatants being drawn from every corner of the Western Front, till something like a hundred divisions in all had been put through the mill Some went in only once and were never fit for a second turn, having suffered practical annihilation; some, having been rested and recruited, after being withdrawn in July or August, were back again at the front in October and November I note that of the twelve divisions which had held the line on July 1–2, four were again on the Somme in the end of the year, three had been sent to Russia by September, and five were resting on quiet (or comparatively quiet) sections of the French front.

The system of the Germans in reporting losses in their official *Verlustliste*, which appeared almost daily, was to start in each number with the losses of the senior regiment which had sent in a report lately, and to go down numerically through the units till the last name of some small technical corps or labour battalion had been reached. Thus of three successive regiments whose casualties appeared one after another in the *Verlustliste* of on

day the first might be in Russia, the second in Alsace, and the third opposite Ypres. It was obviously the purpose of the editors of these lists to mix up losses on all possible fronts, in order that their readers in the calculating bureaux of Paris or London might be given as much trouble as possible in collecting useful statistics. So the casualties of a single regiment were dropped about in many successive numbers of the *Verlustliste*—those of five companies (perhaps) appearing on the first day of the month, those of three others on the fifth day, those of the remaining four on the tenth And this was still more the case with simultaneous losses in a brigade or division, sometimes in a three-regiment division engaged on a definite day all the casualties of two of the regiments might be printed at one place or another in the lists of (let us say) September 1 to September 6, but those of the third regiment might not begin to appear till September 25 or even October 1 It was possible for the calculator in London or Paris to say, 'We know that the *x*th division was heavily engaged on September 1—we have losses of regiments *a* and *c* of it amounting to 1000 each, but none of regiment *b*, though it is now a fortnight since we counted the last names of regiment *c*. Regiment *b* must send in its casualties soon, and they will probably not be less than 1000 also perhaps they will be a good many more, the heaviest sufferer having been reserved for the last printing' This sort of calculation was invariably justified by the appearance of the belated statistics within a few days. The main difficulty of the compiler was to keep up an accurate account of the arrival and departure of German divisions on the particular front whose statistics were under his charge. But information from the front was wonderfully good and prompt.

The only real difficulty that occurred in counting the Somme casualties was that the Germans used two extemporised divisions, named after their commanders, Generals Liebert and Franke, which consisted of stray battalions (or in some cases regiments) drawn from different units, and hastily thrown together. When the identity of one of these battalions (or regiments) was established it was rather natural to assume that the rest of the regiment (or division) to which the detected unit belonged had arrived on the Somme It took some time to discover, *e g*, that though the 100th and 125th regiments (both under Franke) had arrived, this did not mean that the whole of the 23rd and 26th divisions to which they belonged respectively had yet reached the front—though both ultimately did so Liebert's 'group' of thirteen miscellaneous battalions opposite the French was a specially tiresome problem. However, such difficulties were always solved in the end.

The casualties which the Germans kept reporting from the Somme were progressively printed with longer and longer inter-

vals between the day on which the casualty occurred and the day on which it was acknowledged in print. By November as much as four or five weeks intervened. The acknowledged totals had got up to about 450,000 for the infantry alone by the end of the November *Verlustliste*, when the large majority of the losses of that month had not yet been printed. Then, in the first days of December 1916, the Berlin office suddenly 'shut down' and published no more regimental lists. The reason was obvious—the total was getting too ghastly, and the information afforded to the Paris or London calculator was too valuable.

From December 6 onward the system adopted was to publish every day only alphabetical lists of individuals from A to Z, with no indication of the unit to which any man belonged. Those who fell on the Russian or Balkan front were mixed in with those who fell in France or Belgium. No further information as to regimental casualties was obtainable, save by methods more circuitous and difficult than that of merely compiling the totals of the *Verlustliste*.

What were the missing October–November figures? We know that many late-arriving divisions, which only came into the front line in October or November, had not yet had their recent losses acknowledged. By December units known to have been deeply engaged in the desperate fighting on the Ancre about Beaumont Hamel, etc., in November had not yet printed any losses at all, and units withdrawn to the rear as exhausted (*e g*, the Marine division and the Bavarian 1st corps), which had turned up for the October fighting, had only just commenced to dribble in their first casualties when the *Verlustliste* ceased to print regimental figures.[3] I cannot put the unacknowledged German infantry losses, which had not been published by November 30, at less than 60,000—a figure much smaller than those actually published in any of the months August, September, October, November from the Somme front, in three of which the totals came to well over 100,000 casualties per month, and in the fourth to nearly as much

The whole therefore works out as—infantry losses acknowledged in the *Verlustliste* down to end of November 450,000, unacknowledged infantry losses for late October and November, 60,000; losses, July–November, of artillery, engineers, pioneers, sappers, train, technical troops, labour battalions and other auxiliary units, at least 50,000 (a most moderate estimate, for many batteries were annihilated); total, 560,000

And what were the corresponding figures on the side of the British and the French? Almost exactly the same, so far as I can make out, as those of their adversaries.

[3] By December 1 the two divisions of the 1st Bavarian corps had only printed 1900 casualties out of their 18,000 infantry, yet they are known to have been withdrawn, absolutely knocked to pieces, before the end of November

The British scheduled figures for the Somme battle are 410,000 killed, wounded, and missing. Those of the French (quite wrongly estimated by Mr. Churchill) were 159,000. The total of 570,000 is practically the same as that of the Germans. But it seems likely that the British loss is decidedly overestimated, as it is arrived at by taking the whole loss of the Army on the Western theatre of war from July 1 to November (463,000) and deducting an arbitrary 53,000 for five months' losses on the whole of the front outside the Somme area. I agree with General Maurice in thinking that 53,000 is a very low estimate for the wastage in five months on a 120-mile front, upon which there were not only the usual day-to-day casualties which occurred along the line at all times, but several sharp snatches of fighting on a considerable scale—as at Armentières, and in front of La Bassée and Lens. In a period of 'stabilisation,' as it was grimly called, when no first-rate operations were going on, the normal British wastage was never so low as 10,000 per month—the rate allowed by this deduction of 53,000 men from the British total loss from July to November.[4] I should suspect that 75,000, or even 80,000, would be more like the figure that should be deducted for losses on the "quiet front" in July–November from the total casualty list of the period, and in that case the German and the Allied losses would be not far apart—the German slightly heavier.

Mr Winston Churchill has printed on pages 187–192 of the *World Crisis* an estimate of casualties made by himself at the time of the Somme battle, which he communicated to the Cabinet in August, during the second phase of the operations It was intended to prove—what he still apparently holds—that the British losses were twice and thrice those of the enemy at this moment But unfortunately all the German data in it are wrong He disputes, for example, the statement that by August 1 there had been thirty German divisions in action on the Somme, and will not allow for more than eighteen To summarise his argument He holds that statements that the Germans had brought up thirty divisions should be distrusted Where could they have come from? The fact that units belonging to thirty divisions had been identified by contact, if true, was no proof. It might well have been that individual regiments or battalions which were 'resting' had been scraped up from different fronts to meet the local emergency. But this might not mean that more than the equivalent of six or seven whole divisions have been concentrated If this were so, the British Army might not have been fighting more than fourteen or fifteen divisions—possibly not so many

[4] One division lost 1700 men in August-September holding the sector by the Hohenzollern Redoubt.

Now it was quite true that at this time there was the mixed and heterogeneous 'group' or very large division scraped from many fronts of General Liebert fighting the French at the south end of the line. But, not counting this abnormal unit, thirty-three complete divisional units had been engaged on the Somme by August 1 and forty-five by August 31. As fast as a division was used up and withdrawn it was replaced by another, so any arguments based on average divisional losses and a low number of divisions engaged must fail. The Germans were drafting in units from all quarters to the *mêlée* to replace decimated and tired divisions just as we were doing ourselves. By the end of November, it would seem, nearly a hundred had taken their turn, of which some thirty had been given a double turn, with a long rest at the rear in the interval [5] As to their losses, the one certain thing on which we can count is the absolutely contemporary *Verlustliste*, which give every man's name, rank, company, and unit They are not statistics, but nominal regimental rolls sent to Berlin by the proper regimental authorities If they err, it is probably on the side of understatement of losses. Both in Paris and in London careful testing operations were carried out during the war, consisting of the comparison of the names of the German prisoners from a chosen unit who were alive and visible in Allied prison camps, with the names of the 'missing' of those regiments in the *Verlustliste*. It was found that on the whole the lists were fairly correct, but there were a certain number, not a very large percentage in most cases, of live prisoners in England and France whose capture their regiment had never acknowledged It would seem fair then to suspect that the *Verlustliste* figures are always an understatement—if no very great one—and certainly never an overstatement of casualties

With the analysis of these contemporary documents before me, I must confess that I cannot trust the post-war statement of the *Reichsarchiv* that the Germans lost a total on all the Western fronts of 630,192 killed, wounded, and missing between July 1 and December 31, 1916, *i e*, only 70,000 more than the 560,000 casualties on the Somme front alone For this 70,000 would have to account not only for all daily wastage on every part of the line save the Somme front for six months, but also for the losses in the disaster suffered by the Crown Prince's army before Verdun on October 24, when General Mangin cleared the Germans out of all their front lines, with a loss of some 20,000 men at least, including 6000 prisoners, and many scores of guns The figure is altogether too small. Nor can I understand another statement of the same Berlin bureau which purports to distinguish in casualties of July–October 1916 between those suffered opposite the

[5] See the table at the end of this article.

French and those opposite the English. For many of the German divisions on the Somme were engaged at one time and another with both of the Allies, and in some of the operations (*e.g.*, those round Combles) they were fighting with English and French troops acting in co-operation on the same ground. Who could tell whether a casualty was caused by a French or an English bullet or shell? Some very rough-and-ready method must have been adopted here, and I distrust its accuracy.

Into the general deductions on strategic policy in East and West which may follow from a misconception of the relative losses of the Allies and the German on the Somme I do not propose to enter. But I hope that I have done something to make the basic facts of those statistics a little more correct and accessible.[6]

TABLE OF NINETY-FIVE GERMAN DIVISIONS WHICH FOUGHT ON THE SOMME FRONT, WITH DATES OF THEIR PRESENCE THEREON.

N.B.—This table is not absolutely, but very nearly complete.

(1) 1st Guard division. (1) From July 28 to early in September; (2) late October and November.
(2) 2nd Guard division. Ditto.
(3) 3rd Guard division. Early July only. Sent to Russia in August.
(4) 4th Guard division. (1) July 25 to August 19, (2) about September 10, (3) November 6 to 25.
(5) 1st Guard Reserve division. (1) Late July to August 19, (2) a short turn in September.
(6) 2nd Guard Reserve division. July 1 to September: several changes in location.
(7) 5th division (3rd corps). July only.
(8) 6th division (3rd corps). October 8 to 29.
(9) 7th division (4th corps). (1) July 24 to 28, (2) September 17 to October 2.
(10) 8th division (4th corps). (1) July 3 to 23, (2) September 18 to October 1.
(11) 9th Reserve division (5th Reserve corps). September 25 to October 18 only.
(12) 10th Reserve division (5th Reserve corps). October 5 to October 15 only.
(13) 11th division (6th corps). (1) July 1 to 20, (2) September 5 to October 10. [Reported 83 per cent. losses.]
(14) 12th division (6th corps). (1) July 1 to 14, (2) July 30 to August 9, (3) October 25 to November 19.
(15) 11th Reserve division (6th Reserve corps). (1) July 1 to 20, (2) October 1 to November 1.
(16) 12th Reserve division (6th Reserve corps). (1) July 1 to 14, (2) September 25 to November 5.
(17) 13th division (7th corps). September 12 to 19.
(18) 15th division (8th corps). (1) Part of July and early August; (2) October.

[6] Mainly from *die Schlachten und Gefechte des Grossen Krieges*, prepared by the German General Staff.

(19) 16th division (8th corps). (1) Late July to late September; (2) October 9 to 29. Sent to Russia.

(20) 15th Reserve division (8th Reserve corps). Lent units to Liebert in July. Whole division in October.

(21) 16th Reserve division (8th Reserve corps). Lent units to Liebert in July. Whole division October 15 to November 28.

(22) 17th division (9th corps). July 9 to July 25 only.

(23) 10th division (9th corps). Mid-July to late September.

(24) 17th Reserve division (9th Reserve corps). (1) July 25 to August 14, (2) September 21 to October 10.

(25) 18th Reserve division (9th Reserve corps). (1) July 28 to August 14, (2) October 1 to 12.

(26) 19th Reserve division (10th Reserve corps) October 10 to 26 only

(27) 21st division (17th corps). (1) September 12 to October 1, (2) late November.

(28) 22nd Reserve division (10th Reserve corps) July 1 to 10 only

(29) 23rd division (12th corps) Lent units to Franke in July Whole division September 15 to October 25

(30) 23rd Reserve division (1) Early July, (2) early November

(31) 24th division (19th corps) (1) August 8 to 20, (2) September 20 to November 10.

(32) 24th Reserve division (1) Early July, (2) early November

(33) 25th division (18th corps). (1) September 15 to October 1, (2) late November.

(34) 25th Reserve division (12th Reserve corps). Mid-July to early September.

(35) 26th division (13th corps). (1) Late July to August 25, (2) mid November.

(36) 26th Reserve division (14th Reserve corps) (1) July 1 to July 13, (2) mid-October

(37) 27th division (13th corps). (1) August 1 to August 25, (2) mid-November.

(38) 28th division (14th corps). July 20 to October 1

(39) 28th Reserve division (14th Reserve corps). (1) July 1 to 13, (2) October

(40) 29th division (14th corps) Late September to November

(41) 30th division (15th corps) Late September to late November

(42) 32nd division (12th corps). Lent units to Franke in July Whole division September 4 to 10

(43) 35th division (17th corps) July 1 to September 5.

(44) 36th division (17th corps). July 1 to October 15. [At very edge of battle area]

(45) 38th Division (11th corps). October 12 to 22.

(46) 39th division (15th corps). October 20 to November 11 only

(47) 40th division (19th corps) (1) August 8 to 20, (2) October 15 to November 11.

(48) 44th Reserve division (22nd corps) (1) July 3 to 10, (2) October 9 to 30

(49) 45th Reserve division (23rd corps). September 9 to 25 only

(50) 46th Reserve division (23rd corps). (1) September 8 to October 6 (2) October 20 to 25

(51) 50th Reserve division. (1) September 20 to 28; (2) November 20 to 30

(52) 51st Reserve division (26th corps). October to November.

(53) 52nd division. Late September to early November.

(54) 52nd Reserve division (26th corps). September to November.
(55) 53rd Reserve division (27th corps). September 15 to October 5 only.
(56) 54th Reserve division (27th corps). September 1 to September 14 only.
(57) 56th division August 24 to September 9 only.
(58) 58th division. September 20 to early November.
(59) 103rd division. October 8 to November 10.
(60) 111th division. (1) July 1 on edge of battle area, (2) August 20 to September 6, (3) October 25 to November
(61) 113th division (1) July 1 to 13; (2) October 1 to 20
(62) 117th division August 8 to 27 only. Sent to Russia
(63) 121st division July 1 to 4 only Sent to Russia at once
(64) 123rd division. July 10 to August 15 Sent to Russia August.
(65) 183rd division (1) July 1 to 24, (2) October 1 to 20
(66) 185th division (1) July 1 to 18, (2) October 20 to November 1, (3) November 10 to December 9
(67) 206th division October 20 to November 25
(68) 208th division November 18 to December 12
(69) 211th division October 14 to November 6 only
(70) 212th division (1) September 15 to October 5, (2) October 25 to November 25
(71) 213th division (1) September 15 to October 5, (2) October 25 to November 23
(72) 214th division September 14 to 28 only
(73) 221st division October 21 to December
(74) 222nd division November 5 to December 7 only
(75) 223rd division November 9 to November 21 only
(76) 243rd division October 3 to November 18
(77) 4th Ersatz division September 27 to October 14
(78) 10th Ersatz division September 10 to September 25 only
(79) Marine division End of September to November.

(80) 1st Bavarian division (1st B corps). October 13 to end of November.
(81) 2nd Bavarian division (1st B corps) End of October to November
(82) 3rd Bavarian division (2nd B corps) August 25 to September 27.
(83) 4th Bavarian division (2nd B corps) August 25 to September 27
(84) 5th Bavarian division (3rd B corps) September 7 to 20 only.
(85) 6th Bavarian division (3rd corps) September 7 to 27 only
(86) 1st Bavarian Reserve division (B Reserve corps) (1) August 8 to 13, (2) end of August and early September
(87) 5th Bavarian Reserve division (B reserve corps) August and early September
(88) 6th Bavarian Reserve division September 27 to October 13 only.
(89) 8th Bavarian Reserve division July 20 to August 15. Sent to Roumania September.
(90) 10th Bavarian division July 1 to 20 Sent to Russia August 13
(91) 11th Bavarian division. Late November only
(92) Bavarian Ersatz division October 25 to November 15

(93) Ebert's provisional division July Then dissolved.
(94) Franke's provisional division. July Then dissolved.
(95) Provisional brigades, Osten and Scholz Late August only.

CHARLES OMAN.

w were sent us on paper ; but they are too confused. The devils and the ien are so mixed up, that one can make out nothing without particular :tention. If three, four, or five devils were painted tormenting a soul ith different punishment—one applying fire, another serpents, another iaring him with pincers, and another holding him fast with a chain—this ould have a good effect, especially if everything were made distinct, and usery, rage, and desperation appeared plainly in this fact.

1 a letter written by Garnier to a friend in France we find the equest for a picture of Christ without a beard, for several virgins, ogether with a variety of souls in perdition, most of them to be iounted in a portable form. All the pictures must be in full ıce, not in profile ; and they must look at the beholder with open yes. The colours must be bright, and there must be no flowers r animals to distract the attention of the natives.[34] Pictures vere likewise used in the California missions, the majority repreenting Hell or Paradise. The former, Beechey informs us, xhibited in the most disgusting manner all the torments the nagination can fancy for the purpose of striking terror into the imple Indians ; the latter are described as ludicrous. Beechey entures the opinion, however, that such representations may ave some value in exhibiting to the dull senses of the Indians hat could not be conveyed in any other manner.[35]

The dramatisation of scenes from the life of Christ was a avourite method employed by the Spanish monks who accomanied Pizarro's army in order to make religion as attractive as ossible to the Indians. These spectacles obtained such a hold ipon the native mind that generations later the efforts of the nlightened clergy for their suppression met with violent opposiion on the part of the Indians.[36] Among the Tarahumares of Mexico the Jesuits and Franciscans devised various repesentaions and festivals for the Indians to wean them away from their ative feasts. Thus every Sunday during Lent the so-called 'Pharisees' make their appearance ; these are men who play an nportant part in the Easter festival, which lasts several days. They paint their faces hideously, tog themselves up with feathers n their sombreros, and carry wooden swords painted with red gures.' To-day the feasts and performances are still observed ; he teachings are forgotten.[37]

The association of pagan customs with Christianity has freuently been used to gain converts. The Eskimo were much

[34] F. Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, I., p. 224. Note.—Garer's directions show an excellent knowledge of Indian peculiarities, such as e Indian dislike for a beard, and the notion that a profile is a picture of half a an.

[35] F. W. Beechey, *Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait*, p. 301.

[36] J. J. von Tschudi, *Travels in Peru*, p. 264.

[37] C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, I., p. 138.

'THE OLD MAN OF THE SEA'

[It is with the greatest regret that I have to state that the author of this article died while it was being printed. He has been for long closely associated with the Review, has written many valuable articles in it, and his death is a great loss. An article entitled 'The Advantages of a Classical Education,' by George H Bonner, appeared in the January number of the Review. The article now published gives another point of view —EDITOR, *Nineteenth Century and After*]

LET us keep our system of 'classical education,' if for no other reason than that we cannot get rid of it, even if we wished to do so, but let us clear our *minds* of cant (The emphasis is not mine)

The men who succeed in life, nominally on account of their classical education, really succeed for different reasons altogether. They succeed, *i.e*, by virtue of the social 'pull' supplied by the fact that they were at school with the offspring of important and influential people, who have themselves been through the classical mill, and who have passed their lives in murmuring 'classical education,' with the same hypnotic effect produced in other days by 'the blessed word Mesopotamia'

On the face value of things it is absurd to suppose that study of what was going on 2000 years ago can be of any value in the battle of life to-day To maintain that it is 'the only education of value' is blankly idiotic, nevertheless, such is the position usually assumed and defended by every form of denunciation, from courteous condescension to vulgar insolence

To be at the right school (there is only one) or at a tolerably good school—this is the beginning. Everything flows in order from this beginning. The next important step is to belong to the right 'set'—that is to say, the right set from the athletic point of view. Book learning counts for very little, unless, as Sir Hugo Mallinger sagely indicated to Daniel Deronda, 'You propose to become a don, and write donnish books.' All this leads to a modest and obscure success; but let us return to the great tide of life. Having been at the right school, or as good a school as circumstances will allow, one will always find oneself after leaving school, in a sound set of people who speak one's own

language and to whom it is less trouble to support one in 'scrapes' than to thwart one.

It might reasonably be assumed that if a boy has sufficient intelligence to master the principles of sound government as laid down by 'the ancients,' as they used to be gracefully called, he would find some use in life, even for his book learning. Unhappily the contrary is the case. The statesmen, so called, who have wrought the most abiding mischief to their own country, and, with their own country, to countless millions of people whose happiness depends upon our success, are those who have absorbed from childhood upwards all that 'the ancients' could teach us of their wisdom. It is perhaps significant that of recent years the claimants of the 'only sound system of education' have added to their 'mountebankeries' the claim that it alone trains the mind on sound business lines, adding to this absurdity the following reason—if 'reasoning' it can be called: 'Just as the boy takes his Propertius or his Virgil and a grammar and dictionary, endeavouring to discover what the author's meaning may be, so in after life he addresses himself to the concrete problems of existence and achieves success.' There might be something in this if such were the way in which the ordinary schoolboy sets to work, but the omission of the reference to a 'crib' is a fundamental vitiation of the whole position, which, for the rest, is purely farcical. If it were not farcical, every counting-house would be full of classical scholars.

No use in politics! No use in business! Where, then, are we to place classical learning?

It is a gentlemanly accomplishment. This is much: there are not many such. It is touching, however, and not a little mortifying, to listen, so to speak, to the classically trained mind. Listen patiently and make a note of its aridity. This may be partly the result of bad teaching in youth; but when we contemplate, say, for example, the prose style in English of such classically trained writers living and dead we are constrained to the impatient exclamation, 'But no; but No, this is *not*—it most emphatically is *not*—the way to write English.' After all, an Englishman ought to be able to write his own language, and this is what your classically trained man is incapable of doing.

The only 'crib' ever employed by the present writer was a Dauphin Virgil. Even to-day, after the lapse of half a century, he can recall the beautiful binding, the exquisite print, and above all the felicitous handling, of the explanatory prose. At least, it appeared to be felicitous to the youth of fifteen. Such a treasure trove was a source of ravishment and joy; but it must be admitted that this particular student was intensely ambitious and possessed (or believed himself to possess) some slight tincture

of critical taste. To such a student such a 'crib' is an abomination. One felt this not as a revolt against fundamental morality (not that one employed, or was even conscious of, such expressions, but because of the incoherent conviction that 'crib'-learned lessons were neither learnt, nor were they lessons. Chewing sawdust! He would have done much better from every point of view if he had spent his time in playing cricket.) The tendency towards the artistic expression of emotions in any form in youth is dangerous. The late Mr. Hornung went so far as to denounce it as 'worse than the whisky habit.'

Our vision is much clouded by the employment of the word 'scientific' as the antithesis of 'classical.' 'Modern' is the correct word to employ. When 'modern sides' began their struggle for existence in the year 1861, and for many years afterwards, they were jeered at as only fit for 'slackers.' The 'modern side' included all modern languages, all laboratory pursuits, and, of course, the language and literature of our own country. 'Slackers,' if you please!—minds in eager pursuit of these exacting and exquisite subjects Incidentally we contemplate the mind of a first-class teacher, to whom the present writer, according to his wont, made the above reflections (In those days one often threw these stones into pools to see how deep the water might be) The answer came like the crack of a whip · 'You can't do it; it's too easy There is nothing in English for a boy to get his teeth into Besides, it's all slip-slop, and always changing'

Some years afterwards, and listening attentively to the words of the same man (a head and shoulders above one's own mental stature), one was somewhat taken aback to hear him deliver himself as follows. 'You can't do it, it's too hard Besides, it's always changing The great advantage of the classics is, they are for ever fixed and cannot be altered' Thus we see how fine and logical and consistent is the classically trained mind

Issues joined in the year 1861 to the accompaniment of jeers. After this there came, what was for England, a transformation scene of the three vast and varied professional studies, our own language and literature was derided, and remains derided to this day, as will be shortly demonstrated by some arithmetical details

Modern languages received, and continue to receive, slightly more respectful attention, owing to the fact that our rivals in trade undoubtedly did business in those languages, and had to be considered accordingly. Nevertheless, the Englishman's last argument, 'Let them all learn English,' prevailed; and as a serious study modern languages continued to be ignored. Science, however, stood on a different footing.

Slowly, yet not very slowly for Englishmen, trade awoke to the fact that laboratory studies, incredible as it might appear

could actually be turned into money. At this point some figures might be useful. Some years ago the present writer made a tour of the English and Scottish universities—chiefly with the view of finding out what might be the relative value, expressed in cash, of the subjects taught there. Ruling out the classics, which had, and have, first call, not only on their own province, but on every other appointment worth having, we come to modern subjects. These, once closely allied in the struggle for existence, were now fiercely divided. The professors of laboratory studies were paid salaries—not large ones, but still salaries, say of 1000*l.* a year. All the other subjects were derided, none denouncing them more fiercely as 'talky-talky' than their former comrades in arms. Language and literature of our own country occupied a position of pitiable insignificance. These two ran a race for what might be described as (perhaps by a confusion of thought) 'the wooden spoon.' Sometimes history won, sometimes literature, their position being defined by a salary which a good cook would hesitate to accept to-day. Sometimes literature was thus degraded. Modern languages were slightly better treated.

It is true that in the older universities chairs of history were paid as much as a second-rate laboratory expert; but these invariably turned into political jobs, and, being really of some trifling money value, were mostly grabbed up by the classics.

All this is in strict accordance with the principles of an age ruled exclusively by self-interest and asking at every step, 'What is the use?' and 'How much?'

What is the use? What, indeed! All this time we are arguing about the value of a language—say Latin, which we do not even know how to pronounce; and we ourselves do not know how our own language was pronounced 300 years ago. Could anything more ludicrously hideous be imagined?

Let us return to the considerations with which this article opened. If those are sound, we perceive clearly enough that there are no educational advantages in the study of dead things: the advantages are incalculably great, but purely social.

Two great races rule the world—the Jews and the Scots. What do these think of a classical education? The Jews put it in its natural place as training for a gentlemanly accomplishment. Any man who has leisure and skill may reasonably enough immerse himself in the study of the past, just as he may make himself an expert in Satsuma, for example, but no Jew imagines that such studies will enable him to succeed in the struggle for life.

The Scot acts in very much the same way, although he pays tribute to a system long established in his own country and therefore respectable, not to say venerable. One of the greatest

Jews of the last century said to me: 'Every fresh language that you learn to *speak* makes you another man.' True—most true; but it is to be observed that the great Jew said every language that you learn to *speak*, not a language in rags and tatters which you have been taught to jabber about.

Banter is all that the hapless champions of life have left remaining to them—some comparing the claims of their opponents to springs warranted to make stout people thin and thin people stout.

But, however much they may banter, the classics will remain, for our time at least, the 'Old Man of the Sea.'

W. F. Lord

DUELLING AND SWORDSMANSHIP

A SHORT time ago the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Amateur Fencing Association was celebrated in London by an assault-at-arms in which the champion fencers of France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, and the United States took part against the best in England with foils, with sabres, and with duelling-swords. It is chiefly about this last weapon I desire to write, for it has produced, during the last five-and-twenty years, one of the best games we have ever learnt from France—the country which also taught us real tennis and the chivalrous formalities of the ancient hunting-field, and through them bequeathed to us, from Shakespeare onward, almost as many technical terms in sport as we have taught her in the twentieth century.

To make a real game, a different weapon from the conventional foil-play, with its artificial ceremonies and restrictions, was essential. In these days of constant competition a result—a score—is undeniably demanded It has to be faced You cannot place two weaponed men in front of one another without seeing it is inevitable True it is that, between the pairs of figures we saw so gracefully competing in Northumberland Avenue the other night, there now floats no sinister shadow of the grave. Yet for the fencer, in all other ways, the rapture of the duel exists The deeper note of irremediable inexcusable tragedy is for ever silenced, but the whole gamut of the higher chords is left, and to their resonant harmony is set the lilting tune of modern fencing with the duelling-sword

The weapons used and the rules of the game are precisely the same as the rules drawn up for any modern duel in Paris by two pairs of modern seconds A mask and glove, perhaps a jacket or an apron, alone suggest that bloodshed may be happily avoided without spoiling any of the fun There are no conventions From the crown of his head to the sole of his foot a man may attack his adversary, and must defend an equal area upon himself One touch anywhere (there is a button on the point), and the bout is over You might call it 'strictly business.'

It may be interesting to describe a duel I saw some five-and-twenty years ago in Paris, just to show how like the real thing this fencing is. Both men (they were journalists) may still be alive,

for all I know, so I will call one John Doe and the other Richard Roe.

They had arranged to meet on a Monday morning of October in the Parc de St. Cloud, but when they got there the ground was so wet and muddy that—since both duels and fencing matches can be held either indoors or out of doors at any hour, provided there is enough light and a good foothold—they mutually consented to fight in the riding school in the Avenue de la Grande Armée. Their seconds were two distinguished literary men who had for once laid down the pen that is nowadays so often mightier than the sword.

They fought with the usual duelling-sword, a long and straight triangular blade which tapers from the cup-like handle down to a fine point, and this is usually disinfected in some rough-and-ready way before the start, for a clean wound is quite enough to settle the matter without unpleasant complications And I should like to say that this triangular blade, though only the point is used for offence, can make a much more serious wound than you may think, for it widens as it penetrates, and either in entrance or withdrawal a slight twist of the wrist is unavoidable, which makes it worse.

Let me add, too, that a great deal of nonsense used to be talked about the way a foreigner would stop fighting 'for a mere scratch.' We English ignorantly argued from our own experience of boxing, in which a man may take a good many hard knocks for nearly a dozen rounds perhaps before he can stand up and defend himself no longer. The effect of a wound with a pointed sword is very different, both in effect and in geography A boxer gets you squarely either on head or body every time he passes your guard, for you are fighting him within reach of the knuckles at the end of your arm. The duellist's reach is not only a yard longer by the length of his sword-blade, but the lunge he can make by the full extension of his left leg, while the right knee carries the weight of the body forward, is also a far more free development than any 'straight left' you can see in a boxing ring. This means that, in a duel, very few wounds actually reac[h] the head or penetrate deeply in the body The duellist s[o] manages his own defence that, even if the enemy's point get[s] past his sword-hilt, his sword arm, in its whole length, may sti[ll] protect his body. The majority of wounds, therefore, are on th[e] arm from the shoulder to the wrist, and especially from the wri[st] to the elbow, while it must be remembered that even a very slig[ht] penetration of the armpit may lacerate the duellist's lung. Th[is] is one penalty he pays for standing far more sideways than a[ny] boxer who uses both his fists.

The duellist's left (or unemployed) hand hangs lightly do[wn]

just over his left shoulder when he comes on guard, and straightens down behind him with the palm almost turned upwards when he makes his lunge by straightening his sword arm in precisely the same line as that in which his right foot is pointing forward. And I must add that the hand which holds the sword always has its knuckles pointing downwards and almost exactly parallel with the ground Take a poker and try and poke a particular piece of coal in the fireplace. You will probably miss it, because the natural gesture is to hold your poker with the knuckles upwards, and the point drifts vaguely out to the right or left. But take your walking-stick (a straight one with a knob) and hold its handle in your open palm with the knuckles downwards, and you can ring an electric bell-push with the ferrule from a distance of 6 feet

I have told you these details so that you may realise how much easier it is to touch a man on the forearm than anywhere else, and I want you to understand that what looks like a comparatively harmless scratch or prick may positively so incapacitate a man that it would be sheer murder to continue. I am no anatomist But I believe the reason is that after only a few minutes' sword-play the nerves and muscles on the surface of the skin are in a state of tension and full of pulsing blood. The effect of a sudden destruction of the balance of forces by only a slight wound sufficient to produce blood is of such a nature that the fingers fly out helplessly and a man can no longer direct or even grasp his sword.

But my two duelling journalists have been kept waiting long enough I must get on with their actual fight ; yet I believe they would be the first to forgive me if they knew my delay was due to my desire to make you thoroughly appreciate the combat which follows They fought in ordinary walking gloves, trousers, and unstarched shirts Rounds were three minutes each, and they changed ends each time after their seconds had tossed a coin for the first position Each had twenty metres measured from the centre in which to retire , and each kept whatever space he won, so that the man who retreated the whole distance would eventually have to stand his ground and fight

It is difficult to describe a fight to readers who may not be acquainted with the technical names for various attacks or parries But I will do my best Richard Roe made the pace very hot from the word ' Go.' He strove continually to beat his adversary's blade aside and either go straight in or deceive the guard and thrust upon the other side ; and he kept to the high lines above the waist. John Doe, on the other hand, guarded himself warily, waiting for an opening ; and it may have been because his ripostes were usually aimed below the waist that,

after a sudden flash of steel, both seconds rushed in, the opposing swords were beaten up, and the attendant doctor carefully examined Doe's forearm for exactly the kind of incapacitating scratch I have described. There was nothing there. The end was to be much more decisive. The men were replaced in exactly the positions they had held when the fight was stopped. The third round began with the fiery Richard as impetuous as ever. In less than a minute he had parried an attack, and replied with such rapidity and vigour that he ran his adversary through the hand His sword was bent with the violence of the blow, and poor John Roe was unable to hold a sword, or a pen either, for some weeks afterwards.

This habit of settling a quarrel was so prevalent some thirty years ago abroad that editors used to have a fighting man ready to deal with awkward correspondents, a better method perhaps than shooting them up promiscuously, as was contemporaneously fashionable, I understand, in some parts of the United States Personally, as an editor, I am still glad I learnt to fence when I was a young student in Paris, where I naturally conformed to the customs of the country by fighting once or twice myself But I used the straight duelling-sword And I am glad I never had to face an angry young Italian, for example, with the light sabre his countrymen have brought to such perfection, using both point and edge—one of the deadliest and most fascinating weapons in the world

On some other occasion I must try to tell you how the duelling-sword was developed during the gradual progress of the art and science of man-killing throughout man's history, and a very extraordinary story that is, more particularly the English part of it And you should understand that the duel with swords or pistol died out in England chiefly because we liked boxing better, an the fashionable young Corinthians of our aristocracy took ver kindly to the game. I suppose I might put Squire Osbaldesto somewhere on the border line He was a small man of abo eleven stone, and the best rider in England across a country his own line, one of the best cricketers, a first-rate oar, a remar able tennis player, and so deadly a shot that he could put ni bullets out of ten into the ace of spades at twenty paces was so good with his fists as well that when he took on Shaw, w was three stone heavier and nearly half a foot taller, he broke t of the lifeguardsman's ribs with a hard right to the body Wh he challenged Lord George Bentinck to a duel with pistols eve one thought it was all over with Disraeli's friend. But blo shed was averted, and the whole story of that dramatic meet is too long for me to tell here. It suggests, however, that Continental custom of duelling did at least assist in putting

estilent person the swaggering bully in his place, and it seems to e to have preserved a somewhat higher standard of personal ourtesy than obtains abroad to-day.

Here at home I only hope every English boy is taught to box. ome men will learn nothing till they have been knocked down. ut I hope also that many more Englishmen will learn to fence. is astonishing how this beautiful art has spread since I was ptain of the first English team that crossed the Channel for an ternational tournament. Now you find hundreds of young en in the Army, the Navy, or the Air Force learning the foil id sword and sabre. And in half an hour they get out of it as uch hard exercise as any other game except squash rackets can ve them in the same time Fencing is equally first-rate for the isiness man, the city clerk, and all who have to work in London. or you can fence at any age, at any hour, indoors or out of doors, any weather Learn the deadly simplicities of the duelling-vord, *pick out half a dozen friends, and get to work.* The coring is perfectly easy Everyone fights everybody else. The inner is the one who is least hit ; and every bout ends at the rst hit lodged on either of the competing pair

In this game I have fought all over London : in the quiet leasances of Lincoln's Inn, of Gray's Inn, or of the Temple ; in he beautiful grounds of Chelsea Hospital, or the sacrosanct paths ehind St James's Palace ; in Regent's Park ; even in the high pen space between the Adelphi Terrace and the Thames, where ıy Athens fencing team took up the challenge of the rest of ngland and were fortunate enough to win Since those days ıe art of fencing has definitely taken its place in English sport. ne of its most brilliant exponents is one of the finest Rugby layers we have ever had Clubs have begun to flourish all over ngland for the encouragement of a game recognised as a first-ate contribution to the health both of body and of mind. I am roud to have had some small share in that development, because encing has a secondary value almost as high as that of its own ascinations With court tennis, it is almost the last game which reserves the courtesy of the old days in its temporary anta-onisms It chiefiy depends upon the chivalry of instant acknow-edgment for the scoring of hits And it calls forth a very high ıanifestation of that curious mixture of reserve and daring hich is the hallmark of the fighting Englishman.

THEODORE COOK.

[illegible] While they
[illegible] performing the complic
offices of the Church they thought they were witnessing the w
man's method of celebrating a festival similar to their ow
The early missionaries in Mexico lightened their burden of gai
converts by associating and linking together Christianity
Mexican mythology. The Holy Spirit was identified with
sacred eagle of the Aztecs; the missionaries persuaded
Indians that in very early times the Gospel had been taugh
America, and they sought traces of it in the Aztec rites. T
for the Indian it was not a dogma superseding a dogma, but
ceremonial taking the place of another. The Church festiv
processions, dances, and other customs were accepted as a v
fertile source of amusement.[39]

Another method of facilitating the spread of Christianity w
for the priests to procure adoption into the tribes among whi
they desired to work. Thus the Recollect Father Joseph [40] relat
that he made a present to the Indians of what few knives a
other trinkets he possessed, and in return they adopted him, l
which he was declared a citizen and child of the country and giv
in trust to one of the leading men of the tribe. Thereupon
became a relative of the tribal members, a cousin, brother, so
uncle, or nephew of the individual, according to the age group
which the person belonged.

> Such is the holy artifice used by the missionaries who go to winter wi
> savage nations. They seek the most esteemed chief and the best inclin
> to the French. This Indian begets him (as the people say) amid a fe
> made expressly. This chief adopts him as a son or brother, according
> the age and rank of the person, so that all the nation considers him
> actually a native of their country and a relative of their chief, entering
> this ceremony into an alliance with the whole family.[41]

In considering the depth of religious feeling among the co
verts it must be borne in mind that the mental outfit of the sava
is such that the abstract doctrines of Christianity are far beyo
his comprehension. His savage mode of life left him neither ti
nor inclination for the development of such abstractions. He
it is certain that a religion representing an adaptation to a hig
form of culture can have but a very slight influence on the life
an aboriginal race which is still in the primitive state, or throu
the adoption of some of the arts of civilisation has suddenly b

[38] E. W. Nelson, *The Eskimo about Bering Strait*, in Eighteenth Annual Rep Bureau of American Ethnology, Pt. I. (1896–7), p. 422.

[39] A. de Humboldt, *Nouvelle-Espagne*, I., pp. 410–11.

[40] Joseph de la Roche Daillon.

[41] Fr. Christian Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith in New Fr* ., pp. 131–2. See also p. 265.

THE GREATER WHITETHROAT

THIS bird is one of the commonest of our summer migrants. My earliest notice is on March 29, but I have only twice seen one in March. I have more than once seen it late in October The third week in April is the time for it to arrive in numbers. The majority have left before mid-September. For the first few days after arrival it is silent ; then, if the weather is mild or warm, its song will be heard everywhere Moreover, it has a curious flight which very quickly attracts attention This flight is more or less in the shape of an inverted V. It flies in very jerky motion up one arm of the Λ, as up steps of a ladder, and then drops down the other arm in little jerks . it also utters its song during the flight. In size and shape it is rather like the lesser whitethroat, but a field naturalist has no difficulty in distinguishing which bird he sees. The lesser whitethroat is far less likely to show itself in the open than the greater , also the song is different ; it also chooses a different situation for the nest, which is very unlike that of the greater whitethroat, a remark which also applies to the eggs. Both birds use the sam food for themselves and their young

The greater whitethroat sometimes, in a very favourab season, starts nesting in April, but it is rarely that eggs are four in that month. The end of the first week in May is usually tim enough to start looking for eggs. My own opinion is that t male starts building the nest , often two or three nests are begu and the female makes a choice and then helps to finish the n selected. (The cock usually sings a little every time he is on t way to the nest with material, and I find a large number of ne by hearing this song as I am walking along the fences) I ha seen the real nest and two ' mock ' nests within a space of f yards along the side of a ditch. The favourite site is in a sn bush growing up in a bunch of nettles, whence the bird is of called the nettle-creeper. Occasionally the nest is actually coarse herbage, unsupported by bush or stick. Sometimes i built in a fence, and I have seen one in a fence too high for to reach from the ground. The height of the nest may there vary from a few inches to seven or eight feet from the gro

he materials are usually parts of nettle stems or coarse dead and ry grass, lined with a few hairs, black horsehair being preferred. ometimes a 'decorated' nest is built. In this case the materials re the same, but in addition seed-pods are added: most of these re the seeds of one of the elms; some of these pods burst and the uffy material that surrounds the seed comes out. A nest with number of these burst pods, looking at a short distance like little ufts of wool among the material, is a very pretty sight. These ecorated nests are not often used, even if completed, lining and ll, but an ordinary nest is made quite near the other. This ear I was greatly interested to find a very fine decorated nest onstructed in a reed bed, and only a few feet away another qually fine nest containing three eggs These nests both had the uff from willows in them, as well as unburst seed-pods of other trees They must have been the work of the same pair of birds, and the nests were so very much alike in every way, sites and all, that it is a puzzle to know the deciding factor in the choice

The eggs vary very much The ground colour ranges from white, tinged with yellow, to a very distinct yellow The spots vary from pale yellow-brown to deep greenish-black, and, in my opinion, usually have a greenish tinge They are often in a distinct zone at the large end, and the egg is lightly spotted elsewhere sometimes the spots are more evenly distributed, but perhaps lie rather more thickly on the large end Occasionally the spots are so thickly and evenly distributed as almost to block out the ground colour, as in the eggs of the sedge-warbler. In fact I have once or twice found eggs so like a pale type of sedge-warbler's eggs that I have had to revisit the nest to identify the bird, although the sedge-warbler's nest is quite unlike that of the whitethroat. Other eggs sometimes are very like certain types of garden-warbler in one case I visted the nest several times before I could get a glimpse of a very shy bird This was a particularly interesting case, as all the eggs were infertile, and this happens often when a set of eggs is very far indeed from a normal type. I have found several sets of greater whitethroat's eggs in which all the eggs proved to be infertile In one case all the eggs were porous and the contents had dried up into hard solids which lay against the shells.

The most common number of eggs is five · four is fairly common, and six by no means rare Once only have I seen seven. Some seasons six is common; in 1922 I found several nests with six. In 1926 the first nest I found eventually had six eggs, and I must have seen at least thirty nests with full sets before I saw another six The bird is sometimes double-brooded, but oftener by far single-brooded. The second layings—and by this I mean that the bird has raised a brood and not been robbed—usually

only contain three or four eggs, but five is not rare. The interval between the first brood leaving and the beginning of the second laying is very short, being often under a week. It would be interesting to know whether the cock builds the second nest for the hen to complete and use and then takes over the care of the first brood as long as they need it ; probably, as they mature so quickly, they can fend for themselves when they have left the nest a week.

The incubation period is approximately twelve days, but there is a range of nearly twenty-four hours on either side ; incubation does not begin until the last egg is laid. The male—sometimes, at any rate—takes a share in the incubation.

The young when hatched have no down : the mouth is yellow, becoming pink towards the back ; the flanges are pale yellow. The tongue has two dark marks on the spurs and two dark pink spots towards the tip. The young birds are of course blind, and the eyes do not begin to open until the fifth day By this time many of the quills are through, and the birds are ready to leave the nest any day after they are eleven days old, if suitable food is easy to get, they may leave the nest on the eleventh day, but I have known them still to be in the nest on the fourteenth day.

Both parents help in feeding the young, and both will brood over them The food brought chiefly consists of small smooth-skinned caterpillars ; but there is considerable variety in the way of small moths, spiders, crane and other flies, and occasionally there are small worms and wireworms One of the most interesting points in watching nests from a ' hide,' four feet away, is the variety of food brought Some of the items are so unexpected In a nest that I watched in July 1926 there were only three young (a second brood), and meals averaged twenty to the hour—that is each bird got a meal about once in nine minutes This seem rather a long time between meals, but the weather often made i necessary for the birds to brood when they should have bee getting food. These second broods seem to hang about th parents after leaving the nest longer than the first broods

Although the whitethroat is first and foremost an insectivoro bird it will turn to fruit quite readily. I have watched it eati raspberries, currants, peas and cherries I have heard this bi called the cherry-picker I have watched garden-warblers eati big ripe Orleans plums, but I have never seen the whitethr transgress in this way. On one or two occasions I have seen t old bird bring small red berries for the young, but I have ne been able to identify the fruit with any certainty ; they m possibly have been red currants.

During the nestling period the nest is kept most beautifi

ean ; in fact when the young have gone it is very difficult, from ie appearance of the nest, to say whether the nest has been used is just ready for eggs. The shells are removed from the nest carefully that at best only microscopic remains are left. The ing of the young is swallowed for the first three or four days ; ter that it is carried away and dropped. The young are not ooded at night after they are fairly well fledged, but the old irds, particularly the hen, brood or shelter them from inclement eather, such as heavy rain or hot sun, during the day. Also ie hen broods for an hour or so before leaving them for the night. he young are unable to digest the skins of caterpillars and some f the other food brought. This indigestible matter is thrown up i the form of pellets, which are invariably swallowed by the arent birds, who take them from the gapes of the young. I ave therefore never had a chance of examining such pellets, as have never seen one thrown up into the nest.

Once the moulting has started there seems to be no second ong period This moult takes place for the most part during ugust During this month the birds are to be seen very often n the grain fields procuring food from insects on the weeds at the ottom of the grain While the grain is being cut they flit to the iedge, when the machine disturbs them, with a curious jerky light, after the machine has gone by, back they come to the grain again with the same flight Many a time have I seen the light movement among the stalks of corn, caused by the bird hanging its position, deceive a spectator into thinking a rabbit was present, and have laughed at the look of disgust on his face when the whitethroat showed up

How will this bird fare now the little owl is getting so plentiful ? I fear that it will decrease in numbers, for I now see several nests emptied of young birds each year. I have many times seen shrikes take young whitethroats, and it often figures on the bill of fare of the sparrowhawk. The whitethroat is said to be one of the commoner victims of the cuckoo. My experiences in this direction are interesting, and tend to show that it is more of a chance victim—that is, the cuckoo utilises the whitethroat of necessity, because it cannot find a nest of the species it is in the habit of victimising, and the whitethroat is the first nest the cuckoo can find. The first cuckoo egg I ever found was in a whitethroat's nest, but I did not find another whitethroat victimised for more than twenty years. Then, with a friend, I found two cases only a few yards apart. One cuckoo egg was alone, deserted by the whitethroat, I feel sure. The second was with three whitethroat eggs and hatched, but the young one perished later, from what I am ignorant, but I suspect desertion again. This, I fancy, was the only genuine whitethroat cuckoo I have

ever had experience of, for both the cuckoo eggs were very obviously from the same bird. In this case there were some very interesting points that developed later. Short as the cuckoo's incubation period is, that of the whitethroat is shorter. In this particular nest the young whitethroats got nearly two days' start in life, and the young cuckoo ran a very great risk of being smothered. However, it survived, but was unable to eject the young whitethroats until they were about six days old, and they were then very quilly indeed. A day or two later the cuckoo was dead in the nest, and I fancy that the whitethroats had deserted it

On one occasion I found a cuckoo egg in a half-built whitethroat's nest, and the whitethroats, of course, did not proceed any further with building operations at that nest. On another occasion I found a nest containing three whitethroat eggs and a cuckoo egg: this nest was obviously stale and may have been a case of desertion; however, it was an unusually open nest, so it is possible that the bird had been scared or captured by an enemy, although there was no sign of the latter possibility anywhere near the nest. Only once have I seen a cuckoo reared from the egg by a whitethroat, and prolonged and repeated searches in the neighbourhood during that summer and the next did not reveal another: I conclude, therefore, that that case was exceptional That particular young cuckoo was about the finest I have ever seen.

J. H. OWEN

THE INVESTIGATION OF CANCER

II

As a result of this new course, cancer research passed out of the fog of inconclusive arguments and ill-founded speculations into the clear light of an experimental science. Every statement, every hypothesis, every claim to a cure or treatment, could now be tested. Most of them were found wanting and were thrown overboard. And the magnitude and uniqueness of the problem was only now being realised.[1]

Cancer cuts clean across our general conceptions of disease. Generally speaking, there are two groups of disease. There are those that are directly due to germs, such as tuberculosis, measles, diphtheria, typhoid fever. In these the germ is the direct and the specific cause of the disease. The disease arises in man when the germ is introduced into the healthy organism either by contact with an infected person, as in measles, or by the ingestion of infected material, as in typhoid fever, or when the specific organism enters through a wound, as in a septic abscess. Many of these diseases can be transmitted to susceptible animals by the experimental introduction of the specific organism or of infected material. Such experimental transmission to animals reproduces the natural origin of the disease in man. The second group of diseases is that to which such conditions as heart disease, Bright's disease of the

[1] At present a number of independent centres for the investigation of cancer exist in this country. In London there are the Imperial Cancer Research Fund, the Middlesex Hospital and the Cancer Hospital; in the provinces the University of Liverpool, the Christie Hospital in Manchester, the Cancer Hospital in Glasgow, and quite recently the University of Leeds have established cancer research centres. All these are independent institutions established by private endowments. Similar institutions exist now in almost all civilised countries, and mankind has reason to be grateful to those without whose far-sighted generosity the work would have been impossible. Until recently the Government had taken no active part in the work. But a few years ago the Medical Research Council established a separate department for cancer research, and the Ministry of Health has set up a number of committees to consider certain aspects of cancer. The British Empire Cancer Campaign is an organisation recently formed for the collection of funds, with which it supports the investigations of individual workers working in hospitals or other institutions.

kidney, and diabetes belong, and is due to a change or damage in a definite organ. They arise *de novo* in each individual; they cannot be transmitted from man to man, or from man to animals, or from animal to animal. They are not infectious or contagious, and, although bacteria may be concerned in producing in one particular organ the damage which leads to the disease, their action is not specific. In fact, in the majority of such diseases we do not know how they arise, nor can we produce experimentally the disease as it occurs in man. The experimental investigation of cancer showed that this disease does not fall into either of these two groups. It is not infectious or contagious, but arises *de novo* in each individual, and, although the disease affects the whole vertebrate kingdom, it cannot be transmitted from man to animals, or from an animal of one species to one of another It can only be transmitted experimentally under exceptionally suitable conditions from an animal of one species to another of the same species. But for cancer the experimental transmission does not reproduce the origin of the disease in each individual What happens when a few cancer cells from the growth of an individual animal A are introduced into another healthy animal B of the same species is that these cancer cells continue to grow out of their own resources. They remain the cells of the individual A growing in the individual B They do not infect the cells of the individual B and transform them into cancer cells When they are removed by operation after they have grown in B sufficiently long to produce a large tumour, the animal B remains perfectly healthy and does not have a recurrence of the disease. It is the certainty with which this fact has been established by experiment that makes it possible to-day to say that cancer in its early stages is a curable disease.

The process of transmission is thus one of grafting, and very much like the grafting of a part of one plant to another By using this method it became possible to study the mode of action of therapeutic measures such as radium and X-rays It could be shown that variations in diet did not profoundly affect the growth of cancer, although the contrary had been and is still being asserted. It was found that an animal could be made resistant against transplantation, so that the transplanted cancer cell would not grow in such animal, and this phenomenon has bee and is still being studied in the hope that it may be capable c therapeutic application. Another result of the experiment method for which the public has reason to be grateful is that put an end to quackery in cancer Cancer has always been tl happy hunting ground of the quack. A disease that takes sever years to run its course, where the fatal issue is sometimes delay by temporary remissions occurring spontaneously, where diagno

is uncertain without operation and microscopic examination, where the conscientious medical attendant must warn his patient or his friends against the danger which threatens him and thus commit himself to an unfavourable prognosis, offers golden opportunities to the uncritical enthusiast and the unscrupulous quack. The public has curious notions about the rules and regulations which govern the conduct of medical men, and an equally curious liking for the individual who refuses to be bound by them. As far as I can judge (not being in practice), these rules and regulations have as their main object the protection of the public. A medical man who claims to have discovered a successful treatment for cancer or any other disease must disclose the evidence on which this claim is based. Otherwise it would be impossible to test his claim In the past a treatment on cancer could only be tested on human patients, and several years had to elapse before a judgment could be formed. With the experimental material which now became available, it was possible to conduct an investigation more conclusively and in a shorter time.

As has been stated, the experimental transmission does not throw light on the origin of the disease The next task was therefore to find out how the disease arises This was accomplished by Professor Johannes Fibiger, of Copenhagen, in an investigation which Dr. A. Leitch has justly described as 'the greatest contribution to experimental medicine in this generation'

The discovery began with the accidental observation in three rats of cancer of the stomach. Microscopic examination of the sections showed within the tumour a peculiar mass, which, after a somewhat laborious investigation, Fibiger identified as a small worm of a characteristic structure The question arose in Fibiger's mind whether the presence of this worm had anything to do with the occurrence of the cancer. He looked for it in other rats, but after examining more than a thousand animals he had found neither worm nor tumour again Then came a search through the literature to see whether the occurrence of such worms had been noticed before A statement was found that the stomach of rats could be infected with such worms by feeding them with the common cockroach (*Periplaneta orientalis*), which was stated to harbour the larval forms of these worms in its muscles Relying on this statement, numerous experiments were carried out; but again neither tumour nor worm could be found

The final success cannot be better given than in Dr. Leitch's account:

When the sustaining hope was almost gone he heard of a large sugar refinery in the town where both rats and cockroaches swarmed. The cockroaches were of a different kind here, they were *Periplaneta americana*,

uncommon in Northern Europe. An examination of the rats revealed many cases of gastric tumours, and in them the long-sought-for worm was found. A false clue, and a stroke of fortune that was bravely deserved, led him to the great discovery. The cockroaches had come in consignments of sugar from the West Indies, in their muscles were the coiled-up larvæ of the worm, and when the cockroaches were eaten by the rat the larvæ were set free and developed in the stomach into the adult worm.

By feeding cockroaches with the ova of the worm and then feeding rats with the bodies of the infected cockroaches Fibiger succeeded in inducing cancer of the stomach in the rats. An American writer in giving an account of this work says, 'the acuteness of observation, the "prepared mind," fertility in method of attack, patience in obtaining data, courage in the face of failure, judgment in drawing conclusions, all contributed to this really great investigation.'

Fibiger recognised that the worm was not the direct specific cause of cancer. It presumably acted as a source of irritation to the cells of the stomach Following this clue, two Japanese investigators, Yamagiwa and Ichikawa, undertook to find out whether cancer can be made to arise in the skin of a normal animal by inducing a process of chronic irritation locally by means of a chemical irritant—namely, tar. If a drop of tar is applied to the skin of a mouse or a rabbit, always at the same spot, two or three times a week for four or more months, that particular part of the skin will become cancerous after a period varying in the mouse from four to eight months. The term 'chronic irritation' is a vague term, but it is deliberately vague There are many forms of chronic irritation which do not lead to cancer On the other hand, chronic irritation leading to cancer can be induced experimentally by many different agents which have nothing obvious in common. There are chemical agents such as tar and shale oil there are physical agents such as radium and X-rays, and there are living agents. certain worms which live as parasites in an animal, and through the irritation they produce in the healthy tissues of that animal, give rise to cancer. In man, also, such agents have been known to produce cancer. It has long been known that in chimney-sweeps cancer of the skin is exceptionally frequent as the result of the irritating action of soot, a similar condition has been known to occur among tar and shale oil workers; mule-spinners' cancer is the result of the irritating action of lubricating oils with which their clothes become saturated; anilin workers develop cancer of the bladder, in Kashmir the wearing of a basket containing hot coals strapped round the waist often produces a chronic burn which may develop into cancer; the worm *Trichina spiralis* may infect man as the result of eating smoked but uncooked pork infected with this worm

which then wanders into the muscles of the body and may give rise there to cancer.

Now, as already stated, these very different conditions have nothing obvious in common except that they produce at one particular spot a continued damage to the healthy cells. If the damage is too slight, no cancer arises; if it is too severe, again no cancer arises, because the damaged cells simply die off. One cannot, therefore, say that chronic irritation is the direct *cause* of cancer. It is more correct to say that it is a condition which *induces* cancer. This induction of cancer is a slow process; in the mouse it takes from four to eight months, and, since the normal span of life of a mouse is about three years, the period of induction occupies from a ninth to a fourth of its normal span of life. In man it takes from ten to twenty-five years as a rule, a period which is much longer, but is the same in proportion to the longer human span of life. This explains why cancer is mainly a disease of middle and of old age. Life is one chronic irritation after another. It is only if one of the numerous irritations to which we have to submit has been allowed to act locally for a period of many years that cancer may develop at that site.

But fortunately different individuals do not respond with equal readiness to chronic irritation by developing cancer. The experimental investigation of the process has shown that animals kept under identical conditions and subjected to tar painting vary greatly in the readiness with which they develop cancer. In some individuals the disease develops much sooner than in others, and there are always a number of animals in which it does not arise at all. This is a very important and hopeful fact. For it indicates that there are systemic factors which determine the local changes leading to the development of cancer. The study of these factors may make it possible to influence the organism in such a way as to make it less susceptible to the development of cancer. Another important result having a similar significance is the observation made by Dr. J. A. Murray that an animal in which cancer has first been induced by tar painting and then removed by operation has become much less susceptible to the second induction of cancer by further tar painting. *A priori* one would have expected the opposite result. The fact that the disease arises in an individual picks out the individual as susceptible to cancer. Removal of the disease by operation would therefore leave the cured individual susceptible to the danger of developing the disease a second time, but fortunately that is not so.

Since the disease can now be induced at will experimentally, it is possible to follow the changes which occur in a normal tissue when it becomes cancerous. When chronic irritation is applied to

sed to a higher plane. The Indians wanted a practical religion. ius the Jesuits found that it was much easier to make converts iong the Hurons than to keep them. As long as the Indians ing to the idea that baptism was a safeguard against pestilence d misfortune the new faith was popular, but when the fallacy this notion was made apparent their zeal cooled. The native is also troubled with various doubts concerning the substantial vantages of his new profession, such as the probable want of bacco in Heaven [42] and the assurances of his pagan neighbours at he is already lost. If it were winter time, the poor convert's ends assured him that in the spring, if he were fortunate enough live that long, all his hair would fall out, or that he need no iger count upon going hunting, trading, or to war, except with certainty of bad luck following him everywhere. The women e inspired with the fear that they could no longer bear children. ven was not always an alluring reward for the matter-of-fact ves.

>me say they do not see how, as they have so weak legs, they can so long a journey and reach Heaven. Others assert that they are ly afraid, and dread lest they fall from so great a height, not being o understand how they can remain there long without falling.[43]

he natives of Mexico to-day profess full faith in Christianity, nderstand it only in form. They continue to perform rituals e preservation of their crops from drought and wild animals; exorcise demons during illness and find their sweetest revenge e use of charms and philters. Images of the saints in an churches are worshipped with much the same devotion ls, and religious festivals are frequently distinguished by dances and exotic ceremonies on the part of the Indians. ms that the approximation of many of the special Mexican to the Aztec gods has had much to do with the veneration led these saints in Mexican religion. In fact, many of the tant shrines of the Catholic Church are in spots formerly to the Aztec gods, and that of the patron saint of Mexico, rgin of Guadalupe, is said to have once been a holy place ted to an Aztec goddess.

Church has always been lenient with native superstitions, and each the Church of St. Anthony the Abbot, in the heart of one of the sections of Mexico city, a priest blesses a motley crowd of burros ses, cows and goats, pet dogs, cats and parrots, while in some of the churches the priests go so far as to bless sackfuls of ants, worms, that these pests, having become 'Christian,' may mix with their

Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, I., pp. 127–8.
Jeune's Relation, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, XVII., pp. 127.

the skin certain definite changes take place, which will regress spontaneously if the process of chronic irritation is applied only for a short period. Then no cancer develops and the skin returns to its usual condition. But if chronic irritation lasts for a longer time the disease appears after a varying period. Something happens at a certain moment that turns a normal cell of the skin into a cancer cell. What is this something?

There have always been in the past two schools of thought: one school held that cancer was the result of an extrinsic agent—a germ—which produces cancer as its specific disease as the diphtheria bacillus causes diphtheria, or the bacillus of tuberculosis causes consumption. The experimental evidence which has accumulated has made it quite clear that such a view is untenable. The second school of thought looked to an intrinsic factor for an explanation. As stated at the outset, the cells of the healthy body are individual living units, but their activities are controlled in such a way by inhibitions and stimulations that the activity of the individual cells appears directed toward the well-being of the organism as a whole. How this is brought about in the normal organism is as yet an unsolved problem of physiology, but its solution must clearly be found in the internal mechanism of the cell. Since a cancer cell has freed itself from these controlling inhibitions and stimulations, the only alternative explanation which seemed to offer itself was that cancer was due to some change in the internal mechanism of the cell. The most careful search for any alteration in the finer structure of the cancer cell has, however, failed to show any consistent alteration The only evidence in support of such a view has been brought by the recent work of Professor Warburg, of Berlin, who has shown that the cancer cell can live in the absence of oxygen A cell is in some respects like an engine. It requires fuel to keep it going. The main fuel is sugar, which is burnt by the normal cell and transformed into carbonic acid and water The cells of higher animals obtain their energy by such a chemical process of combustion. But there are lower forms of life, such as yeast cells, which can live either in the presence of oxygen, when they burn sugar, or in the absence of oxygen, when they ferment sugar—a process which does not require oxygen. Now Warburg found that the cancer cell can, like a yeast cell, live in the absence of oxygen and ferment sugar instead of burning it. This explains why cancer cells can live under the very unfavourable conditions, such as an inefficient blood supply, under which they are often found But it does not yet satisfactorily explain why they grow.

The recent work of Gye offers a very different explanation It is an ingenious compromise between the intrinsic and the extrinsic theory. Gye holds that in the causation of cancer there is con-

cerned an extremely minute germ—so minute that it passes through the pores of a filter which holds back all visible germs, and that it can only be seen with the highest power of a microscope specially constructed by Mr. Barnard for the purpose of studying these very minute 'filterable viruses,' as they are called. We know that such diseases as small-pox, foot-and-mouth disease, and the mosaic disease of plants are due to different forms of such filterable viruses. According to Gye, the virus of cancer by itself is innocuous and unable to produce cancer. It requires an accessory factor by which it is enabled to enter into a normal cell and transform it into a cancer cell. By the process of chronic irritation the cell is stimulated to produce this accessory factor, and thus becomes susceptible to the attack of the virus of cancer. This conception therefore involves two causal factors: an extrinsic one (the virus of cancer) and an intrinsic one (the special activity of the cell). Gye's conception is based upon experimental evidence which has been subjected to critical examination by a great many different workers. Some have confirmed part of his observations, while others have obtained negative results The subject is therefore *sub judice* But Gye's conception has the great merit that it is the first theory of the disease which explains all the essential features of cancer, and which correlates a number of observations which have hitherto seemed contradictory. All previous theories of cancer have failed in that respect, and it is significant that of all the criticisms to which Gye's work has been subjected not one has indicated where the explanation is theoretically inadequate.

If this account has succeeded in conveying an idea of the complexity of the condition which is comprised under the term 'cancer,' it is obvious that the fight against cancer involves a good deal more than the search for a 'cure' The Shavian doctor with his slogan 'Advice and medicine sixpence, cure guaranteed,' knew what the public wanted But even Mr. Shaw did not present him as believing in his 'cures' There is no disease where a cure can be guaranteed In every case the efficacy of the treatment depends upon the stage of the disease at which it is applied Even such an ideal, logical 'cure' as diphtheria antitoxin, which consists in the reinforcement of the normal defence of the body against the disease, is certain only when it is applied in the early stages of the infection. The trend of modern medicine is first towards prevention and then towards an early recognition of disease. In cancer one problem which is always with us is the early diagnosis of the disease, since this is more difficult in cancer than in any other disease Many attempts have been made to devise a diagnostic test, but none of them has so far been found sufficiently reliable. Some of them have been purely

empirical; others have been based on a conception of the disease of doubtful validity. It is reasonable to expect that a fuller knowledge will lead to the discovery of such a test.

Twenty-five years ago the statement that cancer may be a preventable disease would not have been considered as a reasonable proposition. To-day, since we know that certain forms of chronic irritation lead to cancer, it is a promising line of inquiry to find out whether neoplastic disease of this or that site is the result of some specific form of chronic irritation. By eliminating it, it would then be possible to prevent cancer of that particular site. So far this has been done in the so-called 'occupational cancer,' such as shale oil cancer or mule-spinners' cancer, where the sources of the chronic irritation are obvious. Reference has already been made to the evidence of the existence of a definite susceptibility to cancer, which presupposes the existence of a definite resistance to cancer in those individuals who do not develop the disease. The study of the factors determining resistance and susceptibility opens up another line of attack. Investigations are on foot for the production of drugs or sera which, while able to destroy cancer cells, are not toxic to the normal cells of the body.

The extraordinary effect of X-rays and radium on living cells, both normal and cancerous, is as yet ill understood. A study of this action is likely to extend the usefulness of these powerful agents in cancer. The recent death of Dr. T. S P. Strangeways, who had made this line of inquiry his special study, and who after many years of preliminary studies had developed a special technique for this investigation, is a terrible loss to radiology A few weeks before his death he said in the course of a discussion with a colleague, 'One is just beginning to see daylight.' His death is a reminder that progress in cancer research is dependent on the efforts of individuals who do not look for sensational discoveries but are content 'to do their bit' without adequate reward, in the sustained conviction of a successful issue which they themselves may not live to see.

W. CRAMER.

THE PROBLEM OF THE GLOBULAR CLUSTERS

SOME thirteen years ago Professor Eddington, discussing the size and the structure of the universe of stars, confirmed the then generally accepted conclusion that our sun is roughly central in the visible universe, that the distance of the Milky Way is of the order of 3000 or 4000 of those units of astronomical distance (the parsec), which we need not for the moment stop to define; and that a certain distance of 10,000 parsecs was the largest distance he had occasion to mention

About six years later it was stoutly maintained by Dr Shapley, then of Mount Wilson, that our sun and all the stars that we had been accustomed to think of as forming the visible universe, including within that term all the stars of the Milky Way star-clouds, are but a subordinate system far away from the centre of the greater universe defined by the globular clusters of stars—a universe whose diameter is of the order of 150,000 parsecs, and whose centre is some 70,000 parsecs from us, or seven times the distance which Eddington had referred to as the greatest he need mention only six years before In those six years the size of the universe was increased some ten times, and we were removed from its centre to its outer borders.

Yet another few years, and we are back again more or less in the central regions of a universe at least ten times vaster still. A year or two ago Dr Hubble, also of Mount Wilson, showed by methods that are equally valid that the largest and brightest of the spiral nebulæ are of the order of 300,000 parsecs away, and the smaller at distances presumably much greater still. Compared with this universe of the spiral nebulæ, that of the globular clusters is a poor little thing, and whether we are near its centre or upon its outer edge matters little to our conception of what small pride of place remains to us in a system that is multiplied by ten in scale or by 1000 in volume every five years or so.[1]

[1] Dr Hubble has now sprung upon us a new surprise. In a recent *Astrophysical Journal* he takes the most prodigious leap that has ever startled the pedestrian astronomer. The faintest nebulæ within reach of the 100-inch mirror are of the eighteenth magnitude, and their distance is 43,000,000 parsecs. There are 2,000,000 nebulæ, more or less, at an average distant apart of about 600,000 parsecs 2,000,000 universes of the order of magnitude of our old universe that

The observations that led to these remarkable extensions of our ideas began about the year 1916; they were all made at the same observatory, the Solar Observatory of the Carnegie Institution on Mount Wilson, near Pasadena, in California. Here the genius of George Ellery Hale has constructed the most powerful equipment that has ever been turned on the problem of universe structure. With a talent for discovering younger talent to work with him, and a generous disposition to allow them all freedom in work and publication, he has started so prodigious an activity there that there has been nothing like it before in any field of scientific inquiry. Other observatories may plug away and do the essential grind on well-laid lines; but the exciting things are done at Mount Wilson. That observatory alone is responsible for extending the scale of the known universe by at least a hundred times in the ten years 1914 to 1924, and by another forty times since last Christmas. For a brief period about 1921 the Mount Wilson results for the globular clusters made the material for a fine stimulating controversy with the Lick Observatory on Mount Hamilton touching the question of island universes Then the advance swept over them, and in the excitement of the chase after spiral nebulæ the peculiar significance of these clusters has been a little disregarded.

The globular clusters of stars have the unique peculiarit that, with the enormous advance of telescopic power, no mor are ever discovered. Somewhere about ninety were known to th Herschels, father and son, the best part of a century ago One c two of those turned out to be spirals and are rejected from th list of clusters; perhaps half a dozen in all have been added to th list by the combined efforts of all the astronomers since, with the advantages of bigger telescopes and the penetrating sense the photographic plate. A dozen faint satellites, hundreds minor planets, hundreds of thousands of nebulæ, millions of sta have been added to the known content of the universe, but t population of globular clusters remains about ninety—a fact remarkable that it is strange how little attention it has receiv

Moreover, this small population has a very curious distri tion: it is almost confined to one half of the sky—a fact wh I was, so far as I know, the first to remark, about 1911, in course of a study on universe distributions by plotting the proj tion of the sphere on a circumscribed cube. Star maps so c structed have the great advantage that great circles are represented by straight lines. When the ninety globular clus were laid down on this projection it was immediately clear th

included the Milky Way and all the millions of stars included within its r of about 3000 parsecs that seemed so mighty a structure but thirteen years We shall want a little quiet time for reflection upon this.

great circle would very nearly include them all. In other words, they lay in one hemisphere of the sky, with its pole in the Milky Way. It is odd that no one had ever noticed it before in all the studies that had been made of distributions—yet perhaps not so odd when one remembers that statistically minded astronomers have always been obsessed with the idea that the fundamental plane in the universe is the galaxy, the mid-line of the Milky Way. The stars congregate to it independently of the star clouds that are concentrated on it. The loose clusters of stars and the peculiar kind of star called by the names of Wolf and Rayet, the stellar gaseous nebulæ, and less strongly the extended, all these are concentrated more or less decidedly on the plane of the Milky Way, and, though it has often enough been disproved, the greater part of astronomers would still maintain that the spiral nebulæ are clustered about the poles of the galaxy, and therefore by an inverted kind of obedience follow the general law of distribution and association. So strongly was this galactic idea entrenched that a distribution, so to speak, at right angles to it was reckoned, by anyone who noticed it at all, no more than disobedient to the general habit It must have been so, or someone before 1911 would have remarked that the globular clusters occupied almost precisely one half of the sky and avoided the other half

Now about these globular clusters of stars The name was invented by William Herschel to describe those clusters so strongly condensed towards their centres that the individual stars can be hardly distinguished in any ordinary telescope, or in any but the very finest photographs made with the most powerful instruments Unlike the Pleiades or other loose clusters, they give the impression of a great sameness in the magnitudes of the component stars, of a determined clustering together towards the middle, like bees swarming, of a general symmetry and roundness of figure, and of a fairly definable outer limit which seems, however, to be illusory Hard to describe, they are yet very easy to recognise when the first has been seen, and so there are very few doubtful members on the outskirts of the class awaiting recognition With globular clusters we know just where we are—for their numbers There is no danger that a law based upon a present census may be overwhelmed in a flood of new discoveries. Less than 100 in all they have been for nearly a century, and less than 100 they seem likely to remain

For a long time they had no special known peculiarities beyond their special kind of clustering. Then some thirty years ago it was found that they contained—some of them in great numbers—a peculiar kind of variable star, with a very rapid rise to maximum, a less steep descent, and an extraordinarily short period of

variation—of half a day or thereabouts. To have a star brightening up a magnitude or more—say, getting very suddenly three times as bright every few hours with the regularity of an automatic gas buoy—is one of those unbelievable things with which modern astronomy is richly strewn. These things cease after a while to worry, not because any satisfactory explanation has been found for them, but because there are so many equally unbelievable things to be explained that the faculty for wondering or worrying gets lost.

So long as we had no idea how far the globular clusters are away from us, and therefore no idea of their real size or of their relative importance in the universe, it caused no one any anxiety that their arrangement in the universe was so lopsided, for no one supposed that they made any considerable part of the whole visible universe, or could have any bearing on the question whether our sun's, and with it our own, place in the universe is central or suburban It might have occurred to us sooner than it did that the globular clusters and their distribution had in them the elements of a surprise But attention was drawn away to the rapidly increasing and more sensational family of the spiral nebulæ Whether they were external universes of stars like our own, or possibly even much larger, became an active subject of controversy. The theory of island universes was hotly disputed in the absence of any real knowledge of the essential facts There were spirals by the hundred, and lesser objects which might very well be more distant spirals by the hundred thousand. The astronomer with a taste for the grandiose had here so ample a field for unverifiable conjecture that it was small wonder the little family of less than 100 got rather overlooked until Dr Shapley, at Mount Wilson, began to publish that remarkable series of papers about 1916 We then became conscious that the globular clusters had suddenly taken upon themselves a new *rôle* in the scheme of creation. What we had looked upon as small stars were the outstanding giants in a crowd.

It all came about through a long and intricate train of argument started elsewhere: a chain with links that looked weak enough, but proved surprisingly tough when they were tested, and have so far stood every strain. That chain has now dragged us to incredible distances without breaking. It has extended the universe ten times, and again ten times, and, unless there should prove to be some useful but heretofore unsuspected argument against the identity of the smaller white nebulæ with the evident spirals, it is clear that we must accept Dr. Hubbles' invitation to travel forty times as far again before we come to the most distant of these island universes.

The game began, not at Mount Wilson, but at Harvard, when

Miss Leavitt discovered a relation between the period and the magnitude at maximum for the variable stars in the smaller of the two Clouds of Magellan, from which Hertzsprung at Potsdam—or perhaps still at Copenhagen—showed by an ingenious argument that these stars were actually seven magnitudes brighter than the sun, and that the cloud in which they reside is 10,000 parsecs distant from us.

And here we must pause for a moment to consider the units in which we are talking The distance of the earth from the sun is a convenient unit of measure when we are dealing with the solar system, but inconveniently small for stellar distances, since the nearest star that we know is about 270,000 of these units away. When we are measuring these distances geometrically we take the distance of the earth from the sun as a base-line—or rather as half the maximum possible base—and find what angle a line of this length, viewed squarely at right angles, would subtend at the distance of the star If that angle—the parallax—of the star were so much as a second of arc, the distance would of course be 206,265 of those units, since that is the number of seconds of arc in the unit of circular measure This distance of roughly 200,000 times the old unit, or the distance of a star whose parallax is one second, was nicknamed by Professor Turner the parsec—an inelegant but convenient portmanteau word which has to a great extent superseded the popular ' light year,' the distance that light, travelling at the rate of 186,000 miles or 300,000 kilometres per second, will travel in a year One parsec equals three and a quarter light years

Now for the unit of magnitude, which is a little more complicated The ancients divided the stars that they could see into six orders of brightness, and when in our own times the relation of these orders one to another was measured by accurate physical laboratory methods it was found that the value of one step was the ratio 2½ a star of the third magnitude by the common estimate was two and a half times as bright as one of the fourth Then, because in the formulæ appropriate to the matter the logarithm of the brightness ratio was always coming in, and it happens that the logarithm of 2 512 is the simple number 0 4, the ratio 2 512 instead of 2½ was by general consent adopted as the light ratio per magnitude—a rather trivial reason in theory, but a very sensible one in practice It follows that a difference of five magnitudes corresponds to a ratio of 100 to 1 in light.

Until we know the relative distances of the stars we cannot, of course, determine their real differences of luminosity from their apparent magnitudes ; but as soon as we begin to have some knowledge of the real distances of the stars from the sun we can say what the brightness of the sun is in comparison with them,

and we can define the absolute magnitude of a star as the magn tude it would appear to have if it were brought to the standar distance of ten parsecs. Why 10 was chosen instead of 1, afte some divergence of practice, is one of those little mysteries tha are difficult to unravel. But it does not really matter so long as people are agreed, as they now are. It is generally reckonec that the absolute magnitude of the sun shall be taken as 5. A star 100 times brighter has absolute magnitude zero, while for stars brighter still one has to run into negative quantities. For some reason or other it seems that there is an upper limit to the absolute magnitudes of stars, of about minus 3.

This is the straightforward way of approaching the matter If you know the apparent magnitude of a star, and can measure its distance, you deduce the absolute magnitude. But, alternatively, if by some means you can know independently the absolute magnitude, and compare it with the apparent, then you have a method of determining the distance which is just as efficacious at the most extreme distances as it is at the lesser. And this is the foundation of the new method that has led in the last few years to such surprising results.

There is a special class of variable stars, not very common in the neighbourhood of the sun, by which we mean of the stars in general within the Milky Way, which is known as the cepheid variables, because the most conspicuous of the class is the star lettered Delta in the constellation Cepheus By long processes of rather abstruse reasoning, which we can hardly hope to reproduce here, it has been gradually established that these stars are the most gigantic of the giants, with absolute magnitudes running to minus 3 or even 4 There is a fairly close relation between the period and the absolute magnitude, so that if the period is observed the absolute magnitude and thence by comparison with the apparent magnitude the distance can be determined. Starting from the few nearer and tacking on the variables in the lesser Magellanic Cloud, of which we have already spoken, thence to the variables in the globular cluster Omega Centauri, and so to the others, a curve has been established which gives the relation between the absolute magnitude and the period over a fairly wide range, so that whenever the period of a newly discovered cepheid variable is known its distance is readily deduced. By this method the distances of some seven or eight globular clusters have been determined, and they come out of the order of 20,000 parsecs.

In these same clusters there are many stars of the spectral class Type B. It is generally agreed on the evidence of many independent lines of research that the type B stars in the solar neighbourhood are of singularly level absolute magnitude, and

more than 100 times as bright as the sun—giant stars all. If in the above seven or eight clusters the type B stars are compared with the cepheid variables, the same absolute magnitude is derived—or, at any rate, the same order of magnitude. Again, in the neighbourhood of the sun the largest and most luminous stars of all are the giant red stars, of absolute magnitude about minus 2. In those same globular clusters the brightest stars of the whole assemblage are red or yellow ; and if we compare them with the cepheid variables, again we get the right order of magnitude. Although, then, the evidence on any particular line may be thought somewhat hazardous, the various lines of argument support one another in a way which is very striking, if only we can be satisfied of the truth of an underlying hypothesis which we have hitherto implicitly adopted, but which we must now explicitly examine. We have been assuming a general uniformity in Nature—some law which keeps individuals more or less true to type and to scale, however widely they may be separated in space.

It is an assumption, and a large one ; but we are compelled to admit that experience is all in favour of its being true. When we see a man in the distance, we are justified in estimating his distance by his apparent height, for experience shows that it is improbable that he is less than 5 feet or more than 6 feet 3 inches high. There will be exceptions both accidental and systematic—accidental in Europe, where there are individuals outside this range in both directions ; systematic in Africa, where one might make errors of estimation all in one direction in the Congo forest, and all in the other upon the highlands of Ruanda. But these errors at the worst would hardly amount to a systematic miscalculation of 25 per cent. ; there is no risk of meeting people of Lilliput or of Brobdingnag upon the earth. We must take this as an illustration rather than as an argument, for it is open to anyone to retort that, after all, the conditions upon this earth do not differ very widely in its different parts, and there is nothing to show the probable size of man if he had evolved upon another planet, while there is good evidence that, at different stages of the history of our own earth, dinosaurs and such-like had gone a long way to establishing a contrary doctrine, against any uniformity in Nature.

In the stars we are not, however, dealing with living creatures slowly developing from one structure to another, and we should seek illustrations of uniformity rather in such questions as the general similarity of composition revealed by the spectroscope, or similarity in size and mass and luminosity determined by the best direct methods of measurement. The spectroscope seems to come down heavily on the side of uniformity. Those same

[illegible] to leave the afflicted fam[illegible]
[illegible] as they di[illegible] he fou[illegible] for use i[illegible] of San An[illegible] have been be[illegible], the Indians of [illegible] in some of their hea[illegible] the table is set wit[illegible] member of the family and the [illegible] day. They believe the spirit revisits the old h[illegible] Among the Aymaras neither peasant nor p[illegible] will drink a glass of brandy without making a libation of a[illegible] drops to the spirits of the mountain. In many habitations fossil remains of prehistoric animals are set up as household g[illegible] In the Puna district the shepherds fancy that they can commi[illegible] imaginable crimes, except murder, on Good Friday without [illegible] of punishment. This is because God, having died on that [illegible] and remained dead the two following days, knew nothing, w[illegible] He arose, of what had happened in the meantime.[47]

The Pit River Indians of California have adapted themselve[illegible] amazingly well to all the material aspects of civilisation, but on the spiritual side they have not amalgamated a single one of the white man's values. The play of the aleatory element in savage life and its transference to religious belief is aptly shown by a native's explanation of the religion of the Klamath Indians:

> . . . and then Jesus Himself and his wife, her name was Mary, they went travelling over all the world, but their little boy got sick and they had to come back to Lutuan Lake This here Jesus, He was a great doctor; He had lots of power; I guess He was the best gambler in the United States.[48]

Nelson asserts that it was rare to find an Eskimo who, although attending church, really understood and believed the white man's religion, and not one could be found who did not believe implicitly in the power of the shamans and in the religious rites handed down by the elders.[49] The general opinion of the Greenlanders with respect to Christianity and its virtues was expressed in the brief

[44] W. Thompson, *The People of Mexico*, pp. 178–9 Note.—This last is given by Thompson upon the authority of a former Spanish priest, now a Protestant Interview No. 433, Doheny Foundation Files.

[45] C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, I., p. 444.

[46] J. J. von Tschudi, *Travels in Peru*, p. 337.

[47] E. Reclus, *The Earth and its Inhabitants: South America*, I., p. 369.

[48] Jaime de Angulo, 'The Background of the Religious Feeling in a Primitive Tribe,' *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXVIII. (1926), pp. 353–5.

[49] E. W. Nelson, *The Eskimo about Bering Strait*, in Eighteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Pt. I., p. 422

elements that we can handle upon earth are main constituents the most distant stars, while there is not any strong spectroscop evidence that there are in the stars or in the nebulæ any conside able classes of substance that cannot be found upon earth. T tendency has been to run to earth successfully elements th seemed at one time to be absent from it, as helium, which just le than sixty years ago made itself conspicuous to Lockyer in t spectrum of the sun's chromosphere, and now is used to fill airshi

Strangely enough, there does seem to be a great degree uniformity in the substances which make the stars; or, to more precise, there is a very wide distribution throughout t whole universe of the elements from which the earth is forme It is, however, more than probable that there are in the stars, an especially in the younger stars, radioactive substances of ve high density that keep up the supply of the stars' energy l gradually wasting away and degenerating into unexciting commo place bodies, just as uranium degrades into lead—only the f from the high degree of activity of the stellar components mu be a more sensational fall. It does not seem at present th these rather hypothetical bodies reveal themselves in the spectr or perhaps it would be sounder to say that we have not y learned to interpret the revelation There is not, however, an reason to suspect that these primitive massive radioacti elements of the younger stars are distributed any more irregularl than the ordinary elements into which they are gradually tran formed or degraded

Yet we may well admit that it is straining probability t suppose that the same numerical law which connects the perio and the luminosity of a curious class of variable stars within th particular neighbourhood of our sun, that is within the ol sidereal universe of the solar cluster, is necessarily true in thos awfully remote regions to which our observation and argumen have recently been extended On such a matter we will judg according to the make-up of our minds, and much the sam difference of disposition that makes one man a Conservative an his brother a Communist will make one astronomer shake hi head at the fine extended flights of Drs Shapley and Hubbl while another will go all the way with them without a qualm an welcome the revolution that they have made in our conceptio of the universe. The great strength of the modern doctrines o astronomy lies in the absence of any serious contradiction in th conclusions to which they lead, and that is quite the most remark able fact in the present situation It may be rash to extend th period-luminosity law of the cepheid variables so far, or t assume that, because the most giant star of the sun's neighbour hood is not much above minus 2 in absolute magnitude, there

are not giant stars in the Hercules cluster 1000 times as bright. We may find no disposition in our own minds to believe that all globular clusters are more or less of the same size, and to base our ideas of the distances of the farther clusters upon that assumption. But the point of our present argument is that these hazardous principles do not involve us in contradiction of much account, and we may be sure that they will eventually do so if hey are not essentially correct.

Until such contradictions present themselves we may be ontent to believe the following surprising figures for the great Hercules cluster—the familiar object that is visible to the unaided ye as a fuzzy sort of star of the fourth or fifth magnitude. It ontains within a diameter of 350 light years, or about 80 parsecs, t least 35,000 stars as bright as the sun, and some of them 1000 imes as bright These stars are very strongly condensed owards the centre of the cluster, very much more condensed than he stars in the cluster of which our own sun is believed to form a nit The distance of the cluster from us is about 8500 parsecs, nd it is one of the nearest, and by no means the largest The luster No 3 in Messier's Catalogue is just visible to the naked ye in the constellation of the Hunting Dogs about thirteen egrees north-west of the bright star Arcturus Its diameter is bout 470 light years, according to Shapley, a negative made by Mr Ritchey with the 60-inch reflector at Mount Wilson has more han 20,000 star images that can be counted outside the burnt-out entre, where the images are too thick to be distinguished. Within a distance of ten parsecs from the centre there are at least 5,000 stars two magnitudes brighter than the sun. Within a phere of the same size about our sun as centre there are only our or five stars bright enough to compare with the 15,000 of the luster Messier 3

In the old days, before there was any question of measuring he size and the distance and the luminosity of the stars in these obular clusters, one recognised that they were probably crowded, ut supposed in a vague sort of way that the stars were small, erhaps on the analogy of the minor planets in the solar system, here the stuff that might have made one big planet has for some eason that we can hardly conjecture gone to make a few thousand ttle ones Nowadays, with all these theories of radiation about, is not so easy to suppose a close multitude of small stars, and ow that the spectroscope has shown that most of the stars that e can deal with in a globular cluster are giants rather than warfs—and giants are massive as well as bright, since the two ualities go closely together—one has to conclude that in the obular clusters there is very much more mass per unit of space an there is in other parts of the sky. And then we begin to

question the uniformity of Nature, and that leads us to inquire whether it is so certain after all that the laws which we have applied in deducing the distance of these clusters may not be at fault where space is so densely packed with matter; and so we may begin to go round again in a circle of doubt.

It is perhaps a pity that there was not more time to digest the surprising facts of the globular clusters before we were involved in the second extension of the universe, the second multiplication of its scale by 10, that followed from Dr. Hubble's work on the spiral nebulæ. For some years after the great debate between Shapley, of Mount Wilson, and Curtis, of the Lick Observatory, that was held before the National Academy of Sciences on April 26, 1920, there was talk of a dilemma: the former argued that if the clusters were of the dimensions and at the distances which he had determined, the spiral nebulæ could not be island universes, while the latter argued strongly for the island universe theory, and found it in consequence impossible to accept the facts alleged about the globular clusters It had been a great controversy between the two, and not very easy to follow, because one may say without offence that they were both better astronomers than controversialists When Hubble removed Shapley's difficulty by proving on strict Shapley lines that the nearest spiral nebula was a million light years away, we seemed to have fallen into the comfortable conviction that the difficulty had been removed, that both were right in the main, and that any trouble about the globular clusters had been straightened out.

It is time to reconsider this comfortable doctrine The globular clusters are confined to one half of the sky, they are strictly limited in number to about ninety, and no more are ever discovered Are these two simple facts in any way explained by all this recent work? Not the least in the world. They remain as curious and as unexplained as they ever were, and the more one thinks about them the more uneasy becomes the feeling that they must have a profound significance. They are too numerous to be put aside as exceptional objects that do not matter much one way or the other, yet they are not numerous enough to be treated as common objects of the universe that might be expected to fit in with its general laws They cast doubt upon the dogma of general uniformity in Nature, upon which the whole edifice of universe theory is built, and that is why the Problem of the Globular Clusters seems to me to have a significance more profound than is sometimes allowed it.

ARTHUR R. HINKS

'ELMER GANTRY' AND THE CHURCH IN AMERICA

IR H L MENCKEN and Mr. Sinclair Lewis are the twin scourges f American life A book by the author of *Babbitt*, dedicated ıth profound respect to H. L. Mencken, has a claim to be read ıth care by all who study America. With the approval of his omrade, Mr. Sinclair Lewis has now taken the Church for is field of observation. In *Elmer Gantry* he drags into the ght all the shameful things which he claims to have discovered. here are, it is true, glimpses of the more excellent things; ut for the most part the author is like one who turns over a enerable stone and lets the world see the crawling creatures eneath

Wednesday after Wednesday during last summer the ministers Kansas city lunched with Mr Sinclair Lewis, and answered his uestions. Clerical gentlemen are not always at their best in ich encounters; they have been known to show off in the resence of laymen. But there were other sources of information pen to him It is stated in the book that between the 'eighties id the early years of this century—a somewhat indefinite period -there were 5000 convictions in the courts against the clergy id ministers of the United States The figures are of no great alue till they are analysed, but the 5000 must be set up against ver 200,000 ministers in the Protestant churches Among such olice court annals there must be material for a satirist, and the ress will yield its harvest. Mr Sinclair Lewis has taken immense ains with the details of his picture, and, as all the world knows, has a quick eye and a mordant pen

But he is not concerned with the Church as though he were a alm and dispassionate onlooker. He is a moralist who is in a hite heat of wrath against the hypocrisies which he has detected. e takes his whip in hand and lays about him with fury. The ook suffers for this very reason. It sets out to be realistic, but proves to be the work of an idealist, who selects his material the bidding of this one central idea, that American church life large sections of it is corrupt. His purpose colours his selection. would be a serious error to take him as an authoritative judge

of the American Church: it is almost as serious an error to ignore the section which he has set in clear relief.

Elmer Gantry as the curtain rises is discovered eloquently drunk. He is a student in a Baptist college. By various events and plots he is tricked into what is taken to be an experience of conversion; afterwards, stimulated by whisky, he has a call to the ministry. 'A curious smell of peppermint he has about him,' one member of the staff remarked after he had narrated the call. While he is training in his theological seminary he acts as pastor of a village church, and begins his Don Juan career without delay. Some time as a commercial traveller, a spell as a member of a touring troupe of evangelists, serving under Sharon Falconer, who unites Eastern cults with Christian evangelism, and a keen business instinct, another episode in the service of *Victorious Thought*, and then the crowning experience of his life in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In this Church he rises to the pinnacle of a New York pastorate and the secretaryship of a national society. But to the end he is still the same lascivious animal, devoid of honour and decency—an animal in whom there is no trace of aspiration or struggle

He enters the scene as a drunken libertine; the curtain falls upon him the adored minister of a crowd of worshippers, but a libertine still

It is claimed by Mr Mencken that this book has added a new word to the language A minister who betrays his holy office, it is presumed, will be called an 'Elmer' But a protest should be made before that name is adopted The man is himself a personification of all that Mr. Sinclair Lewis has seen to hate most in the selected records of degraded ministers. He is a colossal phantasy, so unreal that he ceases to have any human interest The very virtues which are often found in men of strong and unsubdued passions are wanting in him He has neither courage, nor generosity, nor ordinary human kindness It is safe to declare that there never was an Elmer Gantry in the Baptist or any other ministry. Professor William Lyon Phelps, of Yale, writes' 'I know something of Baptist ministers. My grandfather and father were . . all my living brothers are Baptist ministers, and there has been a constant string of Baptist ministers walking through my house for years, and I have never known one like Elmer Gantry.'

The study of this loathsome creature, however, is but the main thread of a book which has many subsidiary studies of far greater value. So many are these, and so varied, and so carefully selected, that it must have been in the mind of the author to throw light upon the American Church as a whole If he takes the ministry for his chief subject, for him it is true 'like priest,

like people.' A Church in the end has the ministry it deserves. It is clearly designed that the reader shall pass a verdict, not upon one group or section, nor even upon the ministry, but upon the condition of the Christian Church as a whole.

There is much in the picture which will be accepted as true by all who have studied the Church in America. The place which the Church and its ministry have in the life of that nation is rightly estimated The Church is still an institution which is central to the life of all American communities Church membership includes 43 per cent of the whole population. Even if many attend the services but rarely, they support the Church, and rank themselves among its members. The part that the Baptist church of Paris, Kansas, filled in the life of Elmer is described in detail

> The church, the Sunday school, the evangelistic orgy, choir-practise, raising the mortgage, the delights of funerals, the sniggers in back pews or in the other room at weddings—these were as natural, as inescapable a mould of manners to Elmer as Catholic processionals to a street gamin in Naples He had perhaps got everything from the church and Sunday school except perhaps any longing whatever for decency and kindness and reason

It might occur to the author to inquire if there was nothing left in that village of that eager faith which led the fathers of these churches to establish these societies wherever they cleared a dwelling-place for themselves The story of the advance of the Baptist churches, keeping pace with the swift treks of the settlers, is one of heroic faith. In 1794, for example, Samuel Payne struck the first blow with his axe into one of the trees of the forest where now is the city of Hamilton After that first blow he knelt and prayed that there might be a Baptist church in the town The church was organised only two years afterwards, and the farm of 120 acres was given as the site of an educational institution which became Madison University. It was because there were such daring pioneers in the early years of the nineteenth century that the Church is now in possession. Much may be said to belittle such men Caricatures may be drawn of them Their theology was crude, they delighted in such books as *The Day of Doom*, in which the Judgment Day was luridly foretold; but they did not accomplish their great deeds on a capital of ignorance, superstition and bigotry. Nor is it at all likely that the Baptist church in Paris, Kansas, had only such gifts to offer to Elmer.

Brother Bains, a member of another Baptist church, sets forth what, according to this author, is the mind and temper of these rural Baptist churches: 'If you don't believe in the virgin birth and the resurrection, atonement and immersion, you are bound to go straight to hell, and not no make-believe hell, but a real gosh-

awful turble bed of sure-enough coals!' That Brother Bains exists it is impossible to deny; but that the village Baptist church in the Middle West can be understood in its origin and in its permanence from a study of such a man it is impossible to believe. The Baptist communities in the United States number well over 8,000,000 members. Something more is needed to account for the uprising of this host. A study of merely external things, or of the crude and foolish beliefs which gather around and obscure the cardinal and positive beliefs, by which the soul of man lives, will never explain such facts.

It is hard for a British student of the American Church to adjust himself to the proportions of the Churches In making a study of American religious life in its popular phases Mr Sinclair Lewis is right in selecting for his chief attention the Baptists and the Methodists. Each of these bodies numbers over 8,000,000 members, and each must have within its range 20,000,000. There is no parallel in the United States to the Anglican Communion as it is in England. There must be nearly eight Baptists for every Episcopalian. It is therefore true to the proportion of things that the hero of the book is made to minister first to the Baptists and afterwards to the Methodists The drift of popular religion in America can be judged more surely from these Churches than from the others At the same time it must be remembered that other communions have an influence upon the thought of America out of all proportion to their numbers

Little mercy is shown for the denominational colleges and theological seminaries. It is even hinted that there are scarcely a dozen 'authentic' scholars engaged in the work of training the ministry. This is clearly a statement which can only be justified by an exacting definition of 'authentic' It is true that presidents are chosen sometimes for theological institutions on the understanding that their chief task is administration and the raising of funds. Dr. Willoughby Quarles no doubt exists, with his voice very deep and owlish, 'a noise somewhere between the evening bells and the morning jackass'; 'he had lived in tabernacles and in rooms devoted to thin church periodicals and thick volumes of sermons'; but in those same colleges there are scholars as devoted to sound learning as any in this country. In the years covered by this story Dr Du Bose, one of the most original of thinkers, was teaching theology to students for the ministry, and to this hour one of the finest Greek grammarians, Dr A T. Robertson, is teaching Greek to Southern Baptist students To these names any student of theology could add many more without difficulty. The standard of scholarship demanded from candidates for the ministry is steadily rising. There is here, as there is everywhere in American church life, a state of tension

To ignore the courage and hope of those who are resisting and overcoming abuses is to miss the clue to the right understanding of American life. The zeal for an educated ministry was one of the noblest qualities of the Pilgrims: 'One of the first things we longed for,' they said, 'and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministers shall lie in dust.' That high resolve has never been forgotten in the Christian churches of America; and justice must be done to the immense sacrifices made to ensure a training for the ministry.

The theological students, as Mr Sinclair Lewis sees them, are a mean and contemptible group with an exception or two. One is a complete and cheerful atheist, who pours ridicule on the very idea of a Christian ministry, 'overflowing with knowledge of what God said to the Holy Ghost *in camera* at 9.16 last Wednesday.' Others are feebly and professionally pious. They talk of ways whereby they may make a hit with the congregation: 'of course praying, and all that, is all O K, but you got to be practical.' They are entering the ministry partly to please their people, partly because they have a vanity to which the display of the pulpit appeals, and some because they like the comparative leisure of a pastorate in the country. One or two have nobler motives, but in dealing with these the author is uncomfortable. It was said of Southey, when he wrote his *Life of Wesley*, 'Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep.' The picture of these students does not bring conviction. It is a dark section usurping the place of the whole. Theological students everywhere are in danger of professionalism; they are tempted to debase the sacred coinage by frivolous talk, but they most certainly are not like the crowd of youngsters 'who panted as Elmer chronicled his meetings with a willing choir-singer, this summer past.'

The author selects for his second main theme the evangelistic troupe under the beautiful Sharon Falconer. It is in his mind to bring the light of judgment upon a peculiarly vile institution. Elmer, who has had a term of work as a salesman for the Pecquot Farm Implement Company, comes across Sharon and her company.

> The tent was enormous, it would seat three thousand people and another thousand could be packed in standing-room . . . At the front of the tent was an extraordinary structure. . . . It was a pyramidal structure, white wood with gilded edges, affording three platforms, one for the choir, one higher up for a row of seated local clergy, and at the top a small platform with a pulpit shaped like a shell and painted like a rainbow. Swarming over it all were lilies, roses and vines. 'Great snakes!' decided Elmer. 'Regular circus lay-out!'

There is a troupe of players with Sharon: a Press agent who prepares the way of the Lord; a pianist; a young 'Oxford mystic' who is as impossible a character as Elmer himself The troupe, if it had transferred its activities to those of a wandering theatrical company, would have needed singularly little adjustment. They are cynical, and almost entirely devoid of any enthusiasm. Sharon herself might have been at home in some shrine of Astarte. 'I can't sin! I am above sin!' she cries 'I am really and truly sanctified! Whatever I might choose to do, though it might be sin in one unsanctified, with me God will turn it to His glory' The troupe provides a curious example of the association of a corybantic religious emotion with sexuality Dr. Kirsopp Lake says that all ancient religions had to fight against cruelty, superstition and lust; Christianity won its victory over lust so completely that almost all traces of the conflict are lost The danger, however, recurs Sharon Falconer is not an impossible figure, though she would be counted a public scandal by the Christian churches which count for most in America. The study of religious psychology has sounded the death-knell of the baser kinds of evangelism And Carl Sandberg, the poet of Chicago, in his own fashion has spoken the mind of decent Americans towards a 'contemporary bunkshooter' He asks,

> Where do you get that stuff?
> What do you know about Jesus?

And he proceeds in his own dialect to draw a distinction between the real Jesus and this 'slimy bunkshooter' 'When are you going to quit making the carpenters build emergency hospitals for women and girls driven crazy with wrecked nerves from your gibberish about Jesus—— I put it to you again Where do you get that stuff; what do you know about Jesus?'

At the same time it would be untrue to class all American evangelists with Sharon No one who knows them would think of Dr. Biederwolf or Dr Chapman or Dr Torrey as anything but sincere and earnest preachers; and it must be remembered that Moody, the sanest of all modern evangelists, came to this country from America In that country Northfield, with its institutions, is an enduring witness to Moody, whose religious passion went along with a rich humanity. For his influence upon Great Britain it is enough to refer to the *Life of Henry Drummond*, by Sir George Adam Smith The churches which have known such a true and noble evangelist will not tolerate for long such adventurers as Sharon Falconer.

Elmer finds at last full scope for his gifts in the Methodist Episcopal Church Bishop Toomis, a bland and unctuous person, chirped of his travels, in the course of which he once, so the

steward said, met a lord; he offered Elmer a welcome into his church without much inquiry into his past. Soon Elmer is a preacher at Banjo Crossing; and we are introduced to all the tricks of a popular preacher. He rises in the scale rapidly. He announces startling subjects: 'Would Jesus play poker?' and 'Would you like your mother to go bathing without stockings?' are two of them; his *Lively Sunday Evenings* proves most attractive, and no art of the popular salesman is neglected by him. His notices encourage the crowd to

> Follow the crowd to the beautiful times
> At the beautiful church with the beautiful chimes

He enters into various political campaigns, always with an eye for their value to him as a preacher His motto might always be 'heroism without risk'

There is nothing in his methods to which parallels cannot be found in the newspaper announcements in an American city It is definitely claimed by those who use this method that salesmanship should be adapted to the service of the Church The phrase 'to sell the Gospel' is used with no sense of incongruity. American business has learned the technique of salesmanship, it is a phase of applied psychology Why should it not be applied to the service of the Gospel? The palate of the hearers must be considered They are accustomed to the methods of the Press and the hoardings; they are in the same mental habit in church as in the cinema or when they are reading the Sunday papers. So the argument runs that the preacher should fall into line with the other suitors for the ear of the people

It is here that the most serious struggle before the Church comes in sight The alert and quick-witted church-people in America find themselves in a world where many changes are taking place They see 'big business' prevailing They know that 'paternalism' is the accepted ideal in industrial organisations They are in the midst of a people enjoying an unparalleled prosperity They respond to all the thrill and excitement of such a time And they are tempted to adopt in the service of the Church the methods and values of the present American scene. The distinctive witness of the Church may thereby be lost. If the judgment of Mr Sinclair Lewis is to be trusted, the battle is already lost, and the Church has gone over to the world 'Big business' has the Church in the hollow of its hands The Church stands cap in hand before the magnates of the market-place. It must have dollars, and those who provide the dollars claim the right to set the tune!

The battle has not been lost, but it has not yet been won. There have been sinister demonstrations of the claim of 'big business' to dictate to the Church. When the Inter-Church

ent of an elder: 'The Word of God and the words o *angakoks* are equally powerful.' [50]

American missionary work we find relatively few example ... antagonism on the part of the whites; consequentl ...an has to a large extent been spared the occasion of hearin ...ious mentors disparage rival creeds. This is owing to th ...t in the Spanish and Portuguese dominions the Jesuit ...can, and other orders had the field entirely to themselves ... North America, where Protestant missionaries came i ...contact with the French Jesuits and the Mexican clergy ...derable friction occurred. Thus Lumholtz reports the priest ...g the Coras were ever on the look-out for Protestant mis...ries, and when he visited that region the padre at Sant...sa, concluding that Lumholtz was a clergyman, warned th...ves after mass against the bad Protestant who was on his wa ...orrupt their hearts. 'Do not accept anything from him, nc ... his money; do not allow him to enter the church, and do no ... him anything, not even a glass of water.' [51] Le Jeun...rms us that the English hindered the efficiency of the Jesuit...k *among the Indians by telling them that the priestly orde... associated to destroy the world, and that in Europe the peopl... the Jesuits to death.* [52] *Leupp gives us an interesting picture ... the confusion of religious creeds and beliefs in the following ...uotation:*

> An old chief once expressed to me his deep concern because a mis...ionary had warned his children that they would be punished after death ... they broke the Sabbath with their accustomed games, yet he had seen ...ith his own eyes a missionary playing tennis on Sunday. Another raised ...n my presence, with a sly suggestion of satire in his tone, the question of ...arriage. One missionary, he told us—referring to a visit from a Mormon ...postle several years before—had four wives, and said it was good in the ...ight of the white man's God; the missionary who preached at the agency ...chool had only one wife, and said that that was all right, but it would be ...icked for him to marry any more; but the priest who came once in a ...hile to bless the children had no wife at all, and said that the white ...nan's God would be displeased with him if he took even one.[53]

To sum up, missionary contact with the aborigines of ...merica served to acquaint them with the modes and processes ...f a higher culture. The benefits to the native were primarily ...conomic, for to him religious dogma was little more than magic. ...he necessity of changing the maintenance customs of the native ...s a condition to permanent results in a spiritual way was early ...ealised by the French and Spanish clergy, the latter perfecting

[50] F. Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, pp. 308–9.
[51] C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, I., pp. 505–6.
[52] Le Jeune's Relation, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, XVII., p. 121.
[53] F. E. Leupp, *The Indian and his Problem*, p. 296.

movement ventured to deal with the conditions of labour in Pittsburg its days were numbered. In the autumn of 1926 the 'big business' leaders of Detroit vetoed the proposal that labour leaders known as Christian men should preach in the pulpits of that city. They threatened to withdraw their support from the Y.M.C.A., which had in hand the raising of a great fund. Yet even in that hour there were voices raised in protest by leading ministers in Detroit, and the Federal Council of the Churches supported their protest. The defect in the picture which Mr Sinclair Lewis draws lies in the fact that he sees the evil but he does not see the powers at work against it, or if he sees them he believes they are foredoomed to failure

The Methodist Episcopal Church into which Elmer comes has a great variety of ministers with which to face its tasks and problems. Many types are described · the ritualist, the literary person, the social reformer who knows where to stop within the lines of safety, the mildly heretical, the snob—all are sketched But there is little attempt to do justice to the men who are the bulwarks of that great Church, men who in the midst of the distractions of a vast institution keep their passion for the souls of men.

'The Methodist ministers of Zenith,' Mr. Sinclair Lewis points out, 'looked like a group of prosperous and active business men Only two of them ever wore clerical waistcoats A few resembled farmers, a few stonemasons, but most of them looked like retail shops ' One of them was almost as bad as an Episcopalian (Episcopalians in this book are chiefly treated as devotees of ritual and unsound on Prohibition), another had a wonderful institutional church with classes in French, and sex hygiene, and book-keeping and other subjects Its pastor had come out hard for social labour. Another was fat, pompous, full of heavy rumbles of piety—a stage parson So the long and rather dreary satire proceeds ; and the reader begins to wonder whether the failure to see other qualities may not lie in the eye of the writer ; he has gone prepared to see these things, and he shuts all other objects out of the range of his vision The novelist who has been hailed as a master of satire must live up to his part But the satirist in his selection may be dishonest no less than the preacher.

The tension between Fundamentalism and Liberal theology does not escape the attention of Mr. Sinclair Lewis It is no injustice to him to say that he considers the Liberal clergy doomed to failure. They are attempting to square the Christian religion with modern science, and they will discover sooner or later that it cannot be done. The fundamentalist, though he is holding to impossible dogmas, is right in believing that modernism leads to

atheism. The Liberals present a forlorn appearance: 'a placidly atheistic Unitarian minister, a Presbyterian who was orthodox on Sunday and revolutionary on Monday, a wavering Congregationalist, and an Anglo-Catholic Episcopalian who was enthusiastic about the beauties of the ritual and the Mithraic origin of the same' This is one group of Liberals, and there are others in the picture They are not bad fellows, but they are consciously or unconsciously drifting towards atheism.

Nothing could be further from the facts of the case than to represent the Liberal Evangelicals of America as trembling on the verge of a lapse into infidelity. It would be as reasonable to count the Bishop of Birmingham, or Dr. T. R. Glover, or the Dean of St Paul's as in peril of atheism, or even secretly atheists already

The modernist Frank Shallard ventures into a den of fundamentalists during the Dayton agitation, and is left mutilated and half-dead The existence of an unofficial inquisition in the States cannot be questioned. But the Klu Klux Klan and other agencies of terrorism are waning powers In reading of their achievements it must never be forgotten that the United States is a continent with many States enjoying a virtual autonomy; it is a continent with vast stretches of sparsely-occupied land, and there is a great difficulty in enforcing law. None the less, it is one of the tasks before the lovers of liberty in Church and State to suppress all inquisitions which fetter liberty of speech and pen. The battle is not yet won. Last summer the Rev. Frank Norris shot a man in his study, and preached afterwards upon the words 'There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus' He has since been acquitted!

Little is said of the great Catholic Church of America, with its tradition of democracy The modernist, in his seeking for a place of refuge, does indeed inquire from the priest if he could join his Church on the understanding that he does not believe its dogmas He receives the answer he might have expected, 'Go home and pray for simplicity.' He arrives at the conclusion, 'The Roman Catholic Church is superior to the militant Protestant Church It does not compel you to give up your sense of beauty, your sense of humour, or your pleasant vices. It merely requires you to give up your honesty, your reason, your heart and soul'—a judgment which may or may not be the author's, but is manifestly unjust!

It is not, however, with the Roman Church or with Christian Science or with other great communions that the author deals chiefly but with the Baptists and the Methodists. The Methodists stand forth as the most remarkable example of the daring and swiftness and mobility of the Church in America They are

the most sensitive to the moods of the hour. They are knit together in an organisation at once supple and rigid. They have great memories. Asbury, 'the man on horseback,' was their apostle, and with the same spirit of fearless advance their fathers set out with the trails across the Appalachians and every new movement into the West. They once had a song, not of any poetic merit, but with a fine burden of courage:

A new church greets the morning flame
Another evening's ray.

'All hail the power of Jesus' name'
We're building two a day.

That was the confident spirit of their fathers in the nineteenth century, and something of the same mobility is shown to-day in their facing of social and international problems.

American churchmen do not need the novelist to tell them where their struggle will lie in the days ahead They have to vindicate the prophetic element over against the institutional, they have to learn how to keep the Christian values in a modern world in which prosperity is accounted the measure of Divine favour; they have to hold fast their passion for souls during an age of transition in thought, they have to withstand the tyranny of 'big business'; they have to be in the world, and not of the world. They must be ready for an age of tension Yet they have great resources—freshness, vitality, courage, the willingness to destroy, swiftness and mobility With these they have to fight the tyranny of the institution, the perils of a purely secular outlook, and the allurements of an age of mechanical triumphs

To the author of *Elmer Gantry* the Church presents the appearance of a ragged army in retreat. So it will seem to all who accept his selection of facts Those who have another range of facts in their vision will not deny that only through agony and conflict will the Church in America win its way to its true place in the coming age But they do not doubt that it will win the battle within its own borders, and be set free to become the spiritual guide of the nation.

EDWARD SHILLITO

THE GROWTH OF THE READING PUBLIC (1780—1800)

NEARLY every age is convinced that it reads more books than its predecessor, but those who had that conviction in the last quarter of the eighteenth century were certainly right. Reading, at least in the common estimation of the English, is something of a luxury, and as the middle class standard of living became in the course of the eighteenth century if not more luxurious yet less bare, the habit of reading grew very remarkably. When Johnson was a boy the shopkeeper had a fire in his parlour only on Sunday, but when Johnson was three score years and ten the bare simplicity of life in the lower middle class was giving way to greater comfort. With more fires, in fact, they had more books to read by their firesides, and it seemed to Johnson that England had become 'a nation of readers' For the growth of reading was just one aspect of the wide change which was making England substantially the England, if not of to-day, of the yesterday whose sun set in 1914 The isolation to which bad roads and poor coaches had condemned the provinces was being broken down Men travelled more from town to town, and London fashions reached the country cousins. London had set up its first circulating library in 1740, thanks to the inspiration of a dissenting minister, the Rev Samuel Fancourt, and by 1761 the *Annual Register* was commenting that 'the reading female hires her novel from some Country Circulating library, which consists of about a hundred volumes' And the same observer was sorry to note that 'the several great cities, and we might add many poor country towns, seem to be inspired with an ambition of becoming little Londons of the part of the Kingdom wherein they are situated'

Intellectually the ordinary man began to wake up. Even of so early a year as 1748 Johnson wrote as 'a time when so many schemes of education have been projected . . . so many schools opened for general knowledge, and so many lectures in particular sciences attended.' We are wont to think too much of the eighteenth century as educationally a stagnant century. The public schools, it must be admitted, as well as being bound by old

traditions, were poor enough places of education, with their harsh discipline, rough living, and low morals. In their occasional mutinies they were like bear-gardens. Adam Smith denounced the whole system as one in which the security of endowments had thoroughly corrupted all diligence. Nor was his account any better of the universities, 'the homes of exploded philosophies' In his opinion the spirit of Oxford and Cambridge was the spirit of monopolists, 'narrow, lazy and oppressive.' He thought ridiculous the custom that had grown up of sending young men, not to the university, but to tour the Continent, and held that 'nothing but the discredit into which the universities [were] allowing themselves to fall, could ever have brought into repute so very absurd a practice as that of travelling at this early period of life.' How heavy the dead hand of antiquity still lay on the universities the ashes of the poet Crabbe's English *Essay on Botany* might testify. Though he had made so much progress with it as to approach Dodsley about its being published, he put it aside and then into his periodical bonfire because of the remonstrances of the vice-master of Trinity College, Cambridge, 'who, though little tinged with academical peculiarities, could not stomach the notion of degrading such a science by treating it in a modern language.' And that was as late as the nineties

But the ordinary man was not of the class whose education depended upon the public schools and universities, and it was the ordinary middle-class man who made England the 'nation of readers' Johnson called it. And Johnson had noted another change—the rise of a new kind of gentleman, the English merchant. This latter, if not a reader himself (and probably, like Isaac Disraeli's father, 'the loss of one of his argosies, uninsured, could not have filled him with more blank dismay' than to have found a son of his a writer), had a considerable influence on the education which taught people to read. He was hardly to be satisfied with the lads whom the endowed schools offered for the desks in his office. His demand was for more modern and practical education, and it called into existence the English or commercial schools which became more and more popular as the nineteenth century approached, and which are enough in themselves to disprove the accusation of an all-prevailing stagnancy in education before Butler, of Shrewsbury, in 1798 began to break the slumbers of the higher monopoly. Their enemies might deride them as 'schools for the shop, the warehouse, the counting-house, and the manufactory,' but they gave the middle class an education which it wanted, and which it had been denied The educational monopolists were no more willing to do their duty by the growing public than the publishing monopolists had been, and the successful attack on the latter by Donaldson, with his

cheap reprints of English classics, had its necessary counterpart in the successful rivalry against the former of these academies, as the commercial schools called themselves. Donaldson gave the growing middle class cheap books to read, and the academies taught them how to read. So we see a boy like Kirke White, a butcher's son, going in the nineties to an academy in Nottingham and writing to his elder brother: 'I also now read the *British Classics*, the common edition of which I now take in; it comes every fortnight . . . it is Cooke's edition.'

In fact, education began to improve at the bottom before it began to improve at the top. In 1780 Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, proprietor of the *Gloucester Journal*, was moved by seeing the ignorance, immorality and wretchedness of the children employed in the factories. He engaged four women teachers, and, with a supply of Bibles and Testaments, set up in that year the first of the modern Sunday schools to teach children to read their Bibles, and to learn and understand their catechism. A report of his efforts in his *Journal* of November 3, 1783, was copied into the London papers, and a notice soon after in the *Gentleman's Magazine* gave the scheme still greater attention, until on September 7, 1785, Raikes, joined with other philanthropists, set on foot the Society for Promoting Sunday Schools. Their success was immediate, and in the next two years there were 147 new schools set up, and the system became general. Lackington, the first big popular second-hand bookseller, asserted in his *Memoirs* of 1803: 'The Sunday schools are spreading very fast in most parts of England, which will accelerate the diffusion of knowledge among the lower classes of the community, and in a very few years exceedingly increase the sale of books.' Indeed, they were probably one of the strong forces that began to lead the poorer classes to believe in and seek the advantages of reading and writing. At any rate, seek it they did, for we find Sarah Trimmer saying in 1801: 'Every town and most villages have their schoolmasters who keep evening schools for those who cannot attend in the day-time, and the desire for these acquirements is so general among the poor that parents will for the most part contrive that their children shall attend them.'

That desire of the poor to read was quite a sudden growth, and so were the opportunities which in 1800 they had of obtaining books. Holcroft had been a poor boy in the fifties leading a wandering life, now hawker and cobbler with his father, now stable-boy at Newmarket, and now selling coal on the midland roads, and between those days and his latter years round 1800 he saw a great difference. 'Books were not then,' say his *Memoirs*, 'as they fortunately are now, great or small, on this subject or on that, to be found in almost every house; a book, except the

prayers or of daily religious use, was scarcely to be seen but among the opulent or in the possession of the studious.' However, 'even the walls of cottages and little alehouses would do something; for many of them had old English ballads such as the "Death and the Lady" and "Margaret's Ghost," with lamentable tragedies, or "King Charles's golden rules," occasionally pasted on them. These were at that time the learning, and often, no doubt, the delight of the vulgar.' From one of these as a boy he learnt by heart the ballad of Chevy Chase, and his father rewarded him with a halfpenny for his industry. And in addition he had the cheap little chapbooks for children, such as *The Seven Champions of Christendom* and *The History of Parismus and Parismenes.* Then he came to know *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and another cobbler lent him the *Spectator* and *Gulliver's Travels*, while he says that at one time 'the *Whole Duty of Man* was my favourite study, and still more Horneck's *Crucified Jesus*.' So from the few books he could get he learnt to become a writer himself

The life of Lackington, the bookseller, shows still more clearly the development of the desire and opportunities of reading among the poor. A year younger than Holcroft, he was born in 1746 When he was a child the old dames of Wellington praised his repetition of the New Testament, but print was not common in Somerset in 1760, and the boy did not see much of it at a time except for the bundles of almanacs which, around Christmas, he used to cry for sale along with the pies and puddings of his master the baker. But when Methodism made him its enthusiast he found in the tracts, which were plentiful, stimulating reading, and he became a devoted reader as he went cobbling round the west, in Wellington and Taunton, in Bridgwater and Exeter, and particularly in Bristol. At last, when he was cobbling in London in 1774, he was told of a vacant shop, and he immediately jumped at the idea of becoming a bookseller. He had lately 'observed a great increase in a certain old book-shop,' and he loved books, and so he took his chance Obscure though his shop was, and trash though, on his own admission, he sold, he prospered People were eager for something to read, and Lackington's business advanced so rapidly that in 1779 he was able to issue his first catalogue of 12,000 second-hand books.

Crabbe as the son of the saltmaster of Aldborough had a better chance of education than Holcroft the son of the versatile huckster or Lackington the son of the drunken cobbler, but, apart from his schools at Bungay and Stowmarket, where he gained his first acquaintance with the classics, the literary education he gained for himself was of much the same quality as theirs. 'My father,' says his son, 'was, indeed, in a great measure self-educated. . . . He was a great friend of the old dames of the place.

. . . He admired the rude prints on their walls, rummaged their shelves for books or ballads, and read aloud to those whose eyes had failed them, by the winter evening's fireside.' And once he had been taught by an old dame to read, 'he was unwearied in his reading; and he devoured without restraint whatever came into his hands, but especially works of fiction—those little stories and ballads about ghosts, witches and fairies which were then almost exclusively the literature of youth, and which, whatever else might be thought of them, served, no doubt, to strike out the first sparks of imagination in the minds of many a youthful poet.' They were the same tales as, in his *Parish Register* of 1807, the poet still numbers in the chosen stock of cottage reading—the tales of the Wandering Jew, Tom Thumb, Hickathrift the Strong, and Jack the Giant-Killer, many doubtless from the shop of Mr. Newbery, of St. Paul's Churchyard, the great eighteenth century publisher of children's books

While poor boys like Holcroft, Lackington, and Crabbe could thus find books enough to educate them, children who were better off had books in plenty. Egerton Brydges said that about 1766, when he was a child learning to read, his 'mother had a trunk full of romances and fairy tales' Indeed, the second half of the eighteenth century became increasingly rich in literature for children Newbery's *Little Goody Two Shoes* and its companions were very popular, and then in the eighties came what Leigh Hunt, who was a boy in the early nineties, called 'the fresh country breeze of Mr. Day's *Sandford and Merton*—a production,' he said in 1850, 'that I well remember, and shall ever be grateful to' Day's book gradually replaced those which, in Hunt's view, 'had been in a bad way with sordid and merely plodding morals,' and in which 'every good boy was to ride in his coach and be a lord mayor, and every bad boy was to be hung or eaten by lions.' But though Hunt did not like those 'gilt gingerbread' books, no doubt they were the joy of many a child, who was only still the luckier when Thomas Day made a change

And the children of the end of the century were lucky because in their day there was a change in school-books too. 'It is worth remarking,' wrote Lackington in 1803, 'that the introducing histories, romances, stories, poems, etc., into schools, has been a very great means of diffusing a taste for reading among all ranks of people. While in schools the children only read the Bible (which was the case in many schools a few years ago), children did not then make so early a progress in reading as they have since they have been pleased and entertained, as well as instructed, and this relish for books, in many, will last as long as life'

In a study such as this it is especially desirable to heed this

reminder of Lackington's that 'the child is father of the man.' We realise the inevitable growth of the reading public all the better the more we consider what it was that children read, and no example is better of a child of a well-to-do family of the seventies than Walter Scott. What the poorer boy had, he had too. He used to learn the ballads and copy them out, and before he was ten years old he had made a collection of several little volumes. At the same early age he was making a collection of Penny Chap-books, little humorous stories in prose, which for years remained popular with the lower classes in Scotland And, in addition, he would spend hours as a young boy not yet old enough for the high school in reading aloud to his mother Pope's translation of Homer Then 'in the intervals of my school hours,' he says, 'I . . . always perused with avidity such books of history or poetry or voyages and travels as chance presented to me—not forgetting the usual or rather ten times the usual, quantity of fairy tales, Eastern stories, romances, etc' And he found odd volumes of Shakespeare in his mother's dressing-room, and would sit at night in his shirt reading them by the light of the fire. The learned Dr. Blacklock lent him Ossian and Spenser. In the circulating library he 'waded into the stream like a blind man into a ford.' When he was thirteen he found the *Reliques* of Percy, and was so enthralled by them that, as he sat in the garden, 'the summer day sped onward so fast, that notwithstanding the sharp appetite of thirteen, [he] forgot the hour of dinner, was sought for with anxiety, and was still found entranced in [his] intellectual banquet.' And about the same age he became acquainted with the works of the great eighteenth century novelists, and continued to devour anything and everything that was adventurous and romantic.

Those must suffice as particular examples of the rising generation of readers. It is time to examine the general conditions which between 1780 and 1800 were stimulating and supplying the facilities for this growth in the reading public The forces which made for increased intellectual activity in all classes were improved means of communication, more widespread education, the Industrial Revolution, and the Revolution in France The food which the intellectual awakening demanded was supplied by cheap editions of the English classics, by more and cheaper second-hand books, by remainders at greatly reduced prices, and by cheap series of tracts and pamphlets, and of popular number books.

At the improved means of communication we have already glanced. Turnpike trusts had been doing good but haphazard work to make better roads since the fifties. Then in 1793 Pitt set up the Board of Agriculture, largely as a result of the agita-

tion of Arthur Young, and it brought organisation into the process of linking up the country, calling to its aid the great road engineers Metcalfe, and Telford and Macadam But already by 1784 the roads had been sufficiently improved for Palmer to inaugurate with success his scheme of mail-coaches. In that year the first mail-coach ran from London to Bristol, and the progress was such that in 1792 six mail-coaches left the General Post Office in London each day, and to see them start was one of the sights of London. In a few years there was a service of stage-coaches between all the chief towns as regular as that of the railways of to-day Their effect on the mind of the country could hardly be other than considerable. It was an education to see a coach on its way with mails to Ireland along the new road to Holyhead which Telford had constructed. A man's horizon was broadened and he began to see the country more as a whole. The passage of news was speedier. Ideas circulated more freely, and national opinion became a more substantial power, as the village and the town were seen, not so much as units in themselves, but as units of a larger unity.

This improvement in communications served as a handmaid to the Industrial Revolution. It encouraged the drift to the towns The new machinery ruined the old cottage industry with its handloom, and, together with the encroachment of 'improving' landlords, drove the small landowners into the towns to own factories and their servants to work in them. And from about 1780 it seemed that the only thing in the world that mattered was industrial expansion. The towns sucked in an ever-growing population, and they made changed men of their victims The very vileness of the life in the herded towns and the very misery and discontent became creative forces. They drove men into thinking about the nature of society and the rights of man, and they compelled men to turn from the soul-deadening drudgery of every day to the chapels and the debating clubs, where a man might again feel himself a man who mattered to his Maker or to his fellows. For the harsh discipline of the factories and the ugly wretchedness of the houses that were often no better than hovels, led men naturally to a sphere where they might find some self-expression, and to dreams and theories which might feed hope in their starved spirits When many men are gathered together, and particularly when they are banded together beneath oppression, the leaven of ideas is a quick worker, and when the French Revolution let loose for the masses the ideas which had been gaining ground among philosophers throughout the century, the masses quickly took them up, and in the nineties and onwards the manufacturing towns of northern England quickened with thought. They were the homes of thousands of citizens and

their scheme in the reductions and missions. These were virtuall
native States under the despotic control of the priests, wh
speedily put in operation a most skilful adaptation of the com-
munism native to primitive tribes who have not yet attained to
an agricultural economy.[54] The policy of isolation and minute
egulation, without allowing for the development of individual
itiative, left the Indians in the position of dependent children,
id when their guardians were removed the entire social system,
carefully erected, collapsed. But it is certain that the simple
ibits of industry and labour thus acquired were not without their
'ect in later days. The mental state of the neophytes was such
at ecclesiastical dogmas of themselves made no impression.
iere was no depth of religious feeling; the natives were incapable
that. Linked with some phase of native mythology, however,
: white man's religion was readily absorbed. The French
ssionaries were not without influence upon the natives under
:ir charge, and even upon those with whom they did not come
o direct relationship. Thus their influence modified and
tened the manners of many unconverted tribes, as may be seen
wars of the next century, which are not so often filled with those
imples of diabolical atrocity with which the earlier annals were
wded.[55] Missionary contact wore down the sharpest asperities
barbarism, and admitted the Indian to a higher economic
ne.

E. E. Muntz.

[54] A. G. Keller, *Colonization*, p. 291.
[55] F. Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, II., pp. 139–40.

patriots who read the wild pamphlets of Thomas Paine. Those gloomy tenements were the forcing houses of intellectual discontent, and from them shot up a new class of uneducated readers. Their minds were grappling with unaccustomed ideas before ever they had been trained to think. But in the revolutionary clubs they tried to thrash out their ideas of a new order of society and to scheme for its fulfilment, and that was a process of self-education.

Thus the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution worked together to make men thinkers and readers. The early years of the latter were years of vision to masses of the people of England. The people began to grow conscious of themselves as the People, and the idea of democracy was sown as an ineradicable seed. A boy like the learned boy in Crabbe's tale, who went straight from the country to work in a town, was intoxicated by the froth of ideas and began to deride the Bible. Even those who went to their chapels often went to their revolutionary club as well, and all read voraciously. Of 1794 Gillies[1] wrote that 'at that date the works of Voltaire and Tom Paine were reckoned class-books for infidel argumentators.' In the early nineties *The Rights of Man* and *The Age of Reason* were for a while selling in thousands. There came 'a swarm of free-thinking and democratical pamphlets.' In responsible quarters a reaction set in and there was an outburst of fierce partisan prosecution, and even education itself was suspect. But no man could put back the clock and stop the thinking and reading which had become so general. The nation of readers was permanently a bigger nation, and Mathias grudgingly admitted in 1797, 'We no longer live in an age of ignorance. . . . Our peasantry now read *The Rights of Man* on mountains, and moors, and by the wayside.'

Thanks to Donaldson's final demolition in 1774 of the claim to perpetual copyright, there was plenty of sound reading matter, too, available in these years for the new public. There was Cooke's *British Poets*, of which Leigh Hunt wrote: 'How I loved those little sixpenny numbers containing whole poets! . . . I bought them over and over again; and used to get up select sets that disappeared like buttered crumpets; for I could resist neither giving them away, nor possessing them.' There was Harrison's *Novelists' Magazine*, of which it is said that 12,000 copies of each number were sold weekly. There were cheap collections of all kinds, of which a 'number' appeared each week, and they were undoubtedly one of the greatest educational forces of the last decade of the century. Even the Bible was, in Crabbe's phrase, 'number'd through the town,' 'with cuts and comments,' to the strengthening of the Wesleyan movement. And popular his-

[1] See R. P. Gillies, *Memoirs of a Literary Veteran*, 1851.

ories and encyclopædias appeared in the same way. For the general effect, as early as 1782 there is the testimony of a Prussian visitor to England, who in that year noted that 'the English national authors are in all hands. My landlady, who is a taylor's widow, reads her Milton, and tells me that her late husband first ell in love with her because she read Milton with such proper emphasis'

Lackington, too, was a great benefactor to the new reading public His sales of second-hand books by 1800 deserve to be alled enormous. In fact by 1803 he claimed to sell more than 100,000 annually, and he could afford in his memoirs to say, 'I ould almost be vain enough to assert, that I have thereby been highly instrumental in diffusing that general desire for READING now so prevalent among the inferior orders of society.' Nor was he public's debt to him only for his very cheap and large stocks of second-hand books, but he was the first who dared to sell emainder copies of new books at a considerable reduction in defiance of the mandate of the publishing trade.

Then there were the tracts which suddenly became numerous. The Jacobins were prolific. 'It is not enough to say,' wrote Mathias in 1797, 'a book is bulky and voluminous, and therefore can have no effect on the mass of the people, because that opinion s not true. Such a book can not only be abridged and dispersed abroad, but a man like Thomas Paine . . . may blend the substance of the opinions with his own, and in a short popular tract make them familiar and intelligible to every apprehension.' So he Anti-Jacobins wrote tracts too, and when the Cheap Repository Tracts were published in 1792, 2,000,000 were sold in the first year Then in 1799 the Religious Tract Society was founded to supply the Sunday schools with literature.

From all of this, which is but a sketch, the sudden and considerable growth of the reading public in the last twenty years of the eighteenth century is clear, and for its extent we may quote the words of Lackington, who by his occupation had every chance to form a sound judgment. 'I cannot help observing,' he wrote in 1803, 'that the sale of books in general has increased prodigiously within the last twenty years. According to the best estimate I have been able to make, I suppose that more than four times the number of books are sold now than were sold twenty years since The poorer sort of farmers, and even the poor country people in general, who before that period spent their winter evenings in relating stories of witches, ghosts, hobgoblins, etc., now shorten the winter nights by hearing their sons and daughters read tales, romances, etc., and on entering their houses, you may see *Tom Jones*, *Roderick Random*, and other entertaining books, stuck up in their bacon-racks, etc. If John goes to town with a

load of hay, he is charged to be sure not to forget to bring home *Peregrine Pickle's Adventures ;* and when Dolly is sent to market to sell her eggs, she is commissioned to purchase *The History of Pamela Andrews.* In short all ranks and degrees now READ. But the most rapid increase of the sale of books has been since the termination of the late war with America.' And if there were space we should examine the change which Lackington recorded when he said, ' by far the greatest part of ladies have now a taste for books . . . and there are some thousands of ladies, who frequent my shop, and know as well what books to choose, and are as well acquainted with works of taste and genius, as any gentleman in the Kingdom '

Finally, as an opinion on the passage of the habit of reading to the middle class, let us quote the words of the reviewer of Crabbe's *Tales* in the *Edinburgh Review* of 1812. ' It was wise he says, ' and meritorious in Mr. Crabbe to occupy himself with such [tales]. In this country there are probably not less than two hundred thousand persons who read for amusement and instruction among the middling classes of society. In the higher classes there are not so many as twenty thousand '

A. S. Collins

THE CONVOY

I

'If you come back here at 4 o'clock I will introduce you to a captain' It was the manager of the shipping office who spoke as he glanced at a scrap of paper I had handed to him on which a few words had been scrawled by the D.N.T O. at Port Said.

Four times that week I had interviewed the D.N.T.O.—in fact, it was but half an hour since I left his office No, he had no objection to my sailing, if I could get a berth, was his final answer to all my entreaties to secure me a passage to London by the first convoy that sailed Would he be so good as to put that on paper ? I requested. Certainly he would, and it was the old signal form on which he wrote, that I had presented to the manager

Three weeks' experience of interviewing managers and senior officials had taught me to ask no questions Without a word except 'Thank you,' I left the office.

It was 3 p m : an hour to wait. Already speculation as to coming events filled my mind as I hurried back to the hotel to pack my bags It was in the late summer of 1918, and as difficult to find a steamer and book a passage at Port Said as it was to embark in the wrong boat in the Port of London in pre-war days The idea of an introduction to some unknown captain as the first step in obtaining a passage was in itself enough to set the mind speculating on adventure.

Indeed, the whole affair of a journey overseas was now a gigantic mystery in its truest sense—not even a hint at the name of the vessel, her tonnage, her speed, or whence she came or whither she went, or even the day she sailed on, far less the hour. 'Confidential information' at shipping agents' offices would result in nothing more definite than the possibility of a boat next week, and a discussion on the constant rumours of the big boats that had been 'put down' within a few hours of the Port True it was the average shipping clerk knew no more of the arrival and departure of the ships of his own line than the man in the street ; but true it was, the scores of torpedoed sailors who besieged the British Consulate day after day for passages to England impressed

the intending traveller with the solid facts on which 'unpleasant rumours' were based.

The days of express trains, special quays, reserved berths, and a few days' journey to London seemed gone for ever. It was one thing to get a passport, but quite another to get a passage, and unexpected regulations baulked one's endeavours at every turn. Yet never was there to be seen such a mass of shipping at Port Said, or such an extraordinary spectacle as the great camouflaged steamers presented to the student of ships and their ways. To watch them file out of the Canal, each ship painted in different colours in different patterns, apparently devoid of all system or purpose, and to think they were so decorated as to be inconspicuous to the eye, seemed the height of absurdity.

The originator of the camouflaged convoy might well be considered a lunatic from a close inspection of his work, but a genius of the highest order when his art was viewed from the horizon.

It is doubtful if any single invention during the Great War brought about so complete a transformation from the apparently unchangeable as the conspicuousness of big ships on the high seas, as the combination of art, science, and organisation, that was to be seen in the war convoy in full sailing trim. For many months ships had dodged from point to point along the coast of the Mediterranean, but so many good vessels failed to reach their destination that eventually none ventured to sea except in convoy, and even then they did not escape the attention of the ever-watchful U boats. Zig-zag as they might, there was little choice of route; and Fritz, who, under water, never showed lack of skill in handling his craft and sinking merchant ships, had little difficulty in intercepting convoys to and from Port Said. Indeed, like a cat watching a corner mouse hole, he could hardly find a more advantageous position in which to lie in wait for his prey.

As the war progressed passenger ships became few and far between, and passenger accommodation, never very plentiful on a 'freighter,' was now reduced to an occasional berth when not required for the 'service.' Courageous travellers would arrive at Port Said, spend weeks at a hotel, become dejected with their futile efforts to get a berth, and then suddenly disappear without leaving the faintest clue behind them as to how they had embarked or in what ship they had sailed.

Never shall I forget my surprise and astonishment at the sudden disappearance of a fellow-traveller. He occupied the room next to mine For ten days we had talked, walked and dined together, argued and discussed all possible and impossible methods of how others had succeeded where we had failed, when,

without a hint, one morning his seat at breakfast was empty and I was left wondering if my turn would ever come.

The clock in the entrance-hall of the shipping office struck four as I announced myself, and was politely asked to take a seat From where I sat I could see the door of the manager's office Occasionally it would open and close as some clerk entered or left with letters and papers in his hand. The minutes passed Was the captain there already, I wondered, and the manager urging him to take me? What would he be like? I mused for the hundredth time—perhaps a thin, wiry man with an acid temper, or a jovial, robust old despot full of good nature and humorous repartee I tried to think of all the captains of all the ships I had sailed in in days gone by, from 'the old man' of the clipper *Torrens*, in which I first sailed to Australia in 1896 in seventy-two days, to the unapproachable autocrat on the bridge of the *Campania* crossing the Atlantic at twenty-one knots. His unknown personality obsessed me Each officer in uniform who entered the hall on some errand or other might be the man to my expectant mind. To which of those monster vessels in their barbaric splendour would he belong? I wondered, or possibly he would be a naval officer in command of a destroyer or a transport?

The minutes flew by; the office door swung to and fro less often, and at last the hall-porter made ready to close the outer doors as the clock struck five.

Once more the door of the manager's office opened. I was determined to see him, and found myself blocking his progress as he was about to leave A glance round the room; no captain was there, and all my expectations vanished. Too late, I thought. With an apology on my lips the manager cut me short: He was sorry the captain had not come ashore after all, as expected, but he would send a man to my hotel if he required me. He spoke in a casual tone, which dashed my hopes to the ground, and there was nothing for it but to hide my disappointment as best I might and creep back to my room to curse my luck.

It was three weeks to a day since I had arrived by train from Cairo Should I give up the idea of sailing? Impossible as long as a single ship was left in port. No convoy had left for a week, and I felt sure they would leave at dawn, as every mooring berth was occupied and wisps of steam and smoke and that air of preparedness hovered over every vessel.

As usual, I went down to dinner at 7 p.m. The last course had just been served, when a waiter touched me on the shoulder and beckoned me to follow him. Without a word I rose and threaded my way between the chattering throng of officers and nurses who dined in the coffee-room each night. We made our

way out into the porch, and he pointed to a young man standing in the shadow of the verandah. The stranger asked my name; I gave it, and in silence we started off down the street together. It was dark, the street lamps having been long ago forbidden on account of air raids by the Turks, but I knew the town by heart, and in a few minutes we arrived outside the shipping office I had left an hour or two ago. Not a gleam of light showed anywhere. Apparently the building was locked and deserted. My guide paused, took a latch-key from his pocket, unlocked the door and pushed it open. We entered; the hall was dark, but a gleam of light shone from the manager's door, which stood ajar. He was alone sitting at his desk in his shirt sleeves as I entered, but at once rose and shook me by the hand, saying, 'You can have a berth to London.' At that moment the telephone bell rang, and I had to curb my impatience for information while he answered the call, which no doubt seemed to me much longer than it really was.

At last he turned towards me and at once said, 'The fare is 29*l.*,' so I pulled out my cheque-book, made out a cheque at his desk for the amount to his company, and handed it to him. 'Could I have a ticket?' I ventured to ask. He regretted I could not. 'Could I have a receipt, then?' I could; and a clerk was called from the next room who made one out on a sheet of letter-paper.

The manager now shook hands with me again most cordially, hoped I would have a safe voyage, and a good passage, etc., and turned to attend to some other matters. For a moment I stared at him; then I found my tongue. 'What is my ship? When am I to go? How am I to get on board?' I asked in bewilderment. He looked at me curiously, and without a word rang a bell. A porter appeared with whom he had a few words' conversation in a low tone of which I could catch nothing.

Turning to me again, he gave me brief instructions to say nothing, but to be at a certain place with my baggage not far from the hotel at 8.30 p.m., and that the same porter would meet me. The porter, by the way, was a Maltese, one of those peculiar men, common enough in Eastern ports, who speak half a dozen different languages and know everything that a tourist wants to know about transport, hotels, and embarkation. I thanked the manager profusely, we again shook hands, and I hurried out into the darkness of the street, full of that pleasing sensation of intense satisfaction in having at last achieved my object after three weeks' heartbreaking disappointment.

At last I thought I was really off, and should soon be running up the gangway of one of those big ships lying within a few feet of the quay. Possibly I might have to take a boat, but as likely

is not a lighter between the ship and the quay would do away with the necessity.

Once more I gained the hotel, repacked my bags, sought out he manager, called for the bill and paid it. ‘Suppose you are ff?’ said he casually. I nodded assent. But not a word of nquiry as to when, how, or by what ship I was going. No doubt e was aware I did not know myself.

Never did a traveller set out to board his ship so full of confidence that all the difficulties had been surmounted. Needless to ay, I was ready at the appointed place at the appointed time. Presently a cab drew up beside the pavement The same porter I had met in the manager's office alighted from the box seat beside the driver and seized my baggage without a word, and we drove off through the streets as fast as the darkness would permit with safety

It was with some difficulty that I could follow the windings of the cab, but after a few minutes we entered the custom-house gates The cab pulled up, I paid the driver, and the porter, still in silence, again seized my baggage and made his way towards the quay, I following at his heels. As we were passing out beneath the archway to the water front a native policeman stepped out of the shadow and stopped us He led me back alone to the passport office, in which sat an Egyptian clerk at a counter with a single shaded candle in front of him My passport was in order; he stamped it, wrote something thereon, folded it up, and, leaning across the counter as he handed it back to me, said in a low but distinct voice, ‘War-ah-moor.’ He said the words slowly, laying stress on each syllable. I repeated them after him, wondering what on earth they meant Certainly they were not Arabic or French, or words that conveyed the slightest meaning to my mind. A pass-word, I thought, and repeated them to myself again and again

After some little trouble I found my porter with the baggage sitting in a very small boat with a single Arab to scull. Evidently, I mused, there is not far to go, but as I stepped into the boat my foot slipped off the seat, and the tiny craft rocked violently as I came heavily down For a moment apprehension seized me It was intensely dark, a dense velvety blackness hung over the water, and the moon was not due to rise for an hour at least From where I sat in the stern-sheets with the porter it was all I could do to make out the figure of the boatman, far less his features

At the best of times a sultry summer night at Port Said is oppressive, and as we pushed out into the black waters of the canal the apprehensive sensation would not be dispelled. Even the outline of the great ships that crowded the basin could not

be traced. At most, a topmast, a funnel, or a derrick-boom could be distinguished against the sky. Not a gleam, not a shadow fell upon the placid waters as the boatman pulled out into the fairway, the only lights being a few stars overhead We had proceeded scarcely 200 yards, when all in a moment I became aware that a panting tug was bearing down upon us Precisely how we escaped destruction I do not know. Our skiff suddenly spun round like a cockchafer and rocked violently in a heavy wash. Cold perspiration broke out from every pore, and the utter helplessness of our position in the darkness struck me in all its naked reality.

After some acrimonious bawling between the porter and the boatman in Arabic we headed up the Canal, keeping somewhat out of the fairway, so we had occasionally to dodge various small craft and lighters made fast to buoys and the cables of moored steamers. On we went past the Canal offices, their pale green domes just showing against the sky, past Navy House (once the landing-stage for tourists), past the slips and the transports and endless numbers of great ships wrapt in gloom, till we came to a group of vessels lying side by side, their sterns made fast to a quay wall by wire ropes, and their bows to their anchor cables which had been dropped in the fairway. They were great 'freighters,' so close together that only a narrow alley-way was left between their towering hulls.

We had now been rowing for half an hour, and I knew that these ships must be lying at the extreme end of the Canal basin, so they could not be seen from the town quay or promenade Passing within a few feet of the stem of the first ship our boatman entered the narrow lane between two vessels As I have said, the night was intensely dark, but in this narrow lane it was the darkness of a crypt or cellar when the light goes out: the sudden blindness of a mole.

There was no sense of direction, and the boatman commenced to claw his way along the iron plates of the ship's side, it was hot to suffocation—a damp, stagnant heat, redolent with unpleasant odours of blistering paint and festering garbage, as the day's fierce sunshine still radiated from the vessel's sides and there had been no breeze to cool them. Presently I became aware that the boatman was in touch with a lowered gangway just above our heads, and to this he held on with a boat-hook. No sound broke the stillness of the night, no object could be distinguished, but one kept one's head instinctively craned upwards gazing at the sky-line of the steel wall that rose above us, to relieve, if nothing lese, that sense of helpless blindness which is inseparable from groping for the unknown in total darkness.

Was this my ship? I wondered—certainly they did not seem

to be expecting me. But it was war-time, and no precaution was neglected to ensure secrecy in shipping matters. Before I had time to think how I should be able to get on board, and without the slightest warning, the porter startled me by bawling at the top of his voice 'War-ah-moor.' I held my breath, wondering what would happen. But there was no response—not a sound, not a movement, could be detected. Again he bellowed 'War-r-ah-moor-r-r,' with all the power of his lungs, in a long-drawn-out moan that one would have thought must startle every ship for half a mile. To this day that weird cry in the dead of night haunts me.

We waited, intensely listening; still there was no response from the surrounding gloom. After a few minutes we groped our way back round the bows of the vessel into another lane, apparently as silent and deserted as the first, and, finding a gangway only a few feet above our heads, the porter again bawled 'War-ah-moor,' and again I wondered what on earth this mystic cry might mean.

As I craned my neck upwards to catch some response a man's head and shoulders appeared against the sky as he peered down over the bulwarks. A second later he disappeared, and I became aware, from the vibration of the gangway, that a man was descending. Before he was half-way down he lost his footing in the darkness, and, slipping and lurching from side to side, dropped heavily into our tiny craft, which almost capsized with the impact. As he picked himself up I cried 'War-ah-moor,' but he did not seem to understand me. He was in uniform with some brass letters on his shoulders, but it was much too dark for me to make out what they were. There was also a strong smell of spirits, and I felt some misgivings towards our visitor from the suddenness of his arrival. After some questions it was clear he wanted to go on shore, but to row back to the landing-stage, an hour distant, was not to be thought of, so the porter suggested we should put him on the nearest quay, as our visitor resolutely refused to return to the ship from which he had come.

It was certainly most undesirable to continue our search amongst the shipping in the dead of night with an unknown passenger. For all I knew, he might be a deserter or a spy on some illegitimate errand. The chance of meeting the Canal police or a naval patrol was by no means impossible, and explanations and arguments, in the circumstances, would, I knew, be useless. On the other hand, to put the man ashore at some unauthorised landing place, possibly under the nose of a military picket, might lead to unpleasant consequences and the termination of my attempt to board a vessel.

While thus meditating the boatman pushed his skiff towards

THE RED-BACKED SHRIKE

THE Red-backed Shrike is a summer visitor to the British Isles. It is one of the later migrants to appear, and is not often found here before May. My own earliest record is May 2, 1926. The average date is somewhere about the middle of May. If a district is suitable for shrikes, and has been utilised by them, they are always likely to return to it, but the numbers vary considerably from year to year. Meadow land with rough hedges or scattered bushes, with water not far away, seems to be the favourite kind of locality. Thus they keep much to the valleys, and do not go far up the hillsides as a rule, and if a bird is seen in such a place very early in the season, it is almost certain to remain there or thereabouts, even if it had no mate when first seen. There is no doubt that it is not nearly as common now, even in good years, as it used to be. I write almost entirely on my observations on the bird in Essex during twenty summers. Up to 1911 it was quite common, and in that year I found fourteen nests within a small radius of Felsted School. In 1912 there was a very great decrease, and the numbers have remained very low ever since, with an occasional better year. The present year is probably the best year since 1911, for I have located eleven pairs without searching a great amount of country and without looking up nearly all the spots favoured before the great decrease. My brother, O. R. Owen, has had almost identical notes in Radnorshire, where it used to be common in some valleys; in fact, the case was worse there, for in some of the years he did not see a single bird. The highest point where I have seen the bird nesting was on the top of Llanymynech Hill, on the Montgomeryshire-Shropshire border. Here, however, there was a large number of isolated bushes such as the birds appreciate for nesting, and a couple of pools not far away. Once they have come in, they are very quick in starting to nest. In 1922 I was in Shropshire on business for a few days in May, and my brother and I found a nest with three eggs on May 20 in a valley in Denbighshire before I had seen a bird at all in Essex or he in Radnorshire. The day after I returned I found birds there, and their nests within a few days more. This year the period of arrival was very much extended, for some of them did not turn

the quay, to which the vessels' sterns were made fast by wire hawsers, and in a few minutes we bumped against the masonry. In the shadow I could only just make out the coping above our heads, and I wondered how on earth our passenger would land. Here was a fresh dilemma. Obviously he had had more to drink than he could carry. To scale the dressed stone wall seemed out of the question. A difficult feat, even for an acrobat in daylight, with nothing but the uncertain footing offered by the unsteady gunnel of a tiny skiff already over-loaded.

A brief consultation took place. The boatman laid aside his oars, and, placing his feet on either gunnel in the bows, bent forward and seized the soldier by the legs. With a single dexterous heave he shot him over the coping as he stood erect. Like all Arabs, the boatman had bare feet. He was without doubt a man of great strength, but in the darkness I could not see precisely how he performed this extraordinary feat. Relieved of the weight, the boat sprang backwards from the wall, and I, who was in the stern sheets, instinctively faced about, only to be instantly thrown violently backwards in the bottom of the boat by a wire hawser catching me beneath the chin. I shouted, the others ducked their heads, and our frail craft crashed into the great iron rudder-post of the steamer For a moment I thought every plank must have started and we should sink The sickening scrunch of woodwork, the violent oscillation of the boat, and the thought of being left to struggle in the scum and garbage that floated in this backwater, sent a shudder through me, and for a moment I felt quite unnerved However, with the exception of shipping a bucketful of water, the boat seemed none the worse, and after a few minutes' rest we cautiously pushed clear of the hawsers and once again commenced to thread our way between the sleeping vessels, the porter from time to time shouting 'Warah-moor,' without response, as we paused beneath some half-lowered gangway.

It was now nearly 10 p.m , and the moon was casting her pale rays on the upper works of the great ships, but the narrow lanes between their hulls were still in deep shadow, and the camouflage was indistinct We might, indeed, have been lost in a menagerie of prehistoric monsters tethered in stalls in another world Here was a giant pair of gaping jaws, with rows of saw-like teeth, ready to swallow us at a single gulp, or two-thirds of an enormous eye-ball rose from the water and leered at us, while behind us the long waving tentacles of a mammoth octopus disappeared into the black depths of the valley we had just left.

Though the sense of constant danger vanished with the increasing light, the situation was perplexing. I had no ticket—I did not even know the name of the vessel I was in search of, and it

had been obvious to me for some time that the porter did not know the position of the ship he was looking for. Again and again I wondered if we should have time to hail every ship in the Canal before dawn. To abandon the search or give up the attempt to board a vessel never entered my head, not even if I had to take the sculls myself from the perspiring Arab, who showed signs of fatigue.

As the moonlight strengthened, the fantastic patterns painted on the steamers which crowded the Canal created strange deceptions. Each time we emerged from between two vessels into the fairway the dim forms of countless great ships could be discerned in all directions, so close together that the shore line could not be traced. Funnels, bridges, superstructures, and fittings, apparently mutilated and disfigured by a giant axe that had shorn through the upper works and hulls in huge diagonal strokes. Angles and bands, cubes and segments, side by side, in every form and combination of black, white, green, blue, and yellow paint, merged sections of one ship into those of another, or stood out in such sharp contrast that it seemed as if whole portions of a ship had vanished. One third of a bridge would be indistinguishable, funnels gashed and distorted, counters bisected, stems doubled, and false water-lines defied all attempts to recognise the familiar outlines of a single common tramp.

How many ships we hailed that night I do not remember, but at last we found a gangway still lowered, possibly, I thought, for some officer who had not returned. Here was a chance I decided in a moment not to miss. I would board the ship and investigate for myself. If she was bound for London and sailed on the morrow, happen what may I would stick to her somehow. (Had I not a receipt for 29*l.* in my pocket for a passage to London ?)

As we ran alongside the gangway I gripped the handrail, and in five seconds was standing on her iron deck. She was a big 'freighter,' 10,000 tons at least; that was all I could tell. The officers' quarters were in the centre, and I soon found myself in the narrow alley-way on to which the cabin doors opened. Still not a sound—not a gleam of light from the black-painted portholes. Was the ship deserted after all? Was she quarantined for plague, or laid up for repairs, or waiting for a crew, or for some strange reason lifeless? I tried one door—it was locked—then another, then a third, and pulled it open: a flood of light nearly blinded me, but, having traversed the seas under war regulations, I instantly entered and slammed the door behind me. A young officer in shirt and trousers was sitting on his bunk reading a magazine and looked up in astonishment. 'War-ah-moor,' I said, with all the inquiry I could put into the words. For a moment he looked puzzled, then replied, '*Yes,*

sir.' 'Are you going to London?' I asked him eagerly. 'Don't know, sir.' 'Are you P. & O.?' I went on. 'No, sir.' 'Are you Anchor Line?' 'No, sir.' 'Are you British India?' I persisted. "No, sir.' 'Then what the devil are you?' I cried in desperation. 'War-ah-moor, sir,' he replied, and just the suspicion of a smile passed across his face.

'Look here,' I cried, 'I want to get to England, and I have paid for a passage to London; have you got a berth where I can sleep?' I gave him my name and a brief description of how I came to be on board He made no reply, but switched off the light, opened the door, went out, and I followed him, groping my way over to the starboard side of the ship at his heels. He showed me a neat cabin with two bunks 'Surgeon' was over the door in brass letters, and I observed at a glance that every fitting was new—a few months in use at most. I thanked him and hurried off to get my baggage. From the top of the gangway I could just discern the boat below. 'War-ah-moor,' I cried. 'War-ah-moor,' sang out the porter from below, and seizing my baggage, soon deposited it on the deck of the steamer

Never did I pay a man so cheerfully for services rendered I looked over the side as he departed, and could just see the boat pull away in the darkness The moon was now flooding the upper deck of the big steamer with silver light; I glanced round the vessel on which I found myself, noted her battened hatches and stowed-away cargo derricks, and knew she was ready to sail

I was tired; the perplexities and uncertainties of the last two hours had exhausted me, and I fell asleep in my bunk in the clothes in which I stood, in spite of the overpowering odours of the drugs that pervaded the cabin

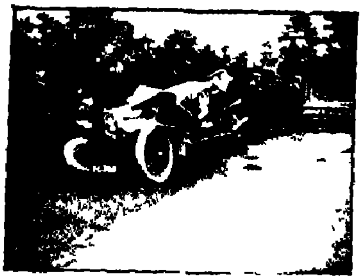
E. C. Bowden-Smith

(*To be continued.*)

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1877 1927

Fo[unded by JAMES KNOW]LE[S]

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up until very late in May. The first birds had well advanc
incubation by May 19, while others were only just starting t
in June. *The favourite nesting site here is a hawthorn bush*
The nest is brier and bramble in it and not too thick. *The nest is un*
near the outside of the bush and anything from 3 to 10 feet
the ground, but 4 to 6 feet is the most usual height. A bl
thorn bush which is not too thick is sometimes chosen, and I h
occasionally seen a nest in a wild rose bush and twice in hol
bushes. A little practice makes the shrike's nest one of the easiest to find, especially in a field with isolated bushes. In 1917 two boys asked me if I would show them a shrike's nest. I promised to let them know if I saw a shrike. A few days later I saw a cock bird perched on a bush in a field as I passed on my cycle. I stopped and examined the bushes over the fence. That evening I told the boys and explained in which bush I thought the nest would be. The next day they went and looked at that bush, and then in all the others, without finding the nest. Three days later I went myself and found the nest in the bush I had selected, with one egg. Probably the birds had just arrived when I spotted them and had not started to nest when the boys were hunting. If a bird has been robbed it is as likely as not to use a very untypical site for the second nest. Some of the second nests of birds that have been robbed have been in extremely unlikely situations, and it has often been mere luck which has revealed them to me. If a bird has been robbed it will try and try again to rear a brood. Usually it lays the same number of eggs at the second attempt as at the first, but if a third effort is required the number will certainly decrease. At times there is a drop of one in the second laying. A shrike seems to be an acute bird and able to recognise its own eggs. On the few occasions when I have removed the shrike's eggs and put others, such as greenfinch or yellow-hammer, in exchange, the bird has gone on laying, but always turned the strange eggs out. Most shrikes will stand a good deal of nest inspection from the laying of the first egg onwards. Now and then a very striking case of the opposite crops up. For example, this year I found a nest with two eggs, one of which had obviously been laid long before the nest was ready and was nearly buried in the nest material. Two days later, when the nest contained four eggs, I carefully dug this egg out, smoothed the hollow over, and left. To my great surprise, on my next visit the nest was deserted. I did not dream that it was my fault at the time. However, later I found the second nest, also containing four eggs, about 100 yards from the first. Here, too, the first egg was obviously laid in a hurry and was almost covered up, as before. Once again I dug it up in my anxiety for every shrike's egg possible to hatch, and again the bird deserted. I have not tried to find its

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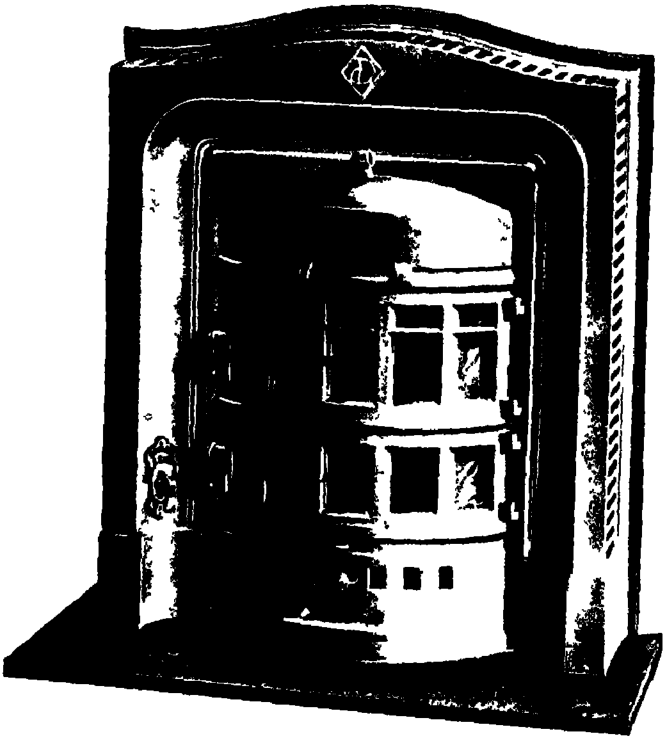
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nest. The eggs usually number four to six—occasionally, rarely, seven; and sometimes as few as three are laid. They vary very much in colour, but mainly are of two types, pink with reddish spots or cream with greenish-yellow spots. The spots usually form a zone at the large end, but often an egg has the zone in the middle or towards the short end. *The nest is like a greenfinch's nest, but over-large and loosely constructed, and is often not very securely lodged, so that it tilts when the young are getting fledged; sometimes I have placed a forked stick under the nest to prevent the young getting spilled. Incubation seems to last, on the average, a fraction over fifteen days. Even dating the eggs does not make this a very simple point to determine, as the bird does not wait until she has laid the* last egg before starting to sit. Sometimes they seem to brood over the nest, without actually sitting, from the laying of the first egg and to begin to sit in earnest after the third or fourth. For example, in a nest I watched in 1925 the five eggs were laid on June 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8. This bird seemed to begin to sit on June 6. Three young hatched on June 21, the fourth on June 22, and the last on June 23. I visited the nest at least twice daily, so am sure of my facts. This bird—in fact, the pair—was very tame, and it was a great blow to me and some of the boys who were busy photographing them when little owls removed the family. The nestling period is approximately fourteen days. The nestlings get out of the nest at times on the thirteenth day, but return at intervals and for the night. When they have once left the nest bush, however, they do not again return to the nest. They seem to me always to leave the nest two days too soon, for they cannot fly then, but only flutter a yard at the most. They can, however, make themselves wonderfully hard to detect even in a place where it seems impossible to miss seeing them. The male takes no share in the incubation or brooding as far as my observations go. The hen broods almost continually for the best part of a week, and then all her time and the cock's time, except the night, is taken up in providing the enormous amount of food required. In the evening, for an hour before sunset till rather after, the hen broods the young when they are fledging, but does not spend the night over them after they are eleven days old. In this period the male alone brings food and works very hard. After the young leave the nest they are very hard to watch for the next fortnight, as they keep inside the hedges and bushes and are fed by the parents: the parents in this period are very watchful, and give their alarm 'chack' if the position of the young is approached too closely and will not feed them if the observer is in sight; they keep moving about 'chacking' for about a quarter of an hour, and then well away for a similar period, and then return to see if the

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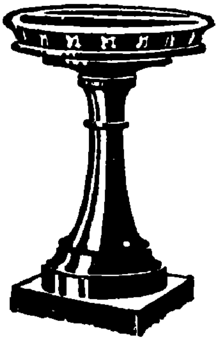
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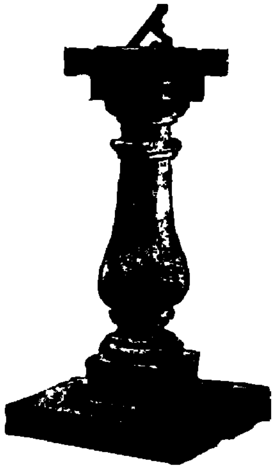
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DOCUMENTS

The War Debts

[The following are the documents in full which deal with the inquiry initiated by certain American University Professors. These documents have not yet been published anywhere as a complete whole. They explain themselves, but must be read together in order to arrive at the truth. They are set forth here because of their interest and because a right understanding of this matter is important to the good name of this country.—Editor.]

I. December 20, 1926.—A preliminary statement made by Professor Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, to which was added a statement by members of the Faculty of Political Science of the same University.

II. March 10, 1927.—An indorsement of the above by

President John Grier Hibben, of the University of Princeton, N J., and signed by 116 members of the Faculty.

III. March 15, 1927.—Reply by the Secretary of the United States Treasury (Mr. A. W. Mellon) to document II.

IV. April 11, 1927.—Statement of His Majesty's Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. W. S. Churchill) in Parliament

V. April 19, 1927.—Letter in *The Times* from the Bishop of Gibraltar.

VI May 2, 1927 —Note to the United States Government from His Majesty's Government

VII May 5, 1927 —Reply to VI from the Secretary of the United States Treasury (Mr A. W. Mellon)

I

Monday, December 20, 1926

Columbia University,
Department of Public Information

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

The Faculty of Political Science in Columbia University, composed of some forty scholars and men of affairs who are in the very front rank in the fields of Economics, Social Science, History, and Public Law, have united in a carefully prepared statement of what they conceive to be the relation between the inter-Allied war debts and the reparations fixed by the Treaty of Versailles, and the peace and economic restoration of the world There can be no higher or more disinterested authority than that which these gentlemen enjoy. They are not closet philosophers, but men in active touch with every phase of practical life, including finance, industry, commerce and legislation

The American people hardly realise the enormous advance made towards the establishment of international security and peace during the year 1926 The word Locarno has become symbolic not only of progress but of an ideal which is no longer considered impracticable This is due in chief measure to the fact that M Briand, Dr Stresemann and Sir Austen Chamberlain are not merely the heads of the Foreign Offices of three Governments whose interests have often been in competition or in conflict, but that these men have become close comrades, working with loyalty and devotion upon a common task It is unthinkable that the people of the United States, with their traditions and their historic policies of international friendship and co-operation, will withhold any possible measure of support from this epoch-marking movement

This statement is in no sense a proposal for the cancellation of the debts or reparations It is an argument for the re-study of these debts and reparations and of all the problems that are so closely related to them or that grow out of them in the light of the most recent political and economic developments in Europe, this re-study to be made by or under the direction of an international conference summoned for that particular purpose.

To Americans it will be of special interest to read again the letter

addressed by Thomas Jefferson when Secretary of State to Mr. Hammond, Minister Plenipotentiary of Great Britain, under date of May 29, 1792, and still more, perhaps, the preliminary draft of that letter which was submitted to the criticism of President Washington, of Alexander Hamilton, of James Madison and of Edmund Randolph, in answer to the claims made by the British Government arising out of the destruction, here in the United States during the War of Independence, of property belonging to the British Government or to Loyalists.

Statement by Members of the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, on the War Debts Problem

We, the undersigned members of the Faculty of Political Science and Associated Schools of Columbia University, submit for impartial consideration the following statement:

In our judgment the war debts settlements are unsound in principle. Certainly they have created and are fostering a deep sense of grievance against us. We do not urge that the debts be completely cancelled. Whether there should be cancellation in whole or only in part depends on many complicated factors yet to be studied. What we do urge is complete reconsideration in the light of present knowledge. To this end we believe that an International Conference should be called to review the entire problem of debt payments, and make proposals for readjustment. This need not and should not in any way interfere with present negotiations, nor the current operation of the Dawes Plan. On the contrary it would facilitate them. The proposed conference cannot be hurriedly improvised, but definite steps looking toward its organisation would ease the present situation and we should find ourselves co-operating helpfully and constructively with other nations upon terms of a lasting settlement.

A Turning Point in History

In the last few months the nations of Western and Central Europe have made an unprecedented effort to rid themselves of the menace of future war. At present they are succeeding beyond all expectation. In proportion to their success the whole world will share in the benefits. If their great adventure fails, the whole world, including ourselves, will some day suffer incalculably.

The prime condition of the success of any such movement is mutual trust and understanding. Our war debt settlements have produced distrust and misunderstanding. When century-old political enmities are yielding to common sense, an international financial problem of recent origin, whatever its magnitude, should not be allowed to threaten the foremost gain in international relations since European nations began.

Our share in the war debt problem arose out of our entry into the war of 1917. True we should have had no occasion for war had there been no European War. But the controversy as to the responsibilities of European Powers for the outbreak of war in 1914 is not pertinent to that other question of why we went to war in 1917. America went into the war on an issue of its own. The *casus belli* for the United States was unrestrained submarine warfare, behind which lay—in 1917—an apprehension of decisive military and naval successes on the part of the Central Powers imperilling the development of free institutions.

intruder has gone. Later the whole family keeps moving about in the neighbourhood until about the middle of August, when they migrate. From this it will be gathered that the bird is strictly single-brooded. When the male and female are alarmed or anxious and give the alarm note they have a habit of flirting the tail sideways and switching it up and down. If the tail is flirted to the left, the left half is fanned out while the right half remains closed, and the opposite happens if the tail moves to the right. If the tail is switched up and down, the whole tail is partly spread out fan-wise, and the throat is puffed out at the same time.

The young are born blind and have no down. The inside of the mouth, tongue, and flanges are all yellow; there are no spots on the tongue: the roof of the mouth and the palate are spurred, but not the base of the tongue. The eyes begin to open on the fifth day, but they are not properly open and wide-awake until after the tenth day. At five days old no quills are through, but the wings have tiny hairs instead of flight feathers. By the seventh day the quills of the wings and tail are through: the fledging period is not fully complete when they leave the nest, although, of course, the bodies are well covered with plumage by then. I can detect no difference in plumage to distinguish males from females. The bird is better known locally as the larder-bird, from its habit of impaling any food, that is not wanted for consumption when caught, on the points of thorns not far from the nest. Although all of them have this habit of impaling part of the catch, it is not very often that one finds a good larder. The usual thing is to find odd bumble-bees, beetles, cockchafers, and similar food on thorns at distances of more than a yard apart. One such 'larder' this year extended over many yards, but never contained a 'dozen head' at any time. In this case the male was very fond of killing small birds, and there were two places in the larder where he used to dress his victims, which consisted of the smaller tits and warblers and other young birds not long out of the nest. I did not find any of the carcases hung in the larder, but occasionally remains, in the shape of wings, under the dressing posts. He must have been rather a terror, for one day I found a wing of a blackbird impaled in the larder with all the flesh picked off it: this was during the nestling period. After the young had left I was watching the male, who had perched on the branch of a dead pollarded elm. A swallow swooped down on him, and the shrike crouched and shrank as the swallow passed over him within a fraction of an inch. The swallow wheeled and repeated the action four times with the same effect on the shrike, who, however, never left his perch. If the shrikes have small birds in the larder they do not like the larder to be inspected, and I find that if this happens they invariably

Our declaration of war was followed by the mobilisation not only of our man-power but also of our material and financial resources. From the latter we made extensive advances to other nations fighting a common enemy. Thus arose the first phase of the war debt problem It was at a time when we were straining every effort to hasten our own direct participation in the war From the record of debates in Congress, it is clear that these advances were not regarded by those who voted them as business transactions, but rather as joint contributions to a common cause But even if we did not have these statements, the grants themselves would have been justifiable upon no other ground. That the borrowers used the credits to help win their own wars is undoubtedly true, but the reason that we loaned them the money was the fact that by so doing they were also helping us to win our war. If this were not so, it would mean that our Government diverted for the use of others vast sums of money and essential war supplies at a time when it was calling upon the country to make every possible sacrifice to maintain its own cause The credits were freely given because they were to secure for us effective support for our own effort either directly on the field of battle or indirectly by strengthening the nations associated with us They would have been justified by no other purpose

Not all of our war loans were used directly for military purposes Some of them helped to feed and clothe civilian populations Some provided permanent improvements useful after the war was over Some of the loans were made after the armistice was concluded

In the debt settlements we have made insufficient account has been taken of those differences The origin of various items in the debts was ignored. In justice and in reason they should have been considered

The Debt Settlements

The United States early abandoned the attempt to collect the full amount called for by the original debt contracts The first formal step toward establishing a new basis of debt calculation was the creation of the Funding Commission by the Act of Congress of February 9, 1922 According to this Act, the Allies were to pay all debts in full, but the rates of interest were reduced to 4¼ per cent The very first debt negotiations, those with Great Britain, showed that still further reduction was necessary, and 'capacity to pay' became the basis of these subsequent negotiations This was the formula used in the reparations section of the Versailles Treaty with reference to Germany At best a vague and difficult formula, it has nevertheless, upon the whole, been applied in a very real effort to reach satisfactory settlements The Secretary of the Treasury has stated that the cash values cancelled in the settlements with Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, and in that offered France, amount to 5,489,000,000 dollars This means that the United States is now cancelling about one-half the aggregate sum represented by the principal and interest of the original debts.

This partial cancellation would be generous to the extreme if the debts had been mere business transactions It is nevertheless regarded by the debtor nations as not touching the heart of the issue. They hold in mind chiefly those credits which were used to wage war. They contend that they should not in fairness be required to repay advances that were expended for our benefit as well as for their own at a time when money was

our only contribution. For over a year after our declaration of war their troops almost alone held the enemy in check. This was the critical period during which Germany, freed on the East, brought the whole weight of its power to break the Western Front During this supreme crisis, if the Allies had spared lives or if we had stinted supplies, our war as well as theirs might have been lost.

No attempt to reopen these pages of history was made in the negotiations of debt settlements This was chiefly because the Act creating our Debt Funding Commission allowed only limited discretion to that body Moreover, there is no way to compare the value of supplies with that of lives sacrificed in war

The points ignored in the official settlements, however, have been all the more accentuated in popular discussion. The controversy has ranged far beyond the question of money. The question of generosity between debtor and creditor has been discussed upon terms of what equivalent, moral or material, has been rendered for the sums advanced To the minds of our debtors this is the core of the controversy. Sooner or later we shall be compelled to give consideration to this point of view.

But before addressing ourselves to the more vital aspects of the controversy we must call attention to serious defects in the existing settlements

The Existing Settlements

The existing settlements rest upon a basis which is itself open to question The formula 'capacity to pay,' which, in the case of ordinary debt adjustments, may be applied, to the possible benefit of both parties, proves difficult if not impossible of just application in the case of debts so vast as to reach over two or three generations In most of the debt settlements the period agreed upon stretches forward sixty-two years The estimates of capacity are, of necessity, based upon the statistics of the pre-war period and those of the abnormal post-war or reconstruction period. Obviously there are no figures for the future

How impossible it is to estimate the relative economic 'capacities' of nations for so long a period will be clear to anyone who looks back over the last sixty two years. The steel industry of Germany, now far surpassing that of England, is almost entirely the product of the last half century Similarly, other basic industries such as coal, wheat, cotton, rubber, oil, and even gold are in process of redistribution among the countries of the world Nations to-day are changing their relative positions even more rapidly than in the past How, then, can there be any degree of certainty in the estimates of future capacity, upon which this settlement largely rests? It is surely unjust to fix the burdens of future generations on the basis of guesswork.

The injustice is all the more evident when one compares the various settlements and notes the wide discrepancies in liberality On a 4½ per cent interest basis France is to pay only 50 per cent, Belgium 54 per cent of the whole debt (interest included). Great Britain is to pay 82 per cent, but Italy pays only 26 per cent. Whatever justification there may have been for differences in treatment of the various national debts, it is unfortunate that the principle 'capacity to pay' should result in such striking variations as these.

Still more regrettable is the impression which the formula conveys

concerning our attitude as creditor. To exact a payment according to the capacity of the debtors seems to imply that the exaction is according to the *full* capacity to pay. If this basis of settlement had been rigorously applied, it would mean that we were threatening to lower materially the standard of living in Europe by taking tribute of their every possible saving for three generations to come. This is without doubt a wrong interpretation of the attitude of the creditor, but it is a natural, popular interpretation in the debtor countries. The phrase itself, 'capacity to pay,' rings hard and heartless

As a matter of fact, it was partly to escape just this kind of international misunderstanding that negotiators dealt primarily with the interest instead of with the principal The attention of the creditor could be drawn to the full amount of the principal, that of the debtors to the scaled down interest or lessened annual payments. Unfortunately debtors and creditor looked at just the opposite items The result is that dissatisfaction over the terms of the settlement has extended to a misunderstanding of motives In the case of nations bound so closely and for so long to carry out agreements which seem to them unjust, this dissatisfaction may easily wreck the plans for world order and peace, according to which Europe is rebuilding its shattered economic fabric. Our debt settlements are part and parcel of a whole network of settlements between the other Powers It is clear that the whole matter should be re-examined on a basis not of immediate expediency but of justice and of generous intention that would give no reasonable ground for misunderstanding

Some Economic Effects of the Present Agreements

Before proceeding with the proposal for a revision of the debt policy let us see what are the economic effects of the present agreements The political and moral issues are, as we have seen, of the greatest importance But it will come as a surprise to many to find that the material interests involved, as far as we are concerned, are relatively small

(1) Our scheduled annual receipts from debt payments during the next four years will be less than 5 per cent of either the present annual commodity imports or the present annual commodity exports of the United States This percentage is smaller than the year-to-year fluctuations which have actually occurred in either exports or imports since the war

(2) The scheduled annual payments for the next few years will constitute, it is estimated, less than one-third of 1 per cent of our annual national income Even the increased payments called for in later years will not exceed one-half of 1 per cent of the probable national income

(3) The scheduled annual debt payments will make much less difference in the American tax bill than is generally supposed The payments due in the next four years amount to less than two dollars annually for each person in this country. They amount to less than 10 per cent of the estimated yield of the Federal income tax of 1927, and if applied entirely to a reduction in the personal income tax rate, they would make a difference of only two dollars a year to a typical income taxpayer with net income of 5000 dollars a year The latest tabulation shows that in 1924 90 per cent. of the Federal income tax payers paid on net incomes of less than 5000 dollars

(4) Fulfilment of the debt agreements necessarily imposes on European debtors hardships much greater than the benefits that accrue to America

Great Britain, France, Italy, and other European countries are already bearing burdens which strain their courage and strength. Taxation, in proportion to income and population, is between two and three times heavier in England, France, and Italy than it is in the United States. Payments that could at best mean a paltry gain for most American tax-payers mean to the over-taxed debtors a crushing load

A New Basis Possible

We must substitute for the unfair and inappropriate principle of capacity to pay a full and frank reconsideration of the debt and reparation problems, in an International Conference to which all the countries concerned shall send representatives To this conference the representatives of the United States should go, not with rigid instructions, like those hampering our Debt Commission, but with directions to determine what settlement, compatible with the demands of justice, would seem best calculated to promote the future peace and prosperity of the world This is joint enterprise. It calls for similar action by other nations and affects all international monetary operations directly caused by the war.

We realise that this statement has touched upon only a few of the many aspects of this complex question We have said nothing about the legality of our claim to full payment That is conceded by all of the debtor nations. We have passed over the fact that while the advances were made by the United States Government the means required were secured by issues of bonds to our own citizens, which bonds must be paid with interest whether or not the debtor nations make payment But to the extent that these advances were used by our associates to prosecute the war to our incalculable advantage, they seem to us, like other war expenses, financed through bond issues rather than through revenues from taxation We have said nothing of the special reason for moderation in our claims for repayment from Great Britain growing out of the loans she was making to our Continental associates, also mainly to permit a more vigorous prosecution of the war, nor of her declared willingness to forego repayment from them in exact proportion to the extent that we relax our demand for repayment from herself This aspect must be given due weight in any International Debt Conference Finally we have not attempted to estimate the gains made by our associates, territorial and other, through the Peace Treaty Their losses were incomparably greater than ours They have come out of the war crippled and impoverished No sober-minded economist would think of claiming that their gains would offset more than a fraction of their losses, or that, should we cancel all the debts due us their economic position would be raised to anything approaching ours

There is one aspect of the question, however, that must not be ignored. Can any thoughtful American view with indifference the growing odium with which his country is coming to be regarded by our European associates This would be distressing whatever the occasion, but when from the European point of view there is convincing justification for their unfavourable estimate of us, should we not welcome a chance to talk out our differences around a conference table? Evidence is accumulating week by week that our insistence on debt payment will cause the hatreds, which European countries are finding means to allay among themselves, to be concentrated squarely against us. Already international trusts are

being organized to compete with our industries in neutral markets Already it is being pointed out that the reparation payments which threaten to hold Germany in financial bondage for two or three generations are necessary to permit the Allies to pay their war debts to us A coalition of Europe against the United States might prove a good thing for Europe Can anyone believe that it would be a good thing for the United States? Thus the demands of justice are re-enforced by the dictates of political expediency and the counsels of economic self-interest in urging us to meet halfway the countries of Europe in the International Debt and Reparations Conference, which we here propose

SIGNATURES

Department of Economics and School of Business—Professors John Bates Clark, Edwin R A Seligman, Henry R Seager, Vladimir G Simkhovitch, Roswell C McCrea, Henry Parker Willis, Wesley C Mitchell, John Maurice Clark, James W Angell, Robert Murray Haig, Roy B Kester, Robert H Montgomery, J Russell Smith, F W Van Metre, James C Bonbright, Frederick C Mills, William E Weld, Rexford G Tugwell

Department of Public Law—Professors Howard Lee McBain, Lindsay Rogers, Joseph P. Chamberlain Hessel E Yntema, Parker Thomas Moon, Raymond Moley, and Philip C Jessup

Department of History—Professors William R Shepherd, James T Shotwell, Carlton J H Hayes, Robert L Schuyler, David S Muzzey, Dixon Ryan Fox, Austin P Evans, Evarts B Greene, Edward Earle, Harry J Carman, J Montgomery Gambrill

Department of Social Science—Professors Franklin H Giddings Samuel McCune Lindsay, Alvan A Tenney, Robert E Chaddock, William F. Ogburn, Herbert N Shenton

II

On March 10, 1927, President John Grier Hibben, of the University of Princeton, N J, issued a statement signed by 116 members of the Faculty, as follows

'We, the undersigned, members of the Faculty of Princeton University heartily endorse the desire, expressed by the faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, for a reconsideration of the settlement of the Allied debts'

In reference to this the *New York Times* of March 11, 1927, quotes President Hibben as follows

'The signatures of the 116 members of the Princeton Faculty constitute one more indication, in a lengthening series, that the enlightened opinion of the country calls for a revision of the debt settlement with our former Allies However well intentioned may have been the motives of our Representatives who approved the terms of these settlements, and however lenient these terms may be represented to be by those who wish to insist on our generosity, there is a growing recognition that the settlements so far effected do not meet the actual situation Even granting the capacity of our debtors to fulfill our stipulations, which is now openly questioned, we do not desire to impose tremendous burdens of taxation

for the next two generations on friendly countries who are struggling to regain their strength at the very time when we are amassing a national fortune. To urge our Government's obligation to its citizen bondholders and taxpayers is to evade the real issue, which does not concern the relation of the Government to the people, but our national policy toward certain other States To divorce the financial provisions of the loans from the moral situation in which they were asked for and given is to invent an unreal economic abstraction. Against the contention that this question should not be raised until all our debtors have come to book there is a ready rejoinder that it would be wiser to adopt a policy which would facilitate agreements with the remaining parties and then revise previous agreements Finally, there is good reason to believe that in economics, as well as in morals, altruism is indistinguishable from true self-interest '

III

MR MELLON TO DR JOHN GRIER HIBBEN, OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Treasury Department March 15, 1927

My dear President Hibben,

Your statement and that signed by 116 members of the Princeton University faculty endorsing the statement issued by the faculty of political science at Columbia, and urging the reconsideration and revision of the debt settlements with our former associates in the war, have come to my attention I recognise, of course, the propriety of a frank expression of opinion on important public questions on the part of those in responsible positions, but I am somewhat surprised that before giving the public the benefits of their conclusions neither the gentlemen of the faculty of Columbia University nor those of the faculty of Princeton University saw fit to make a thorough and first-hand investigation of data available at the Treasury or sought by personal interview to ascertain the views of the American officials who negotiated the settlements The training of these gentlemen, their standing as economists, historians and teachers of government, would have led me to believe that they would have conceived it to be their first duty to present a dispassionate analysis of the facts based on original study rather than to submit their conclusions unsupported by facts

Moreover, it would not have been amiss for you and your associates to have taken into consideration that one of these agreements has not been ratified and that the inevitable effect of such a pronouncement would be to encourage and strengthen the opposition in foreign countries to such ratification, an encouragement entirely unwarranted by the circumstances in view of the fact that the American people, expressing themselves through their chosen representatives in the House of Representatives, have approved of this agreement and that the debate, when the measure was before the House for consideration, indicated that an overwhelming majority of the Representatives were opposed to more lenient terms It is highly probable that such expressions of opinion, far from making the adjustment of these outstanding obligations easier, will simply increase the difficulties of obtaining a better understanding and a ratification of the agreement

In this connection I cannot refrain from pointing out, in answer to the

plea urging the reopening of all debt settlements, that it is not so long since that all of our soundest economists claimed, and rightly claimed, that the one pre-requisite to the restoration of economic prosperity in the world was an early settlement of these debts between Governments. The adoption of the Dawes Plan, the ratification of various agreements between Governments providing for payment of this vast unfunded obligation, have, in the course of the last few years, contributed mightily to the progress that has been accomplished. Reopening all of the settlements would, in my judgment, be a step backward and not forward, and one calculated to produce discord and confusion rather than to contribute to the economic stability and orderly betterment of world prosperity

In your statement you say that to divorce the financial provisions of the loans from the moral situation in which they were asked for and given is to invent an unreal economic abstraction By this I take it you mean to endorse the argument advanced by the Columbia faculty that our war advances to our associates were not at the time they were made regarded as business transactions, but rather as joint contributions to a common cause Admitting, of course, that the Congressional debates indicate clearly that the Congress was quite willing to loan this money, even on the assumption that there was a considerable element of risk in so far as ultimate recovery was concerned, nevertheless, the record indicates beyond dispute that these were loans and not contributions, and, though not in form, in actual effect, loans from individual American citizens rather than contributions from the Treasury of the United States The Act providing for these loans authorised the United States Government to sell Liberty bonds to its own people and to invest the proceeds of the sale in the bonds of these foreign Governments, the latter bonds to bear the same interest as the Liberty bonds sold and to have the same maturities What we allowed our associates to do, in effect, was to borrow money in our investment market, but since their credit was not as good as ours, to borrow on the credit of the United States rather than on their own Looking at the substance rather than the *form* of the transaction the situation was no different than if they had actually sold their own bonds in the American market and our Government had endorsed them Had this course been followed, would anyone contend that the sums advanced were intended as contributions to a joint enterprise rather than loans expected to be repaid ?

As a corollary to this first proposition it is urged that if these advances were not to be considered contributions as an original measure they ought now to be so considered because our associates were not fighting their own battle alone but ours as well, and that for some months we were unable to put many troops into line. I am not going to attempt a discussion of the military contribution made by the United States to the winning of the war other than to remark that when the crucial period was reached in the spring and summer of 1918 our troops were there I recognise that there is merit in the contention that the associated Governments might well have joined in pooling their resources in a common cause, and that even now an argument can be made in favour of writing off debts incurred after our entry into the war to the extent that they were incurred for contributions to a common cause, but, and this is an all-important reservation, there is merit to such an argument only if the proposed adjustment is to be a mutual one and is to be applied to all on a strictly equal basis This factor, however, is one that seems to have been completely overlooked by

the faculties of Columbia and Princeton Universities and by other advocates of debt cancellation urging the common cause contribution argument.

Early in the war, in order to minimise the dislocation of exchanges and for sound economic reasons, the general principle was established that goods and services purchased by one Ally in the country of another Ally should be financed by the latter. That is to say, that if France purchased supplies and services in England the British Government would furnish the pounds with which to buy them, and *vice versa*, when Great Britain bought goods and services in France the French Government would undertake to furnish the francs As to whether in the latter case the francs were furnished on credit or for cash I do not know, but in the former case the pounds were furnished on credit When we came into the war we readily agreed to apply this sound principle to our transactions with our associates That is to say, we agreed to furnish them the dollars with which all their purchases in the United States should be consummated, and what is more, we agreed to lend them those dollars This was the origin of these debts. But here is the fact that is not mentioned, and which you gentlemen have apparently overlooked. We purchased supplies and services from France and the British Empire by hundreds of millions They had to be paid for in francs and in pounds We did not get those francs and pounds on credit—we paid cash for them, except possibly in a few comparatively minor instances In other words, we paid cash for the goods and services necessary to enable us to make our joint contribution to the common cause Our associates got the goods and services purchased in this country necessary to enable them to make that part of their joint contribution on credit Here is the fundamental reason which explains why we ended the war with every one owing us and our owing no one We are now urged to cancel these debts because it is alleged that they were incurred in a common cause, but neither abroad nor in this country has it been suggested that if this is to be done we are to be reimbursed the dollars actually expended by us in France and Great Britain so that the goods and services they sold us might constitute their contribution to the common cause

In this connection, one other fact may well be called to your attention Among the purposes for which we made dollar advances was that of maintaining the franc and the pound at somewhere near their normal values In other words, we loaned our associates the dollars with which to purchase bills on London and Paris and so permit them to peg the exchanges When we were obliged to purchase francs and sterling for our own uses in the Paris and London markets, we did so at the artificial prices maintained by the use of the very funds we had loaned I have no desire to emphasise this point I mention it, together with the situation above described, as factors which had to be considered by those charged with the responsibility of negotiating the settlements on behalf of the American Government and which, with other important ones, could have been readily ascertained by those undertaking to advise our people had they availed themselves of the opportunity which would have been gladly afforded them to ascertain all of the facts

Before leaving the question of the purposes for which the debts were incurred, may I remind you that I have already had occasion to point out that the present value of these debt settlements at 5 per cent, a rate less than most of the debtor nations now have to pay for money, is, except in the case of Great Britain, either less than or approximately the same as the

amounts borrowed after the armistice. France's after-war indebtedness with interest amounts to 1655 million dollars; the Mellon-Bérenger settlement has a present value of 1680 millions. Belgium's post-armistice borrowings with interest were 258 million dollars, and the present value of the settlement is 192 millions. The post-armistice indebtedness of Italy with interest is 800 million dollars, and the present value of its debt settlement is 426 millions The principal of Serbia's post-armistice indebtedness aggregates 16,175,000 dollars, and the present value of its debt settlement is 15,919,000. The loans to Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria and Roumania were all made after the armistice

The Columbia professors criticised capacity to pay as a formula difficult if not impossible, of just application, a criticism I understand you endorse. But no other formula is suggested. It is obvious that in the settlement of these huge debts, the burden of which must be borne either by foreign taxpayers or by our own, it was essential that the negotiations must be based on some guiding principle if justice was to be done between all parties, that is to say, not only as between creditor and debtor, but as between debtors Frankly, I know of no fairer formula than that of capacity to pay generously applied To ask a debtor nation to pay substantially less than it is able to without undue burden on its people is to do an injustice to our own taxpayers, while to ask a foreign debtor to pay more than its capacity is to be guilty of an act of injustice such as I can assure you cannot be charged against us Apparently you would have all debtors treated on an equality Does this mean that the Italian settlement should be raised to a point where it will correspond to the British, which, of course, would impose a burden impossible of performance by Italy, or do you propose that the British be reduced to 50 per cent and the Italian raised to 50 per cent, which would make an easy settlement for Great Britain and a still impossible settlement for Italy? Or do you propose that the British settlement shall be brought down to the Italian 26 per cent, thus imposing no real burden on England at all?

You say that 'We do not desire to impose tremendous burdens of taxation for the next two generations on friendly countries' Are you quite sure that this is an accurate statement of the facts? In estimating the debtor's capacity to pay without inflicting such a sacrifice as would cause a lowering of its standard of living, only incidental consideration was given to the reparation payments to be received by the debtor countries from Germany Now, the fact is that all of our principal debtors are already receiving from Germany more than enough to pay their debts to the United States, and France and Italy, with the exception of this year in the case of the latter, are receiving from the same source more than enough to pay their debts to Great Britain also

France, in the year 1926–27, will receive from Germany approximately 176 million dollars Under the agreements with Great Britain and with the United States, France will pay 30 million dollars to us and some 71 millions to Great Britain, leaving to France a balance of 75 millions In 1927–28 that balance will grow to 108 millions In 1928 29, in spite of the fact that the payment to Great Britain rises to 85 millions, the balance available to France will amount that year to 186 millions, and, in 1930, after meeting her obligations to the United States and to Great Britain, there will be a balance from reparation payments of 237 millions

taly is paying us this year 5 million dollars and to Great Britain 19 million ollars They will receive from Germany 22 million dollars, which is just millions less than is necessary to meet their obligations to Great Britain nd the United States. But, in 1929, German reparations will have risen › 45 million dollars, leaving to Italy a balance, after her payments as ebtor, of 21 millions. And even in 1936, when her payments to us will mount to 16 million dollars, and to Great Britain approximately 20 illions, those two amounts will still fall short by 15 millions of the sums ceived from Germany.

Belgium this year will receive from Germany 16 million dollars more an she will pay to other countries, in 1927–28, 18 millions more; in 29–30, 27 millions more Jugoslavia will receive this year 11 million ollars more than they will have to pay, and next year 13 million dollars more ll of the other Powers that owe us money will, in the aggregate, receive is year 3 millions less than they have to pay, but by 1929 will be receiving millions more than they have to pay

Finally, we come to Great Britain Under the agreements with France, reat Britain will receive from France approximately 71 million dollars is year, from Italy approximately 19 million dollars, from Germany pproximately 72 million dollars, and will pay us 160 million dollars , in other words, Great Britain will receive this year from her debtors million dollars more than she pays us Next year Great Britain will eive from France 69 million dollars, from Italy, 19 millions, from many, 87 millions, or a total of 175 millions Great Britain will pay 160 million dollars, leaving a balance of 15 millions In 1928–29, Great itain will receive from France 85 million dollars, from Italy, 19 million llars, from Germany, 127 million dollars, or a total of 231 millions eat Britain will pay us 161 million dollars, making a credit balance of millions It is true that in the past two years Great Britain has received out 100 million dollars from Germany, France and Italy less than she has id to the United States, but it is equally true that from this year on Great itain every year will receive from her debtors a substantial amount re than she will pay to us, so that her American payments will not nstitute a drain upon her own economic resources

It is true that Great Britain has agreed not to accept more from her btors than the sums which, when added to reparation payments, will ual those which she pays the United States But even taking this into nsideration, it is obvious that your statement that the debt agreements we have made impose a tremendous burden of taxation for the next generations on friendly countries is not accurate, since the sums paid ll not come from taxation, but will be more than met by the payments be exacted from Germany.

It must also be obvious that if the amounts to be paid by all our debtors to be reduced and a corresponding reduction is to be made in the ount of reparations to be paid by Germany, the net effect of this change uld be to transfer the burden of reparation payments from the shoulders the German taxpayer to those of the American taxpayer

Finally, the joint faculties of Columbia and Princeton urge the American ople to reconsider the debt settlements with Allied countries ' because of growing odium with which this country is coming to be regarded by our ropean associates ' I doubt whether European nations dislike us as ch as some people tell us they do. But I know this, that if they do, the

move the carcase. I watched a cock hang a young robin up, and when he had disappeared I went to examine it. There was only a bee in the larder besides the robin. While I was looking at it the cock returned with another bee and flew away on seeing me. Later on I brought a friend to see the robin, but it had been removed in the interval, and we could not find it.

The young are fed chiefly on various kinds of bumble-bees and beetles, the latter being most frequently brought. Large flies, spiders, and moths are also brought in fair numbers, but caterpillars and larvæ rarely. In fact, while watching from a hide I have noticed caterpillars crawling quite close to the nest, and neither parent took the least notice of them. I have never noticed the hen bring flesh for the young, but now and then the cock bird has brought flesh on a dozen or more visits to the nest in succession. Insects are almost invariably dead when brought to the young, but once or twice I have noticed that small beetles show signs of life when given to well-fledged nestlings. The young swallow all kinds of bumble-bees, wasps, and honey-bees without any signs of ill-effects. All the parts of insects that the young cannot digest are thrown up in the form of pellets. These pellets are nearly always carried away by the parents and dropped; sometimes they are placed on a gate or post. Rarely I have seen the hen eat a pellet when she has been very desirous of brooding on account of weather conditions. During the first four days of the nestling period the dung is swallowed by the hen. After that t is nearly always carried away and dropped by both parents. On an average each of the young receives six meals an hour luring the nestling period—that is to say, the parents average hirty visits with food an hour for a nest containing five young irds. The size of the young seems to have nothing to do with he size of the insect brought. Any insect that can be caught is meal. It is dropped into one of the open mouths, and if it is o big rolls out again. It is then picked up, and the old bird hews it and offers it to another of the brood. Still it is too big. is chewed again and offered to a third. So it goes on, the girth the insect being lessened but the length increased until at last is swallowed. After the third chewing the old bird begins to ake manifest signs of increasing irritation. The hen often ems jealous of the cock coming to feed the young. If she eets him as she leaves the nest she queees[1] and flutters like a stling and he hands over his supply to her. This has often ppened, to my great annoyance, when I have been photoaphing the nest and wanted the cock to come. It is even more noying when she is at the nest and he only a few inches away d there are hopes of getting both together. They catch their

[1] Quee-ee-ee is one of their communicating notes.

cancellation of that part of their debts which has not already been cancelled will not of itself change their dislike into affection. Neither in international relations any more than in private life is affection a purchasable commodity, while my observation and reading of history lead me to conclude that a nation is hardly likely to deserve and maintain the respect of other nations by sacrificing its own just claims

No one can insure the future; but given normal conditions, it is believed a true balance has been held between the duty of the Debt Commission to the American taxpayer and fairness towards those nations to which was extended aid during and after the war The debts have not been cancelled, but excessive demands have not been made Certainly the debt settlements cannot become too heavy a load in the next few years In the future, with peace and the development of trade internally and externally, it is not too much to expect that this will be equally true of the later years also. The outstanding fact is that these debts have been settled A fair trial can now be had, not on theory, but in practice, and a re-opening of the whole question at the present time would do more to interrupt the steady progress achieved since settlement than might be gained from any ultimate minor adjustments that can be effected

Very sincerely yours,
A W. MELLON,
Secretary of the Treasury

IV

MR. CHURCHILL'S STATEMENT ON DEBTS IN THE BUDGET OF APRIL 11, 1927

Our principal, almost our only, foreign debt is the debt of 4,500,000,000 dollars to the United States Government On this we have paid since 1923 about 33,000,000*l* a year, of which 5,000,000*l* represents the repayment of capital and 28,000,000*l* represents the interest at 3 per cent on the outstanding capital During the past five years we have paid to the United States Government in respect of this debt altogether about 162,000,000*l*

As an offset to this debt we have our claims against Germany for reparations and against the Allied Powers for war loans made by us to them. These claims are nominally for a much larger amount than our debt to the United States Government, but in 1922 His Majesty's Government declared in the Balfour Note that they would not ask for more from their debtors than was necessary to pay their creditors The outlook at that time was not hopeful At that date, and until the Dawes Plan began to operate in 1924, the receipts from reparations were few and precarious, and the Allies were making no payments at all The position has certainly improved since then During the last two years we have been able to make a series of debt agreements with Rumania, with Italy, with France and with Portugal, to which list, I am glad to add, Greece, with whose distinguished representatives we were able last week to sign an agreement. There remain outstanding only Jugo-Slavia and Russia Since September 1924, Germany has been fulfilling regularly her obligations under the Dawes Plan, and we may assume that she will continue to do so.

Current reparation receipts from Germany during the past two financial years have been: 1925, 6,500,000*l.*; 1926, 9,500,000*l*, and in the present financial year they should amount to 14,500,000*l*. On the other hand, the receipts from Allied war debts, in round figures, were in 1925, 2,000,000*l*, in 1926, 8,000,000*l*, and in the current financial year they should amount to about 10,500,000*l*. Thus, against our annual American debt payment of 33,000,000*l*, we have received from Germany and the Allies together—during 1925, 8,500,000*l*, during 1926, 17,500,000*l*, and during the next financial year we should receive in all 25,000,000*l*. It will be seen that, although the gap between payments and receipts which, under the Balfour Note, we were forced to call upon our Allies to fill is being diminished, there has up to date been a deficiency of over 110,000,000*l*, which has had to be borne by the British taxpayer. Further, even if and when we obtain sufficient from Germany and the Allied war debts to cover our payments, past as well as future, to the United States Government, this country will still have to bear not only, of course, the whole of its own war expenses, but the full charge of the war loans advanced by us to our Allies, which amounted in 1919 to nearly 1,500,000,000*l*, and in no circumstances can we expect to receive any contribution to this burden.

V

The following letter appeared in *The Times* on April 19, 1927

To the Editor of The Times

Sir,—

Quite recently a very damaging attack has been made on England, which has done us a great deal of harm, especially among our Allies. It started in America in the statement made by the highest financial authority in Washington that it was cant on the part of England to talk of her load of debt to the U.S.A., because what she was receiving from Italy, France, and Germany covered, and more than covered, the annual payment we make to America.

We ourselves were, of course, not greatly moved by this misrepresentation. We knew that Mr. Mellon himself only gave it currency with an eye to the American election, and that he did not make it seriously. And therefore we in our turn did not treat it very seriously. It was contradicted in Parliament, our Press recorded the contradiction, and there the matter ended. China, the Boat Race, the Liberal revival were all much better 'sellers' and more interesting.

But that view of this incident is purely insular. Very few attacks of the many that have been made on us during the last few years have done us so much harm or alienated from us so much sympathy, especially among our European Allies France and Italy. To do Mr. Mellon justice he probably had no idea that this would be the case. His horizon of interest did not extend beyond his own country. But the fact is that it has damaged us more than a little. There is a strong conviction both in Italy and France that we suffered very little during the war, and that our losses, whether in men, money, or goods, were trifling compared with their own. Consequently they believe that we are as rich as ever, while they, stricken with terrible losses, are very poor. They are inclined to think that it is very unfriendly, very 'un-Allylike,' for rich England to be

exacting money from their impoverished selves. But they felt the force of our argument that, in the face of the large sum we have to send to America every year, they must pay us something. But now it has been made to appear that we with our accustomed skill have so manœuvred in Europe that, taking our debts as a whole, so far from being out of pocket by them, we are actually netting a nice sum, a balance of millions (in francs or lire a huge figure), which rich England is squeezing from her poor Allies.

This belief and consequent attitude towards us would be impossible if the English contradiction of Mr Mellon's statement had been as widely circulated as his misrepresentation was. But this is precisely what has not occurred The American's assertion was good copy as well as intrinsically important, and it was mentioned in every paper But the contradiction was by its very nature prosaic There was nothing piquant in the matter-of-fact arithmetic of Mr Winston Churchill, and the result is that it was passed over in silence, and Mr Mellon's 'fabula' holds the field

Can nothing be done? The matter is all the more grave because it is only a rather more than usually mischievous example of what is not infrequently happening Mistakes and unfounded assertions which put us in an unfavourable light or inspire coolness rather than amity are by no means rare in French and Italian papers, yet I have never seen any correction or contradiction or withdrawal It is foolish to be supersensitive, but it is still more unwise to be entirely indifferent and insensitive The Press of both countries contains newspapers of a high order, such as—to mention two only—*Le Temps* and the *Corriere della Sera* And their utterances deserve far more attention than they appear to receive in official quarters at home It does sometimes matter what is said about us It is not loyal to allow a friend to believe that we have done something which is sure to hurt his feelings when a few words from us will clear the matter up And, lastly, in these international affairs it is not enough for Governments to understand one another Behind them stand the people, who in critical moments are apt to dominate The Duce and Senatore Volpi, MM Poincaré and Briand, understand Mr Mellon as thoroughly as our Treasury does, and the 'Locarno spirit' is undisturbed between them But we need that spirit, which we may define as a sentiment of amity based on knowledge and fact, broadcast through the nations, in the Chigi Palace, but also in the mind and heart of the people, in Whitehall, yes, and in Whitechapel too, in Lille and Lyons, as well as in the Quai d'Orsay, and unless it is, it will be the deception that some critics declare it to be But even to begin to achieve this great end we must cease to ignore the Press of our Allies

I am yours faithfully,
JOHN GIBRALTAR

VI

TEXT OF A NOTE HANDED TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT BY HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON ON MAY 2, 1927

1. The attention of His Majesty's Government has been drawn to the letter on Allied war debts addressed to Professor John Grier Hibben, President of Princeton University, by Mr. Mellon, Secretary of the United

States Treasury, which was published on March 17 last. So far as this letter dealt with matters of domestic controversy, His Majesty's Government have of course no desire to offer any comment upon it. But the letter also contains certain specific references to the position of Great Britain and His Majesty's Government feel bound to point out that on points of cardinal importance, these statements do not correspond with the facts as known to His Majesty's Government His Majesty's Government feel that in justice to themselves, and in order that public opinion in both countries should have a fair opportunity of judging the position, it is essential that they should frankly bring such points to the attention of the United States Government.

2 In the first place, Mr Mellon states that the United States 'agreed to furnish the Allies dollars with which all their purchases in the United States should be consummated, and what is more, we agreed to lend them these dollars', but 'when the United States purchased supplies and services from France and the British Empire,' they 'did not get these francs and pounds on credit they paid cash' The United States 'are now urged to cancel these debts because it is alleged that they were incurred in the common cause, but neither abroad nor in the United States has it been suggested that if this is to be done, the United States are to be reimbursed the dollars actually expended by us in France and Great Britain'

This statement implied that the United States Government lent the British Government all the dollars required to purchase supplies in America and that, over and above these loans, they paid dollars to Great Britain for the services and supplies they required from the British Empire and that these dollars were retained by H M Government for their own purposes Such of course is not the case All the dollar payments made by the United States for their sterling requirements in Great Britain—which though considerable were of course smaller in amount than the war loans to the United Kingdom—were taken into account in fixing the total amount of the war loans advanced to Great Britain and were applied directly to the purchase of supplies in America or to the repayment of debt The arrangements made are clearly and concisely stated in an article published in *Foreign Affairs* (April 1925) by Mr Rathbone, who was during the war Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury

Mr Rathbone's explanation was as follows

'For its own war purposes in Great Britain, France and Italy, the United States did not borrow pounds or francs or lire Our Treasury was obliged to procure these currencies for the use of our army abroad We bought pounds, francs and lire from the Governments of Great Britain, France and Italy, and made payment therefor in dollars here *The dollars thus obtained by Great Britain, France and Italy were applied by them towards the cost of their war purchases here, and thus the amount of the dollar loans required by these countries from our Treasury was diminished in a corresponding sum*'

It will be seen that the United States Government did not lend the whole of the money required for British purchases in America, but that the dollars received from the United States Treasury in payment of sterling provided by Great Britain were used to cover a corresponding part of Great Britain's dollar requirements, and only the *net* dollar requirements were covered by loans from the United States Government

This arrangement was obviously equitable and satisfactory to both parties, and was in fact originally suggested by the United States Government, in a letter dated December 3, 1917, from Mr Leffingwell, then Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury, to the British Treasury representative in Washington, which includes the following paragraph

'I assume that your Government will use the Dollar Fund thus received for meeting its dollar requirements for purchases here and would therefore reduce correspondingly its requests for dollar advances from the United States Treasury'

The dollar payments to Great Britain were thus regularly applied to reduce the dollar advances to Great Britain, so long as the latter continued: when they ceased in 1919, the dollar payments by the United States Government were utilised to reduce the debt incurred by Great Britain The statement made in Mr Mellon's letter on this point appears to His Majesty's Government to be likely to give a very erroneous impression of the facts.

3 His Majesty's Government now pass to Mr Mellon's contention that the payments made to the United States Government in respect of the British war debt impose no burden on the British taxpayer

Mr Mellon stated that 'all our principal debtors are already receiving from Germany more than enough to pay their debts to the United States' So far as Great Britain is concerned, this statement is incorrect The receipts of Great Britain during the financial year 1926–27 from Germany on account of reparations represent approximately one quarter of the payments made by His Majesty's Government to the United States Government, and their prospective reparation receipts during the present financial year 1927–28 (assuming that they are transferred in full) will fall substantially below one-half of the payments due to be made to the United States Even if the receipts from Germany on account of army costs (which represent a partial reimbursement of the expenditure incurred by His Majesty's Government on the maintenance of their forces) and on account of the Belgian war debt (which represents a payment on behalf of Belgium) are included, the total receipts of Great Britain from Germany in either of these years will not exceed one-half of her payments to the United States There can be no dispute as to the facts, the figures are published by the Agent-General for Reparation Payments and are fully available to the United States Treasury

4 When he comes later to deal with the position of Great Britain, Mr Mellon does not in fact compare British receipts from Germany alone with British payments to the United States Government, he compares the total receipts of Great Britain from reparations and inter-Allied debts, together, with the payments due by her to the United States Government He gives figures purporting to show that Great Britain will receive 2 million dollars (412,000*l*.) more this year than she pays to the United States, 15 million dollars (3,090,000*l*.) more next year and 70 million dollars (14,403,000*l*.) more in 1928 29 While he admits that 'in the past two years Great Britain has received about 100 million dollars (20,576,000*l*.) from Germany, France, and Italy less than she has paid to the United States,' he adds that 'it is equally true that, from this year on, Great Britain will, every year, receive from her debtors a substantial amount more than she will pay to us, so that her American payments will not constitute a drain upon her own economic resources.'

5. This statement is also inaccurate, both as regards the past and as regards the future.

From April 1, 1919, to December 31, 1926, Great Britain has paid the sum of 828,500,000 dollars or 170,500,000*l* in respect of the debt to the United States Government, whereas the sums received by Great Britain on account of reparation, Belgian war debt and Allied war debts up to the same date amount to 41,000,000*l*. (200 million dollars), leaving a deficit of 129,500,000*l* (628,500,000 dollars).

There seems no special reason to select the past two years only, as done in Mr Mellon's letter, but the position as regards this period is that during the first two years of the operation of the Dawes Plan (1924–25 and 1925–26), the receipts of this country from reparation (including Belgian war debt) and Allied war debts together fell short of British payments to the United States Government by approximately 50,000,000*l* (243 million dollars).

6. As regards the financial year 1926–27, the share of the United Kingdom in the third Dawes Plan annuity in respect of reparation and Belgian war debt amounts to 12,000,000*l*, and the receipts from inter-Allied war debts to 8,500,000*l*, or a total of 20,500,000*l*, as against the payment made to the United States Government of 33,000,000*l* During the following year (1927–28) the share of the United Kingdom in the fourth Dawes annuity in respect of Belgian war debt and reparation should amount to 14,250,000*l* and the receipts from inter-Allied war debts to 10,500,000*l*, or a total of 24,750,000*l*, as against the payment of 33,000,000*l* to the United States The share of the United Kingdom in the fifth and subsequent Dawes annuities (*i e*, after September 1, 1928) for Belgian war debt and reparation should amount to 22,400,000*l*, and this, together with the payments from inter-Allied war debts (assuming the French war debt agreement to have been ratified and neglecting past deficits in British receipts as compared with payments), would be sufficient to cover the current payments due to the United States Government Whether the payments from the Dawes annuities included in the above calculations will, in fact, be received depends of course upon whether it is found possible to transfer the full amount provided for by the Dawes Plan

7 But even if the full Dawes payments continue to be received for sixty years from now onwards, the present value of the receipts of Great Britain from reparation and Allied war debts together would be less than that of the payments she is obliged to make to the United States Government on account of the British War Debt, assuming interest at 5 per cent to be added to payments and receipts in the past and future payments and receipts to be discounted at the same rate

8 It is quite true that His Majesty's Government have frequently declared that their policy is to recover such a sum, in respect of their war loans to the Allies, as, with the reparation receipts of Great Britain, will suffice to cover the annual payments which they have to make to the United States, but this situation has not yet been reached, and up to the present the British taxpayer has had to find the greater part of the payments to the United States from his own resources, even after applying all receipts from reparations and inter-Allied debts to this purpose, and using none of these receipts as a set-off against the interest which has to be paid on the loans raised in Great Britain out of which advances were made to the Allies In no circumstances will Great Britain receive from reparations and inter-Allied war debts, taken together, more than she pays to

America. The policy of His Majesty's Government on this subject has been repeatedly declared. It is not their desire to retain for this country anything out of receipts from reparations and inter-Allied war debts. In the event of their receipt from inter-Allied war debts and reparations exceeding the payments made by them to the United States Government, they have undertaken to reduce proportionately the payments due to be made to this country in respect of inter-Allied war indebtedness, and a provision to this effect appears in the various war debt funding agreements which His Majesty's Government have signed.

9. It is not clear on what basis the calculations cited by Mr Mellon have been made, but it appears probable that error has arisen on the following points:

(a) *Receipts from Germany*

The figures mentioned by Mr Mellon appear to relate to the *total receipts of the British Empire from the Dawes annuities*. But these include receipts in respect of the costs of occupation as well as in respect of Belgian war debt and reparation. The receipts in respect of costs of occupation represent a partial reimbursement of expenditure incurred by this country, they are thus not available to enable payments to be made to the United States without imposing a burden on this country and must be left out of account for the purpose of the present calculation. Further, the *British Empire* reparation receipts have to be distributed between Great Britain and other parts of the Empire, the share of Great Britain having been agreed at 86.85 per cent. of the total. The balance is not received by the British Treasury.

(b) *Receipts from France*

A more important error is contained in the figures given by Mr Mellon of the receipts of Great Britain from France. These appear to include the sums which were due by the Bank of France to the Bank of England in repayment of an advance made during the war. This loan was a private transaction and is not an inter-Governmental debt. The payments are made to the Bank of England, and not one penny thereof accrues to the British Treasury or the British Government. They are thus entirely irrelevant to the question of the extent to which the British taxpayer can meet payments to the United States Government out of receipts from reparation and Allied war debts.

It should be added that, while the British taxpayer receives nothing from this commercial debt of the Bank of France, he has to meet very large market debts incurred by the British Treasury in the United States before the United States Government entered the war. Since April 1, 1919, the British taxpayer has paid 680 million dollars, or 140,000,000*l*., on this head over and above the payments made to the United States Government.

10. These facts and figures appear to His Majesty's Government sufficiently to controvert the statement put forward by Mr Mellon that the payments made to the United States Government in respect of the British war debt will not constitute a drain on British economic resources. But much more might be said. It must be remembered that in addition to paying their own debts to the United States, the British people are sustaining the full charge for the advances made by His Majesty's Government to the Allied Governments to enable them to finance the purchase

of necessary commodities during the war, not only in Great Britain, but also in neutral countries.

The capital sums lent for this purpose amounted to a net total of about 1,350,000,000*l*. (6600 million dollars), which with interest accrued during the war period amounted on July 1, 1919, to over 1,450,000,000*l* (7000 million dollars), or nearly double the debt which His Majesty's Government had themselves contracted at that date with the United States Government

This amount was borrowed by the British Government from its own nationals, and in respect of this debt the British taxpayer has had to pay interest at over 5 per cent each year since, making a total annual payment of 72,500,000*l*, which will continue until the debt is paid off by further and additional contributions from British taxpayers No relief from this burden can be looked for from receipts from reparation and Allied war debts, for in no case will these receipts amount to a greater total than that of British debt payments to the United States Government

11 Whereas the United States Government is receiving from Germany a share of the Dawes annuities estimated to cover its reparation claims in full, and at the same time obtains from Great Britain repayment, with interest at 3 per cent, of the full amount of war loans it advanced to this country, Great Britain will retain for herself nothing of any payments she receives in respect either of reparations or of inter-Allied war debts, but will apply all her receipts towards part payment of her liabilities to the United States Any balance that remains she will pay out of her own resources, and in any case she will have to support the entire burden of her war losses and of the war loans she herself made to her Allies

12 His Majesty's Government have set out these considerations in no contentious or controversial spirit On the contrary, their desire is to maintain and to promote a friendly understanding between the two great English-speaking nations, on whose co-operation great issues for the peace and progress of the world depend. They view with great misgiving the divergence of opinion and the estrangement of sentiment which is growing up in regard to these war obligations It appears to them to be the task of British and of American statesmen to do what can be done to alleviate the difference of view by setting out frankly and fairly the facts of the case and the policy adopted on either side But the controversy can only be intensified if public opinion in America is guided by statements of [illegible] in regard to their European debtors which to those debtors appear inaccurate and misleading

It is for this reason that His Majesty's Government regret that there should have been issued, under the authority of the Secretary of the United States Treasury, a series of statements in regard to Great Britain which for the reasons set out above appear to them not to represent accurately and completely the facts They trust that the United States Government will take steps to remove the unfortunate impression that has been created by the issue of this statement The position and policy of the British Government in regard to these international payments is well known and the records are easily available, but if at any time further information is desired by the United States Treasury, His Majesty's Government will be happy to furnish it.

VII

Statement issued by the United States Government in Reply to the British Note, May 5, 1927 (*from a cabled copy*)

The Treasury Department has no desire to enter into a controversy with the British Government on the subject of Allied war debts, but, inasmuch as the British Government in an official note to the American State Department has seen fit to challenge the facts and figures contained in a letter addressed by the American Secretary of Treasury to the President of Princeton University, the Treasury deems it its duty to present the facts as it knows them and to endeavour to explain existing differences

It should be noted at the outset that the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury to President Hibben was an answer to a statement put by members of the Faculty of Princeton University urging a reconsideration of debt settlements, and was directed specifically to their arguments It was not intended as a communication, direct or indirect, to the British Government, and that Government was referred to only as an incident to the general thesis therein set forth

It should be noted, in the second place, that the figures in the British note are apparently used in the technical accounting sense, so that, for instance, the term ' Allied war debts ' excludes debts for war stocks

Payments received from Germany are used in the most strictly limited sense, and do not include such items as receipts on account of the army of occupation While not admitting it, the British Government's note does not deny that the sums specified in my letter were actually paid by the people of France, Germany, and Italy, but says, in substance, that some of the sums paid accrued to the benefit of the Bank of England, others to the Dominions, and apparently, from our reading of their figures, such items as the payment for war stocks are not considered by them as accruing to the benefit of the Exchequer on account of war debts This is the real cause of the apparent disagreement as to facts There is no basis of comparison when, for instance, payments on account of war debts as used by the American Treasury include the payments on account of war stocks sold, but such an item is not included by the British under the head of war debt payments Again, there is bound to be disagreement when the American Treasury Department, in discussing payments received from Germany, includes all payments, while the British Government, in answer, confines itself to payments strictly on account of reparations and Belgian war debt Under such circumstances there is not disagreement as to facts, there is simply failure to join issue

But even these differences of interpretation are material only in respect of the period prior to September 1, 1928 The British Government admits that beginning on that date, assuming that the French agreement is ratified, it will receive from its own debtors and from Germany sums ' sufficient to cover current payments due to the United States Government ' This, it should be noted, is the principal point made in the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury to President Hibben, and the accuracy of this point is now officially confirmed by the British Government.

The first statement to which the British Government takes exception is the one advanced by me in reply to the argument that the loans made by

the American Government during the war should be considered as contributions to the common cause, in which I pointed out that there was merit in such a contention only if the proposed adjustment was a mutual one and to be applied on a strictly equal basis between us and our debtor nations. I pointed out that the dollars with which goods and services were purchased in this country were furnished to our associates on credit, whereas the pounds with which we purchased goods and services in Great Britain were paid for in cash. I then went on to say: 'In other words, we paid cash for the goods and services necessary to enable us to make our joint contribution to the common cause. Our associates got the goods and services purchased in this country necessary to enable them to make that part of their joint contribution on credit. Here is the fundamental reason which explains why we ended the war with everyone owing us and our owing no one. We are now urged to cancel these debts because it is alleged that they were incurred in the common cause. But neither abroad nor in this country has it been suggested that if this is to be done we are to be reimbursed the dollars actually expended by us in France and Great Britain so that the goods and services they sold us might constitute their contribution to the common cause.' Thus the British Government does not deny that we paid cash for the goods and services obtained in Great Britain, and that for the most part they received goods and services in this country on credit, but they say this is misleading because they used the dollars purchased by us in Great Britain for further purchases in this country. The point seems to me immaterial. The dollars they received from the American Government increased their available cash resources, while the promissory notes we received did not increase our available cash resources. For the purchases made by Great Britain in the United States dollars were furnished by the American Government by borrowing from its own citizens, the British Government giving its obligations to the American Government for the equivalent. For the purchases made by the American Government in Great Britain the United States Government did not borrow pounds from the British Government and give its obligations to the British Government, but borrowed dollars from its own citizens with which to purchase the pounds and actually paid cash to Great Britain. Had the transactions been identical in form, the British Government would now hold obligations of the American Government to cover purchases made in Great Britain just as the American Government holds obligations of the British Government for purchases made in America, and obviously cancellation could not be urged on a one-sided basis. The fact that the cash employed in purchasing pounds was borrowed from American citizens and not from the British Government is the distinguishing difference, and any programme of cancellation which does not allow for this difference gives the United States no credit on the amount of its war debt for the purchases made in Great Britain and other countries.

The British note refers to the statement in my letter to President Hibben that 'all our principal debtors are already receiving from Germany more than enough to pay their debts to the United States.' The Princeton and Columbia professors had stated that 'we do not desire to impose tremendous burdens of taxation for the next two generations on friendly countries.' My letter pointed out that in reaching debt settlements based on the debtors' capacity to pay only incidental consideration was

prey with a swooping flight very similar to that of a spotted fly-catcher; they also throw up undigested portions in the form of pellets like the young. The cock always has a few favourite perching places not very far from the nest. These are sometimes on a dead twig of a hedge, but more often a small dead branch of a tree at a height of about 20 feet. He seems to use them according to the weather, and is nearly always to be found on the perch most sheltered from the wind, especially if it is at all chilly.

J. H. Owen.

given to reparation payments to be received by debtor countries from Germany; in other words, I pointed out that we endeavoured to make settlements which debtors could meet from their own resources without too serious burden on their economic life. We have always claimed, and claim now, that debts due to us are in no way connected with German reparations. I then went on to point out that it now appears that all of our principal debtors are already receiving from Germany more than enough to pay their debts to the United States. There was no intention to include Great Britain in the statement that enough was received from Germany alone. The British situation I covered separately later. That sentence as originally drafted contained the words 'except Great Britain' but these words in the final copy were inadvertently omitted. The error was an obvious one, and was corrected by the text immediately following. It is not believed that any injustice to Great Britain has resulted or that the British Government could have been misled in view of the fact that on the page next following Great Britain's position is segregated and treated separately from that of our other debtors, and in the case of Great Britain we enumerated specifically the payments to be received, stating that they will be received not only from Germany, but from France and Italy as well. I said: 'Finally we come to Great Britain. Under the agreements with France, Great Britain will receive from France approximately 71,000,000 dollars this year, from Italy approximately 19,000,000 dollars, from Germany approximately 72,000,000 dollars, and will pay us 160,000,000 dollars.' In the light of this very clear and definite statement, it is rather surprising that the British Government should lay stress on what the context showed to be a typographical error immediately corrected and go to such lengths to disprove a statement which was already completely covered. The British Government also questions certain figures given as to the payments received by Great Britain from France, Germany, and Italy. These figures were taken from the attached table showing the estimated payments and receipts of Great Britain during a twelve-year period. The figures are inclusive figures, and are derived from the best sources available to the Treasury. I do not understand that the British Government challenges the accuracy of these inclusive figures in so far as they represent the amounts paid and to be paid by the peoples of Germany, Italy, and France to Great Britain, but that it contends that all of these sums will not inure to the benefit of the British Treasury, and therefore cannot be held to relieve the British taxpayer directly, though they unquestionably add materially to British economic resources. Even so, it is not understood why the British Government apparently fails to include in its figures payments made by the French on debt incurred in respect of war stocks sold. From our standpoint the amount paid this year by the French Government on account of 400,000,000 dollars of supplies sold to the French Government after the war constitutes payment on account of war debts beneficial to the American Treasury. In so far as payments from the Bank of France to the Bank of England were concerned, they were included in the figures set out in the table, because in the report presented by M. Clementel, French Finance Minister in 1924, known as the 'Inventaire de la situation financière de la France au début de la treizième législature,' the statement is made that the Bank of France was simply acting as an intermediary, and that the loan was made to the Bank of France for the benefit of the French Government. Moreover,

the published report of the Finance Commission of the French Chamber of Deputies indicates that the 1927 budget of the French Government includes the item of 1,200,000,000 francs to be paid to the Bank of England under the head of reimbursements of foreign commercial debts which the Treasury must meet in 1927. In this connexion, carrying as it does the implication that no Government was involved, the statement of the British note 'that this loan was a private transaction and is not an inter-Governmental debt' is not strictly accurate. It was in the light of these facts and in the absence of any official statement as to the responsibility of the British Government to the Bank of England that these payments were included in my statement of international payments on account of war debts. If the British Government was obligated to indemnify the Bank of England, the payments would serve to reduce a contingent liability which, if not paid by France, would become an added burden to the British taxpayer.

But, irrespective of the application of the large payments which Great Britain received and will receive this year from the Governments of Germany, France, and Italy, I desire to point out that the Columbia and Princeton professors have claimed that payments to this country would impose a tremendous burden of taxation on friendly countries for the next two generations. This is the statement which I challenged. The note of the British Government makes it entirely clear that I was correct in challenging the accuracy of that statement, for, whatever differences there may be as to the payments to be received and made by Great Britain in the years 1926 and 1927, the British Government admits that after September 1, 1928, it will receive from its debtors enough to cover current payments due to the United States Government assuming the agreement with France is ratified. Two points most stressed by advocates of debt cancellation are that the capacity to pay is not a fair basis of settlement, and that agreements that have been negotiated will impose on those debtors with whom we were associated in war a heavy burden over a very long period of time. What I desired to emphasise in the letter to President Hibben was that there could be no fairer measuring-stick than the capacity to pay liberally interpreted, and then to bring out the all-important fact, apparently overlooked, that some of our debtors have already reached the point and others are about to reach it where, taking into consideration the payments on account of war debts and war indemnities, our principal debtors are receiving, or will receive, more than they pay us; in other words in the near future the balances on international payment resulting directly from war debts or Dawes payments will be in favour of our principal debtors. The purpose of the Hibben letter was to make this clear to the American people.

I have in this statement confined myself to answering criticisms of the Hibben letter contained in the British note. It seems to me wholly undesirable to enlarge the field of possible differences by commenting on the other phases of the British note, and failure to do so should not be interpreted as in agreement with all of the views therein set forth. It seems to me, however, that reference to the share of the Dawes annuities to be received by the United States, 'estimated to cover its reparation claims in full' is rather unfortunate in view of the very limited claim presented by the United States on account of reparations as contrasted with those presented by our associates in war. The payments on account of repara-

tion which the British Government is receiving are based in part on claims, such as pensions and separation allowances, of a character not included by the United States in its reparation bill.

I have no desire to comment on the statement of policy enunciated in the British note to the effect that Great Britain will retain for herself nothing of any payments she receives in respect of either reparations or inter-Allied war debts, but will apply all of her receipts towards the payment of her liabilities to the United States. By implication this means that, should the United States further reduce British obligations to the United States, the British Government would cancel a like amount of obligations due to it from its debtors. It is very obvious that the British Government would neither lose nor gain in such a transaction. The United States Government is, however, in a very different position. The British Government is both creditor and debtor, the United States Government is creditor only, and every dollar of debt cancelled by the United States represents an increase by just that amount of the war burden borne by the American taxpayers.

THE PRAYER-BOOK A NATIONAL GUIDE

In England the Church had kept the outline of its ancient organization, remaining purely clerical in its internal structure, it followed that the control of the laity over its liturgy and doctrine had to be exercised not from within but from without, through Crown and through Parliament

In Scotland the laity took an active part in Church organization and government (G M Trevelyan's *History of England*, 1926, page 397)

In approaching the discussion of the new Prayer-book we have to remark that it is not all of one texture. Some parts of it are far more contentious than other parts There are no doubt many who would like to leave the present book alone and to make no alteration in it at all But even such persons could scarcely regard it as unreasonable that a book which reached its present shape 250 years ago should be revised and brought up to date with the needs of modern times in non-contentious ways

With these modern needs in mind, it is a surprise on turning to the contentious parts to mark the extent of the contradiction between the preface of the new book and its actual provisions. The preface speaks of a new world, new knowledge, new ways, new customs, new occasions of worship, yet all the new provisions look back to ancient methods of worship, deliberately discarded in our growing life This is incoherent But in the parts which are not contentious fresh prayers and fresh schemes have been prepared with much skill and success to match with the developments of recent generations, and the book has been excellently amplified, modified, and adjusted

It is well for a moment to stress the need for these agreed changes before considering the effects of the new book on the doctrine and unity of the Church, or the coming fate of the book in Parliament Those who would sincerely have wished that the book might not be touched could scarcely at the present time of day throw themselves into active opposition to such enrichments and minor adaptations as the new book admirably comprises. A Measure passed in the Church Assembly to accept these features, while excluding the sections which evoke grave discord, would probably meet with at least acquiescence from all critics except those whose complaint is that the changes do not go far enough.

It is in question whether these last carry vehement enthusiasm among those who support them. Recently a ruridecanal conference passed a resolution that it welcomed the new book and considered that it would be a grave disaster if the work of the last twenty years was thrown away. The resolution was forwarded in many directions. It was passed by seventeen votes to seven—nineteen members not voting! This is typical.

Against any enthusiasm that has been recorded must be reckoned statements made by supporters of the new book who from various angles suggest difficulties in the way of its successfully coming to its own. In the Convocations one man of learning and leading said it would be his duty never to rest till the book was changed. Later another expressed the opinion that clergy who already had public devotions before the reserved sacrament were not likely to be recalled. The Dean of St Paul's is reported to have said, 'There is a grave suggestion that the new law, even after it has been relaxed, will not be enforced.' The letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Home Secretary offered nothing secure in the way of guarantees. Many who spoke in the Convocations in favour of the on-the-whole policy of accepting the book explained how little they liked serious items in its contents. Much was said about hope arising from an extending spirit of unity. Yet even so, the Bishop of Durham, the most trenchant advocate, could only say, 'I am not hopeful, but I do not despair.'

But while some accepted the book because it would be a settlement, others did so because it was an instalment. Lord Halifax writes:

> It is as foolish as it would be wrong to blind ourselves to the grave defects in the bishops' book. We are bound to insist that, as it stands, further revision is inevitable, and it seems reasonable to believe that further revision is certain within, at longest, another generation. In the meantime we are bound to insist that rigid obedience to the proposed book cannot rightly be enforced by ecclesiastical discipline, having regard both to its temper and to the circumstances of its compilation.

People are asking, not unreasonably, 'Is it worth while to upset the present book, when, after all, no settlement is assured by doing so?'

Coming to doctrine, it has been shown elsewhere that the statement that the new book involves no change of doctrine is open to serious doubt, and it has been urged that changes in emphasis also frequently mean, and in Church history have actually meant, changes of doctrine. Bishop Gore and Lord Beauchamp in a letter to *The Times* spoke of 'essential doctrine' being unchanged, but in speaking of eternal verities, is not the word 'essential' illusory? And as to its doctrine, the book must be judged as it stands, though one speaker on March 29 pathetically remarked

hat he did not judge the book by what it actually says and rders, but by the intentions of the compilers as given in the reface

As regards the unity of the Church, the new book definitely ccentuates and stereotypes existing differences, and by its very rovisions, as in the case of reservation, invites more and more f the clergy to abandon the standard of the existing Prayer-ook The Bishop of Gloucester, who has outright turned his ack on himself and now become a strong advocate of the new ook, wrote to *The Times* November 15, 1923

> In the first place, there is one fact which ought to be remembered The ast majority of Churchmen would much prefer that there should be no vision and no change at all I should say that this is the opinion of at ast 90 per cent of the ordinary members of the Church of England . . . hen I sincerely hope that nothing will be done to create two Prayer-ooks (With regard to the Holy Communion) it is difficult to conive a more complete failure in statesmanship than the proposal to stereope the two parties in the Church of England by allowing disunion in actly the service in which most of all we should be united . May I press a hope that, whatever is done with regard to the rest of the Prayer-ook, we definitely refuse to acquiesce in any proposal to allow alternative rms for the Holy Communion ?

Plainly what may be called the background to the introduction the new book is by no means stable , and when it is remembered that in 1915 the bishops of the Canterbury province (includg at that time the Welsh bishops) voted three to one against an ternative Holy Communion, it is easy to see that the demand r contentious changes urged in the last twelve years represents e views of a very small if important period of the life of the rayer-book since 1662 Unrest has been common on every de since the war Instability and disintegration are indeed ks of the present hour Who can be sure that the ecclesiastical tion will be the same after another twelve years ? The ndulum may have swung back In secular affairs the large-minded statesman will make certain that he has the general will behind him and not the alterable demands of a passing majority 'the will of the people,' yes , but first he will ascertain that it is e sure will of a progressive and enlightened nation. Grave nges require a secure foundation In regard to the Prayer-ook, the division of opinion is too marked and great to allow the large change that is contemplated. Have not two new ies just been formed—one to support the new book, the r to oppose the retention of contentious section within it ?

There are, however, those who consider that the vote given the end of March in the four Houses of the two Convocations is settled the matter, and that the time has passed for question-

ing the rightness of that decision. It is the aim of this article to show that, on the contrary, the time is coming.

First be it observed that this vote was entirely a clerical vote. A book commended by almost all the bishops was likely to carry the support of almost all the clergy. A recent correspondent has urged that there is a strong feeling that there is no future for the man who votes against the book. However that may be, there is unquestionably in the Convocations a strong official element, not likely to differ from official pronouncement and direction. It is worth while to note the number of dignitaries who have joined the league for carrying the new book into law—deans, canons, archdeacons, etc; and the other members of the Houses of Convocation were naturally likely to lean in the official direction. But the Church of England does not mean the clergy, and those who oppose the book have rather in mind the position of the laity, men and women, in the pews, not of the clergy at the altar. It has lately been noted that 'the clerical and the lay minds are increasingly diverging, and the religious situation of the Latin countries seems likely to be reproduced here.'

In illustration of this divergence, from among hundreds of letters of dismay which I have at hand one letter from a layman may be quoted:

> We do long to be able to go—as we could only a few years ago—into any church, wherever we may be—and to *know* what service will take place; this is not now possible. I spent a holiday last autumn in —— and visited very many churches, and it was pitiable to see how 'mass' and the 'Holy Eucharist' were *entirely* ousting the morning service beloved of the country-folk and their children. I ventured to expostulate with one parson, and was told I really did not know what I was talking about, as the Holy Eucharist was the one and only service for adults and children and that as for Morning Prayer, it was only a collection of prayers written for monks to say.'

It was sympathy with such laymen, who feel that in many churches they are not wanted unless they are in sympathy with the attitude of worship towards which the new Prayer-book strongly veers, which dictated some of the votes cast against the book. For such an extract as that just quoted makes very plain the fallacy underlying the statement that the use of the new book is optional. Where there are several churches within reach people may choose to frequent a church in which they find the type of service they prefer. But in one-church areas the only option left to those who cannot follow the new ways is to give up going to church. Many, we know, are already doing this. The new book must on a large scale up and down the country plant a fertile root of parochial discord, disunion, dissatisfaction, and bitterness.

It is no doubt urged that nothing in the new book can be introduced except at the wish of the parochial church council, and that a special rubric protects the laity by giving the bishop new power to safeguard their wishes This is partly true and partly false The bishop only exercises his new power when there is a division of opinion between the views of the clergyman and of the parochial church council But in many places the parochial church council reflects the view not of the whole number of the parishioners but of the parish priest himself, whose supporters are elected to it He is of course responsible for the services in his church, but they should not be so planned and so timed as to be chiefly acceptable to a select inner circle. Let the full truth be expanded which is found in this little story told in a published paper read last year at a clerical gathering '"I will have my own way if it empties the church," said an incumbent in —— when he wished to change the customs which had been dear to his people for many generations He has got his own way, and—the church is empty!'

Such considerations, among other facts, must be carefully borne in mind when we are told that the Prayer-book will bring a settlement of long lasting ecclesiastical disputes Nothing has so much won the adhesion of people at large as the prospect thus held out before them that a general settlement will be achieved. But a settlement in general involves a settlement in particular parishes And if a parish priest is put in a stronger position to carry all before him, there will indeed be a settlement and peace, but through the disappearance of all opponents, not through the acquiescence and goodwill of all worshippers *Solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant*

The mention of parochial church councils leads on to the consideration—vitally important in this issue—of the whole scheme of the Church of England Assembly (Powers) Act, 1919, frequently called the Enabling Act. Under this Act, in every parish there is an electoral roll comprising the names of all who wish to be registered They must be eighteen years old and baptised, and they must state that they are members of the Church of England and of no other religious body not in communion with it, they sign a declaration to this effect Those whose names are on the electoral roll elect the parochial church council, the members of which must be communicants The Act erects a conference in each rural deanery consisting of clergy and communicant laity, and also an elected diocesan conference similarly composed The laymen in the diocesan conferences all over England elect to the House of Laity, which sits in the Church Assembly as a third Chamber; the House of (Diocesan) Bishops, being the first and the Lower Houses of the Convocations of

Canterbury and York (the body which in March accepted the bishops' book), constituting the second House.

This Church Assembly has the power of passing Measures which obtain the force of law, if each House of Parliament passes a confirming resolution. The Houses of Parliament can only accept or reject a Measure, and cannot amend it It will be seen, then, that a convenient procedure is here offered for passing Church legislation through Parliament

This is the scheme, and, however much there is to say for, or against, it, it cannot yet be said to have become part and parcel of the religious life of the nation There is a danger that the energies of the House of Laity which rests on a small franchise will be largely out of touch for a long time with the general Christian feeling, and indeed with the general Church feeling, of the country.

The electoral rolls are too small to bear this large superstructure. No doubt we are on the other side asked to remember how large are the numbers entitled to vote at a general or municipal election who do not exercise their privilege We have to reckon with carelessness, or with a feeling that one vote cannot make any difference, or with an idle sense that no harm will come This kind of indifference is at least as general in the Church But there is another consideration, reducing the number of voters, which applies to the Church Assemblies, and not to the House of Commons It is this · many or most Englishmen are reserved in regard to the things which touch the innermost shrine of their hearts They hesitate to come forward and declare themselves publicly on matters of religion Many are averse from signing papers and making such declarations about themselves So much the worse for them, no doubt It is their own fault But it is quite clear that this reticence puts matters into the hands of those who have a taste for handling ecclesiastical affairs or flourish chiefly in Church Assemblies

The Archbishop of Canterbury said in July 1924, 'Our system is in its infancy, and a thing like this takes time,' and expressed his expectation that for a long time a comparatively small number of people would be the voters, 'not because people are apathetic, but because they are satisfied that things are going smoothly and well '

I cannot myself believe that it is from a deliberate sense of satisfaction with things as they are under the Church Assembly that qualified voters hesitate to put their names upon the electoral roll It is bold to regard such inaction at the present as a good omen. Rather, I think, the fact is due to the small extent to which this great change in Church government has yet been recognised.

The weight of the Church Assembly, therefore, is not very great in the country: too many still regard it as an amateur body. Many are not aware even of its existence. How can 'a system in its infancy' voice the mature judgment of England? The Church Assembly cannot as yet claim truly to represent hurch opinion. Technically it does so, and it has no rival But ictually it does not do so. This is not to belittle it, for it has done ood work when it has not tried to shoulder responsibilities evond its capacity.

Technical matters requiring minute inquiry and things which ffect the Church of England only in details of its organisation ightly come within the ambit of the Church Assembly, and in egard to such questions the Church Assembly has done some dmirable work for which Parliament would have had neither the ime, the patience, nor the capacity. But the Church Assembly has gone too fast and too far to commend its methods and its work to those outside its borders The clergy, too have not lways welcomed the way in which it has exercised its powers. Nor can it escape observation that some of its well-wishers are ss confident of its success than they were when enthusiasm was lowing strong at its inception It has not carried all before it in Parliament Indeed, Parliament, though glad to be relieved of uch work as the Church Assembly can rightly take over from it, loes not wish to divest itself of all control Parliament has lt that it ought to have the deciding voice in some things commended to it by the Assembly This was noticeable in the House of Lords when it rejected the Shrewsbury Bishopric Measure, and in the House of Commons when it rejected the City hurches Measure Both Houses threw over the experts of the hurch Assembly and preferred their own judgment Parliament not consider that the revision of the Prayer-book is a subject which it ought not itself to express a responsible opinion at any rate, Parliament will share the view which the Archbishop of Canterbury expressed in the House of Lords in June 924

> in what has been said as to the recognition of the right and and duty of the Houses of Parliament to exercise absolute free- judgment on the final rejection or acceptance of Measures which it in this way In no sense do I wish to regard what we are a matter of formality

It is fully to be expected that the Church Assembly will the Measure in regard to the new Prayer-book One or technical questions may be raised, but they will not touch the al issue The House of Bishops and the House of Clergy are dy committed by the votes given by them in the Convoca-

CO-OPERATIVE BACON FACTORIES AND THEIR FUTURE

ls was prophesied by many at the beginning of the movement to reate co-operative bacon factories after the war, they have turned ut to be a failure, three out of the four post-war factories having losed down, and the fourth only existing with difficulty after nforced periods of no curing. The two pre-war factories, the Iertfordshire and Bedfordshire and the St. Edmundsbury—ontinue to run, but are far from attaining their maximum earning apacity.

And yet there seems, superficially, such a scope for co-operalve bacon-curing in England. The demand is here, and we can lso produce bacon second to none for quality or price. Why has he movement so signally failed ?

The question is reviewed concisely and competently by the ommittee appointed by the National Farmers' Union to inquire to it.[1] The chairman was the Marquis of Linlithgow—a cognised expert on agricultural co-operation—and he was sisted by Sir Basil E. Mayhew, Messrs. D. Crawford, W. Hasler, H. Ryland, and A. W. Street. Most of their findings are in nnexion with the management and organisation of curing and lling bacon, and, though they wisely refrain, so far as possible, om apportioning any blame, their criticism is certainly not an dorsement of the popular system in this country of running ricultural co-operative societies with amateur committees.

One difficulty with such committees is that, since they are pointed by members who are practically all farmers, it is usually e popular farmer rather than the astute business man who is ected ; nor can this be always overcome by the appointment of a st-rate manager, for business experience among the directors is cessary to select him and check the results of his work. Direcship is not nowadays an amiable sinecure ; nor is it fair to the her shareholders that it should be. There is the further danger at when the factory is thus administered by farmers who are ppliers to it there is ' a tendency to take a short view and to

[1] *Co-operative Bacon Factory Industry*. National Farmers' Union, 45, Bedford are, London, W.C. 1. Price 6*d*.

tions. Few members of either House will vote differently. The House of Laity is the only new element, and this House is certain to follow the official lead, for it is largely identified with the character of churchmanship which appertains to the Assembly, though probably the majority in the House of Laity will not be so overwhelming, because it does contain members who occupy a more independent position and are not committed to what may be called specially organised churchmanship.

But the new order of things inaugurated by the creation of the Church Assembly is not yet sufficiently understood or accepted for it to carry conviction in the country Its decision will have to be interpreted and emphasised by utterances made in, or in favour of, the more professional Church circles before any high value is put upon it. These interpretations may carry the matter far, very much in the way that the votes cast in the Convocations were outside only counted but not considered.

The strongest support for the decision of the Church Assembly will be derived from three classes of persons—(1) those who with more hope than reason expect that the trouble in the Church will be ended by the bishops' book ; (2) those who, depreciating their own opinion, with characteristic English fear of pretence, declare 'we trust the experts and the bishops must know best', (3) those who urge that forms in religion do not matter much

Something has already been said about the first of these three classes It is probably too late in the day to move the opinion of the third class Persons who do not consider that the character of a man or a nation is influenced by the character of individual or corporate worship are not very likely to be brought to change their mind on so fundamental a matter by discussions relating to the new Prayer-book But the idea held by the second class that it is right now to leave all in the hands either of the bishops, as experts, or to the Church Assembly, as handling what is inaccurately regarded as a domestic issue, needs further consideration Certainly it is not clear that this will be the view taken in the House of Lords and the House of Commons When I had the privilege of addressing a large number of members of the House of Commons last April I could not fail to be struck with the earnestness of those who were gathered to consider the subject I carried away with me the general impression that the members felt that they had not asked for the final responsibility in this question, but that, as it had been put upon their shoulders, they must accept it and understand it, and, in a true English spirit, meet their own duty.

When the subject is handled in Parliament it will be in a new setting, and that setting may be described by the word 'national' There of course, again, will be felt a strong temptation for

members to wash their hands of a tiresome Measure, and to adopt the easiest and least irksome course of rejecting personal responsibility and of following the bishops anywhere, without making any independent investigation into the grounds of the bishops' decisions or into the reasonableness of their confidence—against Lord Halifax and others—as to a settlement ensuing from the acceptance of their book

Meantime, if inquiry proceeds, the country at large, learning that much more is involved than petty changes in the Marriage Service, etc , may have slowly woken up to the fact that the book has not been revised, but reconstructed The thing, when seen to be as big as it is, will also be seen to need a bigger authority behind it than the new Church Assembly, which is still only feeling its own way. And then Parliament may after unprejudiced discussion reach the conclusion that it is not right that in the National Church the bishops or the clergy or this Assembly, or all of them together, should be left to decide so great and far-reaching a subject as something which only concerns themselves Then the members of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons, regarding themselves as representing the ordinary parishioners or members of a congregation, will have something to say They will estimate whether the contentious parts of the new Prayer-book do not over-press the greater prominence now given to Church order, Church services, and Church ceremonies They will be asking whether in recent years some of the clergy have tended to become a professional caste, separate from the main stream of the life, even the religious life, of the nation, whether these put in the first place the aim to make people better Churchmen, or are equally eager to introduce simple Christian influences broadly to bear upon the outlook of the younger and older generations.

It is no satisfactory answer to this question to point to the interference of some of the leading clergy in the later stages of the settlement of big national problems from time to time For in many quarters such immediate and political action is deprecated It is the general sweetening of the conduct of the community by the spirit of Christ which counts for most

It would be a disaster if religion in common life and the system of the Church were to become separated in the least degree It would also be a disaster for the Church of England to take a step which would make reunion with the Free Churches more difficult to accomplish ; recently a Nonconformist who was proposing to be confirmed was, however unwisely, deterred by his consideration of the new book. The new Prayer-book must be judged in both these regards ; for this is no time in which to allow the gap between worship and life to be widened, nor a time

in which the National Church can in a self-centred manner ignore the contribution made to national righteousness by Nonconformist bodies. It would, of course, be wrong to suggest that Nonconformists have any right to be heard in regard to the details of the worship of the Church of England. But, in a wider sense, those who, with general principles in their mind, consider that the new Prayer-book looks abroad for some of its inspiration, may be forgiven both when they urge that any revision of it ought to follow the English habit of progress, not retrogression, and to go forward along the lines of the English devotion of the last 300 years, and when they are disappointed to discover that the new book leads them further from others who are fellow-Christians in this country.

It is, then, a nation's responsibility which will have to be considered in Parliament The Nonconformist element in Parliament has a real stake in the matter, and, indeed, all who have at heart the character of our nation. No one can deny the influence which our Prayer-book has exercised upon the development of the English people If among them simplicity, truth, duty, the fear of God, and the service of man have been held high, we must trace much of this power for good in the world to the teaching of the Prayer-book If this statement is accurate, critical alterations in the Prayer-book are of national importance The National Church has clear obligations to the whole country, and therefore it is prudent that it should move cautiously and considerately in those items of Prayer-book revision which are causing much uneasiness, divergence, and misgiving The expediency, which has plainly dictated many changes in the new book, may here be quoted on the other side as telling against disintegrating alteration

Let me, then, here repeat briefly a proposal which I have already made It is a proposal which has large support outside official circles, and some of those who are within those circles will support it Further, many others who prefer the whole book to nothing—and that is the bishops' offer, 'all or nothing'—would sooner see the book divided into parts in such a way that sections could be accepted or rejected on their own merits. As it is, unwelcome sections are by some being accepted in the fear of losing sections which are highly valued.

Under the Enabling Act, Parliament itself must take all or nothing. This is not the way with other proposals which come before it; in other cases it can amend. But in the House of Lords an actual resolution, and in the House of Commons the trend of speeches, could declare that the House, while rejecting the whole Measure, as it cannot be amended, would welcome the early introduction of another Measure to sanction those parts of the

book which are not the subject of serious controversy, leaving the contentious parts alone until greater agreement is secured.

Such action, accepting what is agreed and asking for delay in matters of doubt, would be worthy of the best parliamentary traditions, and certainly would be no defiant challenge to the Church Emphatically it would not justify a cry for disestablishment. In some respects a line could be drawn between services used by the whole congregation and services used for individuals, provided that no change of doctrine was involved. The kind of additions and adaptations mentioned in the first paragraph, which the new book attractively provides, could be brought within the compass of such an authorising Measure. There are many, including the present writer, who would stretch every point far beyond and quite against their own taste to meet the wishes of others in anything which did not actually alter the character of the book It might even be possible to arrange for such reservation as is known by the name of concurrent Communion in a generous interpretation which excluded all opportunity of private as well as public adoration

What would be lost by such a policy ? It will be stated that it does nothing to re-establish discipline and that it will leave the most difficult questions unsolved But the new book makes no proposal whatever in a disciplinary direction, and if by such a statement we are to understand that the book will solve any of the more difficult questions, the argument is a *petitio principii*

Meantime a step would be made towards their solution by the extension of the area of agreement and contentment All the petty illegalities practised under the present book would come to an end, for many things at the moment technically illegal (*e g* , the saying of '*Glory be* . ' before the Gospel of the day, or the Blessing after Evensong) would naturally be sanctioned , scrupulous consciences would be relieved. And, more important, as has just been explained, by such a plan the good fruits of much labour would be preserved, and we could better advance, as need might arise, from a more reasonable and consolidated position Agreed variety is one aim of the new book With the same end in view this proposal, by being less ambitious, is likely to be more successful by definitely limiting the field of revision, though it would still be a large field. It would secure much well worth having, without spoiling all by advancing on to more than dubious ground Indeed, this proposal would obtain all that the Measure can count on satisfactorily obtaining It may well be the wisdom of Parliament to adopt such a course

This policy has actually been adopted in regard to such an important item of Prayer-book revision as the Church Catechism. A special committee of Bishops was appointed to revise the

Catechism, but when it was found that their proposals evoked more criticism than satisfaction this question was allowed to stand over. This is no small matter, and the prudent decision reached in regard to it might well be extended. With two books in our hands it may become a difficult thing to educate the young in the doctrine of the Church; but, at any rate, their own charter has not been altered.

Sometimes language is used as if the choice lay between this limited compromise which I am suggesting and a definite and accepted solution of the larger problem. Not so. The larger scheme, as has been shown, cannot possibly be regarded as offering an agreed solution, and the subject is too deep and wide for any thoughtful body to be content to say 'Try an experiment.' We are also informed that to reject the book will be a confession of failure and of the breakdown of all discipline in the Church of England. Yet we look in vain for any 'discipline' in the new provisions of the book, we are only told that the book will enforce itself, whatever that amounts to.

At a time when many have been changing their minds, when the bishops have given no sign that they will uniformly enforce the regulations—and the adherents of Lord Halifax tell us that enforcement will be resented—when there has been so much vacillation among leading Churchmen, and sincere and devout opinion is much divided, Parliament may well ask for much more stability and certainty and for much securer guarantees before it embarks on the whole scheme, especially when meantime it could with wide assent sanction much that is profitable.

The whole enterprise looms so large in the religious life of the country, and is one of such primary importance to the nation, that Parliament cannot treat it in a perfunctory manner or shelve its own momentous responsibility. Truly it has a fateful decision to make.

B. NORWIC.

NOTE.—A few paragraphs and sentences have been incorporated from the writer's *The Nation and the Church* (John Murray, 1925) in places where this article traverses ground covered in that book.

THE MEDIÆVAL TENDENCIES OF LABOUR:

A Reply to Sir Henry Slesser

In *The Nineteenth Century* for April there appeared an article on 'The Politics of a Labour Member' by Sir Henry Slesser. The writer endeavoured to prove that the mantle of mediæval idealism, previously borne by the Catholic Church, had fallen upon the shoulders of the Labour Party. He said that 'it cannot be denied that the Labour Party is ideological' After telling us that 'a sane human society was in process of being achieved in mediæval times,' he went on to say that 'the Labour Party, albeit unconsciously, . . . displays a happy tendency to resurrect these mediæval standards.' Unfortunately for the writer there is a sense, directly opposite to that intended, in which the contention is only too true The Labour Party, in its pursuit of mediæval idealism, is also repeating the worst errors of the Mediæval Church by adopting the very practices that temporarily reduced the whole fabric of society to a state of chaos.

When Sir Henry Slesser tells us that 'the Labour Party, even if often it does not fully recognise or appreciate its indebtedness to the past, is endeavouring to legislate upon principles more or less akin to those of the canonists and fathers,' because 'it fundamentally stands for the restoration of mediæval Catholic qualities,' he evidently overlooks the fact that there is a wide gulf between the philosophic theorising of St. Thomas Aquinas and the tortuous diplomacy by which the Mediæval Church was supposed to be giving it effect. Similarly to-day, the ideals of the Labour Party, and the practices to which it resorts, are often two very different things Abstract principles do not necessarily bear any relation to the policies pursued or the methods adopted for their actual realisation. There is scarcely any mistake made by the Mediæval Church which the Labour Party is not unconsciously reproducing under another form.

In order to see the comparison in its true perspective it is necessary to go back many centuries and consider previous controversies concerning the theory of the State, and the different conflicts of authority to which those controversies gave rise.

The present claims of Labour will then be seen to be but a modern equivalent of political struggles in mediæval times.

After the break-up of the Roman Empire, Europe was subjected to successive waves of barbarian invasions. When these racial movements had spent themselves, the various new races began to consolidate into distinct national entities. Thus began the evolution of the modern State. In this process there have been two clearly-defined and separate periods of development. The first period was down to the Reformation. During this time the State, such as it was, had to assert and make good its authority over the groups within it. One such group was the baronage, but much more important and powerful than the baronage was the Church, whose efficient organisation and international affiliations made it so formidable a rival to the State. In England the struggle centred in the names of such men as Anselm, Becket, and Wolsey. There were rights and wrongs on both sides, and each side made mistakes, but gradually the State succeeded in making good its authority. The very doctrine of the divine right of kings, now regarded as the high-water mark of Toryism, was then an accepted democratic principle. Only by some such theory was the State able to counter the Church's claim to paramountcy as advanced by the popes in their arbitrary attempt to dispose of thrones and kingdoms at will and release subjects from their obedience and oaths of allegiance.

The second period of development was from the Reformation to the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the State, having gained the ascendency, itself went to the extreme of disputing the very right to existence, except on sufferance or under strict control, of groups separate from itself. This period naturally gave rise to Acts of Uniformity, penal statutes, and laws against combination, which had to be strenuously resisted and were finally countered by the Toleration Act, the Emancipation Acts, and the Trade Union Acts.

In accordance with Aristotle's theory of political cycles the wheel seems to be coming full circle again, and we appear to be entering a third period closely resembling the first. Instead of the baronage and the Church it is now the great trade unions, with their increasingly efficient organisation and their international affiliations, which seek to impose their will upon the State. Instead of haughty barons and proud prelates we now have masterful labour leaders. As the State had to withstand the political pretensions of the Church, so it has to oppose the political pretensions of trade unionism. As then, so now, there are rights and wrongs on both sides, and each side makes mistakes. On the whole it is generally admitted that it was a good thing the State succeeded in putting the Church in its proper place

with regard to itself, and thereby curbed its political activities. This admission is granted unquestionably by those who are themselves, consciously or unconsciously, endeavouring to play the old *rôle* in a new guise. If the State must not be allowed to crush lawful groups within itself, neither must sectional interests be permitted to challenge the authority of the State As in the old days the Church endeavoured to gain its own end by laying the whole country under an interdict, so trade unions to-day talk of doing the same by calling a general strike Both are instances of direct action. A general strike is but the old weapon of an interdict that has changed hands Picketing, which is an attempt to compel others to think and act as trade union leaders direct, or else run the risk of expulsion from trade union membership, is but the secular counterpart in modern days of excommunication in the Middle Ages by which individuals were similarly coerced into beliefs and practices ordered by the Church. What is known in industrial disputes as intimidation has grown to such proportions that it is in great danger of becoming the Inquisition under another name and form

Sir Henry Slesser tells us that the Labour Party is opposed to 'the official coercion of human beings'; but, presumably, only in matters of which it disapproves This theoretical objection to 'the official coercion of human beings' would be a very different thing if trade unionism were a purely voluntary concern But since the majority of manual workers are compelled either to join a trade union or else be denied the means of earning a livelihood, the matter becomes an altogether different affair The more so when we remember that those who belong to a trade union are obliged to obey its orders or be penalised and must automatically contribute to its political levy or else incur the unpleasant consequences of contracting out

The unique position in which trade unions were placed by the Trades Dispute Act, making them independent of civil processes to which all other individuals and organisations are liable, is a privilege as unjust to other members of the community, and as inimical to the interests of the State, as the mediæval Benefit of Clergy, which was so constantly claimed that a very considerable number of people became exempt from penalties which the statutes of the realm inflicted upon others who were guilty of corresponding acts.

In every direction there are striking parallels between the claims and aims of labour, as expressed in trade unionism, and those of the Mediæval Church Its challenge to the authority of the State, its attempt to be a law unto itself, its organisation as an *imperium in imperio*, its efforts to dictate national policy by threats of direct action, its insistence upon compulsory

membership, its expectation of unquestioning obedience on the part of its members, its infliction of pains and penalties in cases of non-compliance with its authoritative decisions, and its endeavours to become international or world-wide in its scope, are all cases in point. The quasi-compulsory political levy, and the purposes to which it is put, is but a political and economic equivalent to Peter's pence and other ecclesiastical dues, which could only be escaped by incurring not only odium and suspicion, but positive disabilities Once there was a great outcry against the injustice of compelling people, through Church rates, to pay for a religion they did not profess. Many who are rightly opposed to being compelled to pay for the support of other people's religion pretend to see no anomaly in a practice that virtually compels others to pay for the support of their own political views.

There was at one time much opposition to tests—against people being compelled to belong to a particular religious organisation as a condition of obtaining employment. Now, however, when economically employed, no objection to the principle is raised by those who, as individuals, or as members of municipal bodies, endeavour to act in exactly the same way by insisting that certain employees must be members of a particular trade union. The Church strove to justify her arbitrary action in such matters by the plea that it was in the spiritual interest of those concerned Similar conduct is now justified on the ground that it is to the material advantage of themselves and their class that such insistence is made.

In addition to these points of comparison another has recently been added, corresponding to the efforts made by the centralised authority of the Mediæval Church to crush out the independent life of the separate units that composed it. At the Trade Union Congress held at Hull in 1924 a resolution was passed, by a large majority, to give the General Council authority to order a sectional or even a general strike, and to impose strike levies without consulting the executives of the unions concerned, or balloting the members. All this is industrial papalism

The real tragedy is lest trade unionism, by pursuing such policies, should eventually disrupt or weaken itself, as the Church did, and so retard the realisation of its legitimate aims There is also a close resemblance between the present time and that of the Reformation. The Reformation was the climax in the struggle between an autocratic State and a dictatorial Church Not only the authority but the very existence of each was threatened by the other. We are fast approaching the time when a similar climax will be reached; this time, however, between a democratic State and the forces of an organised labour movement

playing the *rôle* of the Mediæval Church—especially in those particulars that were the least estimable

Whatever may have been the faults of Henry VIII. (and they were many), he was, at least, a patriotic Englishman—a quality which was fortunately inherited by his daughter Queen Elizabeth, from whose days the real greatness of England dates. The chief thing about Henry VIII. is that he was determined to brook no more foreign interference in the internal affairs of his country This had been the curse of the preceding centuries when the land was honeycombed with organisations like the alien priories, owing allegiance to an outside power, and overrun with individuals like the foreign and unpatriotic Churchmen, who were servile tools obeying its behests. During the Hundred Years War with France, the Papacy, to which they were subject, was, through its captivity at Avignon, completely dominated by the enemy of this country. This was an absolutely intolerable position, and one which eventually led to civil war—the War of the Roses

In the days of Henry VIII there were many so-called Englishmen who took their orders and received their pay from abroad for advancing the designs of those who were the enemies of their country. It has been so in every age, and it is so now Then it was the dynasty they tried to overthrow, to-day they aim at the Constitution In those days the schemes emanated from Rome Now they proceed from Moscow In those times the controversy raged round religious beliefs and practices In these they are bound up with social views and opinions. Then the instigators were called Papists, now they are styled Communists The one had, and the others have, their followers and their dupes. Then, as now, the country suffered, and irreparable harm was done.

If Henry VIII. had been alive in May 1926, instead of dissolving monasteries and giving away their possessions he would have effected the dissolution of the trade unions and would have distributed their accumulated funds amongst those who were not doing what Moscow wanted them to do The necessity of such a step, and the wisdom of such a procedure—bringing in its train disastrous results—would have been equally open to question, if industrial organisations had been treated in the same way as religious bodies were handled

In this and other respects the parallel is sufficiently striking to merit reflection. Motives and forces are much the same in every age It is only the scene that shifts—from Rome to Moscow It is only the subject that changes—from theology to economics It is only the agents that vary—from a certain type of ecclesiastic to a peculiar kind of socialist. For the sake

to consider questions of policy too much from the standpoi
supplier, and too little from the standpoint of the indust
its financial stability; and to forget how closely the t
interwoven.'

Costings have been all too seldom kept, so that no on
known which departments have been making money and wh
losing it, or even, sometimes, if the factory as a whole has bee
working at a profit or a loss. No attempt has been made to trai
assistant managers to fill a sudden emergency, and there has been a failure to realise that the salary of a good manager is what the open market will pay him, or that a manager who is only second rate is an expensive economy. Some committees have been large and unwieldy, and everyone's business has easily become nobody's business, while there has been a very natural tendency on the part of those in authority whose services were unpaid and whose livelihood was not vitally affected by the factory's success to give less of the time and study than one would expect to find given by men in a similar position in non-co-operative concerns, on which they depend largely for their living. If a chairman of a co-operative bacon organisation can save members in his district 5000*l*. a year, it is surely worth their while to pay him 500*l*. a year for doing it; if he cannot, it is worth their while to pay 500*l*. a year to a man who will. If such a sum cannot be saved at all, then co-operation itself is not worth while.

Here is the heart of the whole problem. How is agricultural co-operation to save the farmer money? The answer in this country has invariably been, 'By doing away with the middleman's profit and keeping it in the industry.' But it is precisely this kind of muddled thinking that has been the enemy of the movement and kept it back for so many years, and no branch of co-operation illustrates it better than the bacon industry. If such profits are being made by non-co-operative firms, why do so many of their shares stand so low, or why have the co-operative societies paid no better, and often worse, prices? One cannot say it is because the societies have forced the pace and made the firms pay higher prices, for things were as bad when the societies handled an infinitesimal percentage of bacon pigs; and this year, when so many of the societies are out of the running, I am informed that the non-co-operative factory making 4 per cent. on its capital can congratulate itself. This idea that middlemen's profits should be distributed amongst farmers *viâ* the good offices of committees who work for nothing is much the same thing as the street-corner Socialist's, who preaches (I will not say believes) that an equal distribution of wealth would make everyone rich, whereas actually it would make a difference of a shilling or two a year to the average artisan's wages. The most fabulous private

of all concerned, let us hope that the real leaders of the Labour Movement will realise the folly of repeating in the twentieth century the mistakes made by many of the leaders of the Church in the sixteenth.

There are other particulars in which the parallel equally holds good. To give a single instance: the indiscriminate relief administered by the monasteries before the Reformation multiplied mendicancy to such an extent that, even before their dissolution, the State was obliged to place upon statutory record the fact that 'in all places through this realm of England vagabonds and beggars have long time increased, and daily do increase in excessive numbers' The Labour Party seem bent upon repeating even this administrative mistake of the Mediaeval Church—as has recently been demonstrated at Poplar, West Ham, and Chester-le-Street The characteristic of being unable to learn anything or to forget anything is evidently a quality that was not the exclusive prerogative of the Bourbons.

Sir Henry Slesser concluded his interesting article by saying that 'the Labour Party is not revolutionary; it is restorative' It is indeed restorative, but not merely of the theoretical principles upon which the Mediaeval Church endeavoured to construct 'a sane human society,' but, also, of those very methods and practices which only too effectually prevented that 'sane human society' from being realised It is, as he says, 'a matter of very urgent importance that some more clear idea of [the Labour Party's] principles and its methods should be obtained by the impartial inquirer than is to be gathered from current polemical argument', or even, one might add, from so able and respected an exponent as Sir Henry Slesser himself

ROBERT J STURDEL

[Th]e Departmental Committee on 'disinterested management' of [pu]blichouses, under the chairmanship of Lord Southborough, has [ju]st presented its report, after an unexpectedly prolonged inquiry. [Th]e inquiry owes its inception to a motion in the House of Lords [by] Lord Lamington, the president of the True Temperance [A]ssociation, on July 23, 1924, 'that it is desirable that an inquiry [sh]ould be made and a report made to Parliament on the different [sy]stems of disinterested management of licensed houses, and in [p]articular on the working of the licensing system in Carlisle' [L]ord Haldane (then Lord Chancellor) promised a Government [in]quiry, which should extend into cognate questions, as well as [in]to disinterested management itself, and one wonders, if his [G]overnment had lived, in what year of the present century the [r]eport would have been presented, seeing that two years have [b]een occupied in surveying the more restricted field. (Yet such [a]n extended inquiry, in the form of a Royal Commission, into the [l]icensing system generally, is now suggested by the present [G]overnment) Before the Labour Government could launch its [in]quiry it went out of office, and it was in the following May that its successor announced the formation of a Departmental Committee

> to consider the several systems of disinterested management in public-houses which have been put into practice, whether in connexion with private enterprise, or otherwise, and to report whether the experience already gained affords ground for the development of any such system by amendment of the licensing laws

The Committee (or what was left of it, for four of the eleven members retired during the inquiry) has now reported. And the first feeling on reading the report is one of disappointment For the Committee has run away from, rather than tackled, the problems with which it was confronted Its feeble conclusions may doubtless be attributed in part to a desire to issue a lowest common denominator of the varying views of its members Largely it is the result of the restricted terms of reference, which only called for such legislative recommendations as might arise

out of desirable extensions of 'disinterested management' And one is inclined to think that it is in part attributable also to the poverty of the evidential material on which the report was based Whatever the reason, the fact remains that the report makes no specific legislative recommendations, beyond a suggestion that in any review of the present licensing system it is desirable that the expediency of providing an appeal against refusal by licensing *justices to pass plans for the improvement* and enlargement of publichouses should be given careful consideration For the rest, the Committee declares its inability, 'without entering upon general schemes of licensing reform, to suggest any legislative means by which the results which have already been achieved by the systems of disinterested management which we have considered can be made of more general application', for 'the several parts of the licensing problem are so closely interlocked that legislation dealing merely with one part would present many difficulties' So with this unheroic abdication the Committee hands over its 'conspectus' to the Government, trusting that it 'will be of service if any more general survey of licensing questions should be undertaken.'

The report is not, however, so barren as it might appear to be from the above outline For it contains two important recommendations, though they are negative, and not easy to reconcile with each other. First, writing of the existing schemes of State management at Carlisle, Gretna and Cromarty Firth, it states, 'We are not satisfied that a case has been established for the extension of the schemes to any other particular area or place', and as regards a general extension, it puts away the question as 'entirely outside the scope of the present Committee's inquiry' But, secondly, 'on the other hand, having regard to the fact that the schemes are revenue-earning, and provide specially favourable conditions for experiment towards the production of the most suitable type of publichouse, we think that it would not be justifiable to terminate them at this stage' This, one may shrewdly guess, is precisely what the Government wanted the Committee to find a way of saying, for in the matter of 'temperance' legislation the Government has a well-settled desire to let sleeping dogs lie. Yet the Committee, in satisfying the Government's desire, has sacrificed something of consistency For we have this extraordinary position: a war-time experiment in State ownership in certain small areas, undertaken for temporary ends which have long since ceased to exist—the sobering of a gang of navvies in a munition area who had left by the time State control began—has been allowed to drag on as a peace-time social effort in temperance reform Clearly it should be ended or extended There is nothing special about Carlisle, nor does the Gretna of

to-day stand forth with particular characteristics, as did the Gretna of a romantic past. If State management of the liquor business is good for Carlisle, Gretna and Cromarty, it is equally good for Birmingham and Devonshire. If it would be a mistake over the country at large, it must be equally a mistake at Carlisle. The Committee has nevertheless found a formula to justify its inconsistent recommendations not to end Carlisle and not to extend it The existing schemes are 'revenue-earning'; and they 'provide specially favourable conditions for experiment towards the production of the most suitable type of publichouse.' This double formula is ingenious, but does not stand examination well Financial critics will say that the schemes are revenue-earning largely because of the special privileges they enjoy, privileges to which the Committee itself calls attention—trade monopoly, freedom from the licensing laws, freedom from income tax and other imposts; while teetotal critics will squirm at a revenue which results from direct State management of the hated 'traffic' But the ordinary taxpayer will say that revenue-earning capacity, if genuine, is not a blessing to confine to a small corner of the island the Treasury should be refreshed with its fruit garnered from all over the country. And as to the other reason—that Carlisle is a sort of experimental farm in which to hybridise the perfect 'pub'—the facts do not work that way at all A very few of the houses in Carlisle have been improved during the eleven years of State management, with all the privileges enjoyed by the authorities and the incentive to show what can be done, and the best of these houses which have been improved is not so good as many houses in private hands which have been improved without the adventitious aids enjoyed by Carlisle Improvement of privately owned houses, indeed, is often hampered by the policy of licensing justices of refusing 'increased drinking facilities' or the seduction of music and games—a policy to which the Committee calls attention, and for which it raps the justices sharply across the knuckles. The formula, as a convincing statement of reasons, fails to work, though it may provide the Government with an excuse for inaction

I have referred to the restricted terms of reference as one of the reasons for the Committee's feeble conclusions It is only fair to the Committee to lay stress upon that aspect. It will be noted that the terms of reference varied from those of Lord Lamington's motion in the House of Lords. What Lord Lamington asked for, and the House accepted, was an inquiry into the different systems of disinterested management (particularly Carlisle's), what the Government gave was an inquiry into those systems plus an order to report whether there was ground for development of them by amendment of the licensing laws. This

addition was, in fact, a restriction. The motion implied an inquiry into whether what is called disinterested management is or is not a good thing; the terms of reference assumed that it was a good thing, and merely asked for suggestions as to the desirability of extending it; and as extension involved the handling of other matters outside the terms of reference, the Committee, not unnaturally, was oppressed with the futility of its task.

It is a pity, nevertheless, that the Committee did not grasp the basic question whether what is called disinterested management is or is not a good thing It never came to grips with that point at all. It did not even attempt an adequate analysis of the term 'disinterested management' All we get in the way of definition is the following ·

> The term disinterested management of publichouses is generally used in the discussion of licensing questions to denote the conduct of publichouses by managers who are paid a fixed salary, have no commission or other direct interest in the sale of intoxicating liquor, and in some cases receive a commission on the sale of food and non-intoxicants with a view to their encouragement to develop this rather than the liquor side of their business

Then the paragraph goes on to suggest that 'whether this form of management is in fact disinterested is open to question,' since the general conduct of the business must be interested in order to make it remunerative, while the managers themselves may still have a real interest in the sales of intoxicating liquor, since success or failure in selling may affect the manager's chances of promotion This is useful so far as it goes, for it administers a needed douche of cold water to the advocates of disinterested management, and shows that their phrase has a pleasant ring about it but not much substance To say that a man is without interest in his job, whatever it may be, because he is paid a salary instead of a commission on each piece of work he does, is to cast a slur upon the whole system of remuneration by wages and salaries, on which the greater part of the country's industries are run; and it is not consonant with the facts The question should have been gone into more thoroughly The list of witnesses examined by the Committee is remarkable for the absence, with one or two official exceptions, of representatives of the publicans. Yet, for the purpose of ascertaining what there really is in disinterested management, publicans are just the people who should have been examined in considerable numbers—tenants of tied houses, licensees of free houses, managers in managed houses, licensees of town establishments and those in charge of country houses. And the patrons of publichouses should have been consulted, but they were not The list of witnesses and the bodies

for which they spoke comprises representatives of all sorts of associations for suppressing publichouses and of associations of ladies and gentlemen who never use publichouses, but the people really entitled to express a view on the subject—practically the only people entitled—the users of publichouses, were not consulted at all. All this applies with force to any inquiry into the licensing laws and into the methods of conducting publichouses, and it applies to the question of disinterested management. The special nature of the public refreshment trade makes the views of those engaged in it and those who use their services of particular importance—I should say of exclusive importance. It is well known, for instance, that the majority of licensees view the managerial system with disfavour. They think they can best conduct their business as independent caterers. They may or may not be right, but their views and the reasons for them should be ascertained and appraised. Even more vital is the view of the publichouse user. Will he be better served, or does he think he will be better served, by a salaried manager than by a trader directly interested in his custom? A properly conducted publichouse is not a store where one goes simply to buy certain articles already probably labelled and prepared in packages; it is a place where a man goes for rest, recreation, entertainment, and refreshment—a place, that is to say, where he needs individual service, the personal touch; and the better the publichouse, the farther removed it is from the mere drink shop, the more is this personal touch, this individual interest of the person running the establishment, an integral factor. We therefore do not know yet, at any rate so far as the Disinterested Management Committee has found out for us, whether so-called disinterested management is or is not a good thing. What the Committee has to tell us of the examples of disinterested management in practice is inconclusive and unsubstantial. The report does, however, devote some pages to describing the working of the two examples of disinterested management given, namely, the Publichouse Trust companies and the State management in the Carlisle area. As a record this description does not disclose any improvement on the newer types of publichouses now being developed in private hands, and it does nothing to justify the system as a promoter of temperance, of social amenities, or of better service.

There is significance in this omission. Most people who look approvingly on the idea of disinterested management do so because they assume it to be a development of moderate temperance reform. The report will disappoint them on that score. For example, in the section dealing with Publichouse Trust companies the Committee states:

It was not claimed by the representatives of Trust companies and associations who came before us that the conduct of a publichouse on Trust lines tended to reduce the quantity of intoxicating liquor sold, but it was claimed that the improved publichouse conducted on Trust lines encouraged a better class of customer and discouraged excessive drinking by individuals using the house.

That, indeed, does suggest some improvement in sobriety, but it should be noted that it is not disinterested management which accounts for it, but an improvement in the services furnished at the Trust houses. You can have disinterested management with or without improvement, and ordinary, interested management with or without it When we come to Carlisle we find the Committee even less optimistic on the temperance side The State management started out to reduce excessive drinking, it has halved the number of publichouses, and suppressed grocers' licences—both of them really dubious methods—and it has tried various other forms of repression supposed to tend in the same direction There is also a claim that in those houses—only a few—which provide recreational facilities those facilities tend to reduce excessive drinking—and doubtless they do ; but that, again, is a matter of the better service, and has nothing to do with disinterested management When we come to the results of the system as a whole we find the Committee puzzled and rather pessimistic. Thus · ' The evidence before us was conflicting upon the question whether the schemes have reduced drunkenness' And then there follows this passage

The figures for convictions for drunkenness in Carlisle show a considerable decrease in comparison with the average pre-war figures, with some fluctuation from year to year (the figures for 1926, for instance, record a rise in the convictions), but there has been in this period a decrease in the convictions for drunkenness throughout the country as a whole, the restrictions imposed during the war, the reduction of the hours during which intoxicating liquor may be sold, and the increased cost of drink, especially of spirits, have all contributed to this result, and with these and many other factors operating, it is difficult to determine what precise effect can properly be assigned to the existence of State management A comparison of the records of convictions for drunkenness in different towns is of doubtful value owing to the variation in conditions as between one town and another, but so far as this comparison can be made, it does not appear that any greater reduction in the number of convictions has been achieved in recent years in Carlisle than has been achieved in many other cities and towns

This moderately stated view is emphasised in the following paragraph, which tells us that

As regards the consumption of intoxicating liquor in Carlisle, it does not appear to us to be established that the reduction of publichouses by approximately fifty per cent. and the improvement of those retained has

led to a reduction in the quantity of intoxicating liquor consumed beyond that common to the rest of England, Scotland and Wales in the post-war period

And it is significant that the advocates of disinterested management who go most closely into their subject talk little and diffidently about the temperance side of their proposals They prefer to direct attention to what they call vaguely social improvements ; and I for one have never been able to understand what is included in that phrase.

Anyway, the temperance side of disinterested management is by common consent its least important Teetotallers of the old-fashioned kind refuse to believe that it assists temperance at all. Trade opponents and those who sympathise with them take a similar view ; and the apologists for disinterested management have themselves, in view of the unsatisfactory statistics, practically had to abandon the promotion of temperance as a reason for adopting disinterested management

Temperance, however, is not the only aspect. The promotion of sobriety, if one may say so, is not at the present day the only or even an overriding consideration in connexion with the subject For we are no longer a drunken nation Excessive drinking is diminishing, and the prospects of its further diminution do not depend upon disinterested management Nevertheless, disinterested management might be justified on other grounds. Speaking ideally, so far as present-day economics are concerned, all industry should be under disinterested management. Everybody should cheerfully give of his best, and not measure his services by the remuneration he receives for them. Gradually it is to be hoped we shall approximate to that ideal, and, though we are a long way from it yet, there is no reason why we should not start upon the journey whenever a good road opens out for us There are many who may think that disinterested management of alcoholic liquors and the publichouse business does afford such an avenue , but in fact, does it ? The purpose of Socialism in industry is the provision of a better service to the community The socialising of coal or electricity or transport will be for the purpose (after giving an adequate return to the workers for their labour) of providing the community with a better, more accessible, less costly service and supply of coal, electricity and transport And so with any other industry But the advocates of disinterested management of breweries and publichouses are not proposing better, cheaper and more accessible beer for the community, a better service of refreshments, free and open refreshment-houses, an increase of all those facilities for obtaining refreshment and entertainment which at present exist. Their

intentions are the very opposite. They want to restrict and suppress. Whether the bureaucracies which would carry out disinterested management would fulfil the repressive ideas of those who advocate the system is another matter. In Russia and Scandinavia the profit-making temptation led in practice, according to report, in a quite different direction. It is charged against Quebec to-day that under its disinterested management system the Government is pushing wine. The critics even hint that the Carlisle managers are not altogether unbusinesslike But all this, we shall be told by the disinterested management advocates, is only a temporary defect of human frailty in the working of the system, and one which will be corrected with time and the pressure of public opinion Repression—that is to say, a poorer service, not a better service—is the inevitable and the intended outcome of the proposed change. It may be that as the social economic revolution develops most industries will change their character, and that the manufacture of beverages and the supply of beverages and kindred services to the community will change also, but in the circumstances it would indeed be an extraordinary procedure on the part of those who wish to hasten these inevitable changes that they should begin with the beverage and refreshment-house industries, and back those reformers whose avowed object is to restrict access to alcoholic beverages Socialists need not feel impelled thereto by theoretical dogmas regarding the general socialisation of industry, since it is now being realised that State ownership and control of industry is not the only form of socialisation, is not even the best form, that the most that can be said for it is that in the case of certain big industries socialisation must begin by the transfer of them to the State but wherever it is practicable to socialise without bureaucracy, that is preferable, and such a personal business as the provision of food and drink and rest to a traveller is markedly one of those social services which should be kept as far as possible, and can be kept perhaps altogether, out of the grip of State control.

This is an aspect of disinterested management which the reader may perhaps think is somewhat remote from the Southborough Committee Report In point of fact it is not It is fundamental to a consideration of the question, and is of particular concern to that large part of the nation which is more or less in sympathy with Socialism, and whose desires are going to count for much in the near future. It is therefore significant and encouraging that the Socialist representative on the Committee, Mr Thurtle, was able to join his colleagues in signing a report which, as we have seen, though expressing no positive unfriendliness to disinterested management, refuses to suggest any extension

of it, notwithstanding the invitation implied in the Committee's terms of reference.

It has been stated earlier in this article that the Committee did make one specific recommendation, to the effect that in any review of the existing licensing system which may be proposed later it is desirable to give careful consideration to the expediency of allowing an appeal against the refusal by licensing justices to pass plans for improving and enlarging publichouses. The attitude of licensing justices towards such improvement evidently gave the Committee some concern, and its handling of the subject is a sound one, and one which we may hope will be fruitful Here are some passages which will well bear reproduction

59 We are satisfied from the evidence submitted to us that many brewery firms are anxious to improve the publichouses owned by them, but are prevented from doing so by the attitude taken up by licensing benches in many parts of the country, who refuse to give their sanction to plans for improvement and enlargement of premises and in some cases insist that the licensee shall be a tenant and not a manager There has been some development of recent years, with permission of the licensing justices, of improved houses owned by brewery firms and conducted under management, but it was represented to us that in order to hasten further improvement it is desirable that a right of appeal to the court of quarter sessions should be given against a refusal by licensing justices to pass plans for improvement and enlargement of premises

60 We are of opinion that the improved and enlarged publichouse which caters for the food trade as well as for the sale of drink is a development in the direction of progress, and we think it desirable that applications for improvement and enlargement of premises, and also applications for the grant of licences to managers, should be given very favourable consideration We think that increase in the drinking area should be welcomed rather than deprecated where such increase will facilitate supervision, enable seating accommodation to be provided, get rid of overcrowding, and improve the tone of a house.

61 We are of opinion that improvement and enlargement of premises should be more generally facilitated throughout the country than it is at present and that in connection with any review of the working of the present licensing system of the country it is desirable that the expediency of providing an appeal against refusal by licensing justices to pass plans for such improvement and enlargement should be given careful consideration

There is some bold writing in the second of these paragraphs, and the sentence beginning 'We think that increase in the drinking area should be welcomed rather than deprecated' will doubtless cause gasps of astonishment on many licensing benches. One can only hope that the astonishment will develop into approval when the justices read on, and assimilate the reasons which the Committee gives for its advocacy

The reader unacquainted with the intricacies of licensing law may be reminded that the matter referred to in the paragraph

...fits on our 2,750,000 pigs would not represent a large su... divided up amongst, say, 20 per cent. of our 400,000 odd agric... ...rists, for the ordinary expenses of management would remai... and it is always open to question whether these would remain ... low if the personal incentive of making a profit were removed.

It is a fact that competition is so keen amongst curing firms in this country to get suitable bacon pigs that the farmer has been receiving their full market value, so that the co-operative societies have had difficulty in getting the number of pigs they want and paying the price that will buy them. According to the National Farmers' Union Report, both co-operative and non-co-operative factories 'are not, on the average, utilised to more than half their full capacity.' It is fairly obvious, therefore, that the task of co-operation in bacon production is not merely the easy and gratifying one of diverting the money from the pockets of intermediary profiteers, but is far more difficult and far-reaching, and might be summarised in the phrase, 'To help the farmers to help themselves.' Not just to help themselves to the profits in bacon-curing—which is not co-operation at all, and only secondary and incidental in the producers' work—but to organise their industry from the 'A' of breeding the right pig to the 'Z' of ...utting bacon on the market in an attractive and reliable form. ...he public will pay a good price for the best British bacon, and ...o it is for the producers to satisfy their wish, for now it is realised ...n business that better financial results are to be gained from ...oncentrating on 'service' than on 'profits.'

Co-operation, therefore, in this case begins with putting heads ...ogether to see how more grade A bacon pigs can be produced ...han the wretched 10 to 15 per cent which has been the average ...upplied to the factories. The farmers themselves are the men ...o do this, for they are more likely to be interested in bacon ...roduction than the pedigree breeders, with their prejudices for ...e finer points of their particular breeds, and they have a better ...actical knowledge than any outsiders, whose interference might ...uite likely make the movement towards establishing a bacon ...eed unpopular.

Having determined on the best cross for bacon production ...nd enough is now known to make fairly certain what this cross ...ould be), the next step would be to increase the supply of it by ...ving every opportunity for agriculturists to establish it in their ...rds and breed it for themselves. In other countries national ...id facilities are available for accomplishing this end, and it has ...en said that they are the root cause of the Danes capturing the ...itish bacon market. Since co-operation is only a word for ...ganisation and education working hand in hand, this movement ...uld also undertake, as part of its work, to send round lecturers

just quoted was the subject of legislation in the Licensing Act, 1902, the provisions of which are reproduced in section 71 of the Licensing (Consolidation) Act, 1910, which enacts that an alteration in licensed premises 'which gives increased facilities for drinking' shall not be made without the consent of the licensing justices, who may (who do in fact) before giving their consent require plans of the proposed alterations to be deposited with them. The words about giving increased facilities for drinking have impressed themselves with undue emphasis upon the minds of probably the majority of licensing justices. Many of them have interpreted the Act as an instruction or invitation to refuse the most desirable improvements in licensed premises. They even refuse consent without giving reasons, as though the effect of a proposal to increase facilities for drinking did not need a reasoned refusal, and there is no appeal from their refusal. Hence the suggestion by the Southborough Committee for the provision of such an appeal. It is true that the justices have been told by the High Court that their business is to consider the needs of the neighbourhood, and to regard proposed improvements on their merits, but there has been too widespread a tendency to assume that the fact that an alteration will increase what is called the drinking area is itself enough to destroy any merits the application may have. Yet one often hears of cases where the owners of a publichouse propose to turn a backyard or some useless part of their premises into a well-appointed luncheon room or lounge, an improvement of undoubted value, but one which is turned down just because incidentally the improvement would increase the area in which customers may consume drinks. But what a foolish policy it is! It proceeds on the assumption that if you give men more elbow room they will lift their elbows more frequently and drink more, a quite baseless assumption and it ignores the advantages mentioned by the Committee of easier supervision, provision of seating accommodation, the abolition of overcrowding, and the improvement of the tone of the house. The policy justifies the castigation which the Committee gives it, a castigation which, one may hope, will result in abandonment of the policy, even without provision in some future licensing Act for an appeal from obsolescent justices to a higher tribunal.

But is it necessary to wait, as the Committee suggests, for some future review of the working of the present licensing system before facilitating the improvement and enlargement of premises? That, surely, is unnecessary. The way has been shown by Lord Lamington's Public House Improvement Bill, which has twice passed through the House of Lords, but has been held up in the House of Commons owing to lack of Government facilities. The

Government need not await the lengthy deliberations of a Royal Commission and the preparation of a big measure altering the licensing system generally before helping forward the improvement of publichouses by a measure like this Bill, the first clause of which provides that

> Notwithstanding anything contained in section 71 of the Licensing (Consolidation) Act, 1920, the licensing justices before whom an application for an 'improved publichouse' certificate is heard, shall not refuse to grant such a certificate merely on the ground that alterations in the premises proposed by the applicant would give increased accommodation or facilities,

while the second clause proposes the appeal to quarter sessions for which the Southborough Committee asks

This Bill generally may be commended to the notice of those who wish to see our refreshment-houses transformed from mere drink shops into places of general refreshment Its programme is to grant an 'improved publichouse' certificate to licence holders whose premises are 'suitable and intended to be used as houses of general public refreshment and entertainment, including food and beverages other than exciseable liquors, are airy, commodious and comfortable, and have adequate seating and sanitary accommodation' The certificate confers upon the holder 'all privileges and exemptions attaching to an improved publichouse under this Act or any Act to be hereafter passed' It would encourage publichouse owners to embark upon schemes of improvement by conferring upon the holders of 'improved publichouse' certificates small financial advantages—those given to restaurants in the matter of licence duty reductions, and remission of the compensation levy It is not to be assumed that the passage of this Bill would be followed by the immediate transformation of the 80,000 publichouses in the country, but it would give an impetus to such transformation The Southborough Committee is of opinion that '*under the existing law and with the permission of the licensing benches progress might be made by brewers in the direction of the improved publichouse*' Such progress is being made, but it would be facilitated by the passage of the Public House Improvement Bill, not only by reason of the small advantages offered in that Bill, but also because the permission of licensing benches would no longer be an uncertain factor

ERNEST E WILLIAMS.

SOCIALISM AMONG THE SCOTTISH FISHERMEN BEFORE AND AFTER THE WAR

In tracing the changes of political sentiment that have occurred during recent years among the Scottish fishermen we encounter two influences—the one of a gradual but most powerful character, the other much more perceptible though really of less importance—which have had a great bearing upon these changes. While before the war, as will be shown immediately, Socialism had won a footing in certain of the fishing centres, the predominant political creed of the Highland fishermen and crofters was that of Liberalism, and so much was this the case that in half a dozen of these northern constituencies the return of the Liberal was uncontested. The factors which have been at work undermining this position of Liberal supremacy, and whose effect will be undoubtedly revealed in a startling manner at the next general election in the shape of sensational Labour victories in the Highland crofting and fishing divisions, are (1) the industrial revolution that has taken place in the fishing industry during the past quarter of a century, and (2) the severe depression arising from the loss of Continental markets in the post-war years, as a direct outcome of the continuance of war policies into the peace.

The Scottish fishing industry is divided into two main branches—white fishing, which embraces the catching of cod, codling, haddock, halibut, skate, conger eels, and so on, in the deep sea, and is now carried on mainly by steam trawlers, and herring fishing, which is pursued in coastal waters, and is largely worked at the present time by means of steam herring drifters. The inshore fisheries are being increasingly operated to-day by handy-sized motor boats. Then there have also to be borne in mind the ancillary shore industries—boat-building, net-making, herring-curing, coopering, kippering and smoking fish, and so forth. The total number of people recorded as being employed in the industry in 1925 was 66,844, and of these 27,141 were fishermen. When we turn to the distributive side of the industry we find a network of fishmongers, who in recent years have been pushing their sales of fresh fish far into the depths of the country by means of motor vans and of fried fish shops, which supply the

fish ready cooked in an appetising manner to the consumer, spread over Britain. But the fishing industry is to a very great extent dependent on export ; anything from 60 per cent. upwards of the total herring catch is pickled and barrelled for this purpose, while in the trawling branch, though the bulk of the catch is destined to be consumed fresh in the home market, there is a considerable quantity of smoked fish and by-products sent abroad

As will be readily appreciated, herring fishing is an occupation peculiarly liable to violent fluctuations. The success of a season is dependent on so many independent variables, such as the state of the weather, the abundance or scarcity of the fish, the cost of boats and gear, the prices realised for the catch, that we are not at all astonished to learn that the fisherman's existence is, as the Scottish saying puts it, very much of a 'hunger and a burst' There have been boom years, such as 1880, when the fish were so abundant, and the catches so enormous, that salt rose to 42s per ton and barrels could hardly be procured, or the series of prosperous seasons from 1899–1903—not all of them profitable because of a heavy catch, but some being so because of the high prices got for a poor take Such boom years put money into the fishermen's hands they proceed to pay off their perhaps years-old debt to the local general merchant , then they attend to the repair or renewal of their boats and tackle , and when they renew, they naturally do so with the most up-to-date types of boat and netting, so that the Bonanza years are always followed by a great new departure in the methods of the industry, as was 1880 by the building of a great number of big full-decked sailing boats—in the Shetlands alone they increased in number by over 100—and as were the good years at the beginning of the century by a tremendous advance in the use of steam drifters The obverse of this picture of overflowing prosperity and rising comfort is found in the lean years, such as 1884, 1885, 1914, or the post-war period, when the failure of the season through one cause or another is responsible for the gathering of a wave of debts and black care which overwhelms in a common ruin the material well-being and the peace of mind of the fishing communities

If the industrial revolution, the change over from handicraft to mechanicalised industry, from small-scale production to production on a large scale, came belatedly in the fishing industry, it left nothing to be desired, at any rate, so far as the rapidity and thoroughness of the transformation was concerned The whole thing has happened almost within living memory The growth of a population with a rapidly rising standard of living in Britain during the last few decades of the nineteenth century led to a great increase in the demand for fresh and preserved fish. This caused the inshore fishing grounds to be exploited so intensively

that they became almost exhausted: it was then necessary to g further afield to stormier waters to find the shoals, this gave th impulse towards experiments in new types of fishing boats Whe the herring fishing could be successfully followed by means of small undecked sailing boat costing anything from 60*l* ther was nothing to hinder every adult man in the industry fror becoming his own master. But when the boats, in order to g farther out to sea, began to be quarter- and half-decked, an accordingly came to cost more, it was not so easy to achiev independence The time arrived eventually when even thes heavier boats were found to be inadequate to the new needs of th industry—that they should be seaworthy enough to proceed t the summer fishing off the Shetlands and to the autumn season of East Anglia, as well as being fit to carry on the winter herring fishing in the dangerous seas washing the north of Scotland Fo these boats eventually were substituted vessels of the 'Zulu' type much larger in size and full-decked, which seemed to have reached the highest point of perfection to which the propulsion of fishing vessels by sail and oar could be carried The first kind of 'Zulu' introduced was clinker-built and cost about 300*l* The second type, which was still being built in large numbers at the beginning of the present century when the steam drifter was already looming over the horizon, was carvel-built and cost about 600*l* This fine craft, often painted black, and with its huge expanse of dark brown canvas extending from a 57-foot mast, had a length of keel of 68 feet, and was, in addition, fitted with a twelve horse-power steam capstan for hauling in the two miles of drift-netting which was its usual fishing gear Even at this time there was clear evidence of the emergence of the pure wage earner, for it is on record that the poverty-stricken fishermen in the decayed villages of Ross-shire had to come to the prosperous Moray Firth ports in the herring season to serve as hired hands on board these large sailers As early as 1880 experiments, which did not turn out successfully, had been made in the application of steam to herring fishing boats By 1899 a type of steam drifter had been perfected which by its profitable performance vanquished the last doubts as to the practicability of the use of steam-power in the herring fishing. Fishermen are, however, a race slow to change from their customary ways, so that the big sailers still continued to hold the field, and it was not till about 1905 that the great rush to replace 'Zulus' with steam-driven vessels commenced, which was to continue with unabated energy right up till the eve of the war, at which time there were 1437 steam drifters and liners engaged in the Scottish fisheries The average cost of the drifters built in 1914 was 2900*l*, their running expenses amounted to a considerable sum per day, only

people with some capital, it is evident, could own and operate such vessels Unquestionably this progress in the scale and cost of the instruments used in the fishing industry meant the proletarisation of many formerly independent fishermen Many of the drifters were, and some are still, owned by private capitalists and capitalist companies. Yet, on the other hand, it is undeniable that even now most fishermen are the owners or part-owners of the drifters they work in At the same time, this nominal ownership is often—and more so now than ever, as a consequence of the ill-success of the industry in recent years—a mere cloak for actual debt slavery to a bank, a fish salesman, or a general merchant, whose mortgage eats into the boat's earnings

In the report for 1878 the Fishery Board, incidentally to stating their opinion that beam-trawling is not harmful to the breeding of the fish, mention that steam tugs are being used successfully alongside sailing vessels for trawling From that time forward steam trawling has advanced uninterruptedly, and the catching of white fish by sailing trawlers, or even by small boats inshore, has only been saved from extinction in our day by the adoption of motor-power. The first experimental boat fitted with an American gasoline petrol engine was launched at Peterhead in 1902 The tremendous expansion in the construction of motor fishing boats during the war rapidly brought up the number employed, and to-day there are about 2000 engaged in the Scottish fisheries But the motor boat does not seem likely to have any chance of replacing the steam drifter in the herring fishing so long as the difficulty of applying the motive power of the motor to the hauling of the nets has not been overcome The phenomenal growth of the trawling business may be gathered from the fact that in 1925 there were 341 trawlers working from Scottish ports, apart from the large number of foreign, mostly German, trawlers landing their catches there The cost of constructing a steam trawler was approximately 6000*l*, and consequently from the very outset the business was entirely in the hands of capitalist companies, the deck hands and stokers being mere wage-workers Great fortunes have been made at Aberdeen and Granton in the trawling business. The men employed have been for a long time organised in the Scottish Trawl Fishermen's Union, and strikes at the two ports just mentioned have occurred not infrequently Like the other branches of the industry, however, the trawling section has been passing through a difficult period recently on account of the discrepancy between its costs and its proceeds, and also because of the competition of the Germans landing their takes from the Iceland grounds

A visit to Lerwick, in the Shetlands, at the height of the herring fishing season was in pre-war days an experience not to be

readily forgotten. Having just passed the utter loneliness of Fair Isle's mountain mass, to come upon the belching smoke and the forest of funnels and masts belonging to the drifter fleet crammed into Lerwick Harbour was to get a shock of complete surprise From June to August the herring fishing is carried on around the Shetlands by a multitude of drifters congregated from all the Scottish and English ports, besides many foreign craft—Norse, Dutch, Belgian, French, and so forth. The narrow streets of this quaint little old-fashioned town, with its Norse memories, are packed with burly fishing giants, in jerseys, sea boots, and sou'westers, whose great moon faces are brick-red with the buffeting of wind and sea The circumstances of these men's lives were being revolutionised by the intervention of capital into the industry, and it is therefore not to be wondered at that they listened eagerly to the Socialist propaganda conducted by the Lerwick branch of the S D F The young Shetlanders go south to learn a trade whenever they can A few of them came to Edinburgh and found occupation in the printing trades Now they did not only learn that craft, they also got a knowledge of Marxian Socialism, for the Edinburgh compositors were the first Scottish workers to accept Socialism when the apostles of the S D F originally appeared on the scene in the eighties When these Shetlanders returned home journeymen they found a soil prepared for their seed ; the industrial revolution the fishermen were undergoing seemed to be explained perfectly by the Marxian theory of the concentration of capital, and the Lerwick Working Men's Association which they founded had an instant success In a short time this body, which became affiliated to the S D F, had secured Socialist representation on the town council, school board, and parish council, as well as succeeding in establishing connexions with the inhabitants of the most remote islands of the group Before the war the Lerwick branch was the strongest local organisation of the S D F. in Scotland. For the very same reason—namely, the extraordinary growth of capitalist enterprise in the fishing industry, in this case in the trawling branch—Socialism grew with precocious rapidity, to be the accepted opinion of a large part of the working class of Aberdeen Many years ago Tom Mann polled a respectable vote as a Socialist candidate in one of the Aberdeen constituencies, and in the 1906 election Tom Kennedy, recently appointed chief Labour Whip, polled 1900 votes running on a straight ticket in North Aberdeen. One of the largest regular open-air Socialist meetings held in Scotland before the war was that conducted in the Castlegate, Aberdeen, on Sunday evenings It was never attended by less than several thousand people, and the sales of propaganda literature were on an extensive scale. The fishing burghs of the Moray

Firth were less affected by these developments, though even here the I L P had been carrying on meetings, and occasionally was able to set up a short-lived branch in one or other of them.

It will be understood that the progress of the Scottish fishing industry was bound to be cut short by the war. Four thousand fishermen were enrolled in the Naval Reserve, and these were immediately called up, while a like number were soon occupied in working the mine-sweepers and patrol boats which were under the control of the Admiralty. Fishing could only be carried on within narrowly prescribed areas. The main Continental market (Germany) was, of course, completely closed, but the high prices that came to reign in the home market compensated those who were still able to continue their occupation for the increased risks they had to run.

Since the end of the war the industry has been in a very depressed condition. This has been due to the loss of the Russian market, which formed before the war the second most important outlet for cured herrings, taking as it did about 600,000 barrels per annum. The German demand, though it is reviving, has naturally, in consonance with that country's economic condition, been on a restricted scale. An interesting recent innovation in this trade has been the growth of the practice of 'klondyking,' i.e., exporting fresh fish preserved in ice or by sprinkling with salt direct to Germany for conversion into the various forms of 'marinated' herrings popular there, and so-called because of the lucre it brought its pioneers, but this trade, though easing the position of the fishermen through stimulating higher prices, has to an equivalent extent worsened the position of the curer by compelling him to pay more for his raw material. In 1924 there was a temporary revival as a result of the appearance of Soviet buyers on the market, but these purchases did not continue, so that by 1925 the depression returned with even greater weight. The fishermen are disgusted with the inaction of the Government in connexion with the extension of the Trade Facilities Act to the purchase of cured herrings for export to Russia, and also with its blundering in regard to the regularisation of commercial and diplomatic relations between Soviet Russia and Great Britain.

This series of bad years has reduced the technical efficiency of the industry to a dangerously low point. The steam drifters now in use are about fifteen to twenty years old, practically none having been built, save for naval purposes, since 1914; they are totally obsolete, and will become increasingly expensive to keep running. There is no money in the industry to replace them, so that the situation can only be met by the Government granting a large long-term loan, on easy terms, for this purpose. The experience the fishermen have had of the present party in office

in respect to the loan of 100,000*l*. authorised to assist the to renew their worn-out nets, and of which only 6000*l* w actually paid out, does not encourage them to think that there much hope in that quarter. They are therefore flocking over the Labour Party *en masse*. The I.L P. is conducting a stea plugging agitation in the northern divisions, special funds a being raised in Glasgow and the south to subsidise propagan in those remote districts; and the spread of the I L P organi tion into distant Highland straths and lonely fishing haml is the best proof that something important is about to happen the political life of the far north of our island

The fisherfolk are by no means extremists They are still so what afraid of the Labour Party, though their myriad links w the industrial south, in the shape of sons and relatives sett there, is beginning to weaken this fear, but they are quite d nitely done with Liberalism What use is the traditional st in-trade of the Liberal Party, anti-landlord speeches, when veriest political tyro can see that the menace to the peop happiness comes not so much from landlordism as from unc trolled capitalism? The Socialist oases in the Liberal deser the north are destined, through the coming change of polit weather, to overspread with the genial greenery of comm sentiment that arid waste of Cobdenite individualism

J D MacDouga

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN NATIVE STATES

THE Native States of India form a great group of semi-independent communities to which history supplies no parallel They are legacies of the chaotic conditions from which we rescued India, of the many wars by which our rule was gradually consolidated, and of changes of policy which at length assumed consistent form after the great Mutiny The late Sir William Lee-Warner, in his classic work,[1] distinguished three phases in British relations with these States, respectively determined by the policy of the 'Ring Fence' up to 1813, and of 'Subordinate Isolation' between 1813 and 1857, and of 'Subordinate Union' after 1857 Jurists have disputed unprofitably in endeavours to define the international status of the ruling princes and chiefs of India, and have been baffled by many apparent anomalies and by the absence of clear historical precedents The Native States have been compared with the mediatised principalities of the German Empire, but, for many reasons, the comparison cannot be sustained There is much in the story of the evolution of the Roman Empire which recalls the rise of British dominion in India but, from the policy of ancient Rome towards subordinate States we can glean only 'lessons of warning, and not of example, taught by failure'[2] We succeeded where Rome failed It is a fine tribute to the wisdom of our forefathers that, after a long period of war conquest and political change, about 680 Native States remain, and that all the chiefs possessed of adequate resources nobly rallied to the support of the Empire in the Great War

At the present time, one-third of the sub-continent of India and about one-fourth of its huge population is under Indian rule, although this pregnant fact is generally ignored, and all that is implied is realised only by the little minority who have lived and studied in India Here lie many and increasing dangers.

The size of the Native States varies from Hyderabad, with 82,000 square miles—nearly as large as Great Britain (88,700)—to the little States in the Southern Maratha Country, the size of a

[1] *The Native States of India*, 2nd edition (Macmillan & Co 1910) Sir William Lee-Warner.

and advisers to give enlightenment on points of breeding and feeding—lecturers who are themselves experienced agriculturists, and not, as so often in the past, men who do not speak the farmer's language and so fail to win his support or confidence. If we are to recapture our own bacon trade, the unsuitable bacon pig must be eliminated, and it is here, and not in middlemen's profits, that money is to be made by the producer. In the old days he grew what he liked, what suited best his farm or his methods, and said goodbye to his responsibility immediately the raw product was out of his hands; but this point of view is to-day untenable, and the farmer is as much dependent upon giving satisfaction to the public as the grocer who serves them across the counter. The grocer's customer is the farmer's customer.

It cannot be, until producers are breeding bacon pigs in great enough numbers to keep district co-operative factories fully occupied, that such undertakings can be opened. Hitherto the opposite course has been followed—co-operative factories have been erected in the cheerful hope that the raw material would mysteriously spring into existence. Unfortunately this act of faith has not met with its due reward in the materialistic world of bacon production, and not only have grade A pigs been wanting, but also 50 per cent. of the pigs that could be made into bacon at all. In one of the few instances where costings were kept this shortage has added 1*s.* 7*d.* to the cost of curing each pig, and there is little doubt that the very second-rate quality of the pigs supplied has created a natural prejudice amongst retailers against English bacon.

This is the more to be regretted when it is realised that our curing methods are second to none, and although the Danes have made attempts to copy our cure, they have never succeeded in producing anything to compete with the English product, given the right pig. The consumer is willing to give preference to a home-produced article, but the trouble has been that it cannot be relied upon. Although the Danish bacon is inferior to our best, yet they have concentrated so intently on eliminating the unsuitable pig and on keeping up a level standard that the retailer prefers to play for safety and sell their bacon, which, though not the best, is not liable to be returned by disgruntled customers as uneatable.

It is here that the co-operative factory can play its part by encouraging the supply of suitable raw material and discouraging the unsuitable. Again the opposite has so often occurred. Some factories have paid small premiums for good bacon pigs; but nevertheless it is an opinion held by the majority of farmers that they are paid practically as well for the one kind as the other (possibly not because too little encouragement is given to the

moderate English private property. Every one of these Stat has a history of its own closely bound up with the past of Indi The Rajput dynasties of Udaipur and Jodpur date back to t fifteenth century; but the State of Benares, with 855 squa miles and about 369,000 people, was created in 1911

Many of the princely houses derive direct from war and co quest. In Baroda, Indore, and Gwalior, Maratha chiefs ru non-Maratha populations The subjects of the Nizam are main Hindus. In Patiala, with a population of more than one and half millions, a minority are Sikhs All the native rulers ho treaties or sanads upon which their relations with the Briti Government rest, and all are proudly tenacious of their righ thus accruing But the dates of these instruments vary over long period of years, and they differ materially in terms Aft many years of British administration the important State Mysore was restored to the dynasty by Lord Ripon in 1881, und a treaty in which relations with the paramount Power wer clearly defined and may be assumed to represent the then view of the Government in regard to the general status of non-Britis India. On the other hand, the first treaty with Hyderabad goe back to 1766, and has since been frequently implemented Th recent claim of the Nizam for the restoration of Berar was base upon Lord Curzon's treaty of 1902

When the phase of 'Subordinate Isolation' ended with th Mutiny, Lord Canning announced that—

The Crown of England stands forth the unquestioned ruler of all Indi

The Queen's momentous Proclamation of November 1858 lai down that

'all treaties made by the same [East India] Company shall be binding o Her Majesty,' and at the same time guaranteed the territories and the right of all the chiefs

Since 1858, Her Majesty's promises have been scrupulousl kept; but certain powers have been exercised from time to tim when the necessity arose As the ultimate guardian of the welfar of the peoples of India, the paramount Power has intervened i the case of gross misgovernment and has asserted the right t recognise successions to the *gadis* of the Native States in order t exclude rulers known to be unfit to wield authority [3] Thus in the leading case of Baroda the ruling Gaikwar Mulhar Rao wa suspended in 1875 after a solemn warning, and was publicly triec by a Court which included a Maratha and a Rajput chief, on a

[3] It fell to me, with the sanction of the Government of India, to depose the chief of a small Bombay State who had been implicated in several murders, and to set aside the hereditary succession in another State *In both cases the results* were eminently satisfactory.

harge of misrule and of disloyalty in the form of alleged comlicity in a plot to poison the Resident. The Court could not gree, and the charge of disloyalty was abandoned; but Mulhar Rao was removed, and the widow of his predecessor, Khande Rao, vas permitted to adopt a son from the ruling family on condition hat she chose the boy selected by the Government of India. The reaties with Baroda were not altered, and no new conditions ere imposed; but the State was placed under administration, nd brought into good order before the present Gaikwar was istalled Recently measures of the same kind were found ecessary in Nabha and Indore, while irregularities causing great iscontent in Hyderabad were dealt with by directing specific eforms to be carried out with a change of certain officials Action f this nature has become an accepted part of the policy of subordinate Union.'

Since 1858, the Native States have made notable progress In reater or less degree they have followed our methods of adminisration, and the most advanced can now vie with a British istrict, although there is less straining after the efficiency which, owever admirable, may have the effect of worrying Eastern eoples The cost of government in proportion to revenue is, owever, generally greater than in British India prior to the Iontagu 'Reforms,' and the land assessment is usually higher 'robably for this reason Indian villagers always show extreme eluctance to be transferred to a Native State. Relations with he Government have been maintained through Residents or 'olitical Agents, who, when wisely chosen,[4] could become the iends of the rulers, to whom they were accredited, and their usted advisers in certain matters. Many chiefs greatly value irect access to the Viceroy or to the local Governor, to whom ey can tell their difficulties with the certainty of a sympathetic aring or of kindly admonition There were over 350 chiefs in e Presidency of Bombay, and no part of a Governor's duty was ore interesting than the personal relations which he could maintin with many of them. While the general advance in nonritish India in late years has been markedly satisfactory, the yalty of the Indian rulers in troublous times has been frequently anifested Many of them succeeded in checking the subversive gitation, which was allowed to go too far in British India, and fe and property have at times been more secure in some Native tates than in districts under our rule

For these and other reasons several writers have urged the ation of new or the extension of existing Native States. After iving much thought to this attractive policy, I believe that, if

[4] This condition has not invariably been fulfilled, and irritation has resulted, ut I believe the exceptions to be rare

ever practicable since all India was brought under the Crown, has now become impossible.[5] The reluctance on the part of the people to be transferred is a formidable obstacle, and there are others. The vital questions remain: What is to be the future of these States? How are the rights of their hereditary chiefs to be guaranteed in the India of to-morrow?

When Mr. Montagu, with the authority of the Coalition Government, determined, in the throes of the Great War, to force a democratic constitution upon British India, he started a revolution of which no one can see the end. Henceforth the subcontinent with 320,000,000 of people became divided, two-thirds being subjected to a special type of democracy which is everywhere breaking down, while the remaining one-third continued under personal rule in the form consecrated by the traditions of centuries of the most aristocratic country in the world. This was not all. The attempt was made to split the Government in British India into two parts—one following Indian precedents to which we had hitherto adhered, and the other based on the British Cabinet system resting upon the vagaries and the corruption inseparable from popular elections. It was intended that the second system should supersede the first, and we are already face to face with truculent demands for a new advance towards this supersession, which must soon be conceded or denied.

It is improbable that either Mr Montagu or his few India-trained advisers had any clear idea of some inevitable consequences of their schemes, or of the necessary reactions upon the Native States. The princes and chiefs of India as well as British officials could not be deep students of Western democratic methods of which they have no experience; but some of the former felt, and must have expressed, misgivings, which Mr Montagu sought to alleviate. In Chapter X of his historic Report the setting up of a permanent consultative 'Council of Princes' was advocated, and it was proposed to place all the more important States directly under the Government of India. It was apparently hinted at the same time that the duties assigned to Residents and Agents would be rendered perfunctory. The Council was established, but some leading chiefs have never joined it. To be brought closer to the fountain of honour may have seemed attractive, but the effect of removing many Native States from the care of the provincial Governors was—in Bombay especially—to relegate their affairs to junior officials, as it is impossible for a Viceroy to give them all individual attention. This is the invariable result of centralisation. The withdrawal of the timely advice, which used to be rendered in the exceptional case of impolicy in a State,

[5] Special circumstances favoured the construction of the new State of Benares.

has already led to some public scandals which might have been averted

The Report paid a tribute to the devotion to the Crown and the lavish munificence displayed by the princes and chiefs in the Great War

> With one accord the rulers of the Native States rallied to fight for the Empire when war was declared, they offered their personal services, and the resources of their States . . . The princes have helped lavishly with men, horses, material and money, and some of them have in person served in France and elsewhere.

This was well deserved; but the curious fact remains that Mr. Montagu's Bill, which went further than his Report, conferred large powers, with the promise of more, upon a small group of politicians many of whom had striven to hamper the Government during the critical war period And these powers could gravely affect the interests of the Native States, to which nothing of real value was vouchsafed. When the Bill was being considered in detail by a Joint Committee of both Houses the chiefs could not express their opinions, and the zemindars as well as the martial and yeoman classes, with others who form the backbone of a mainly agricultural people, were never heard!

The immediate result of this policy was a rebellion in 1919 better planned and more far-reaching than the Mutiny A secondary sequel was the murderous and protracted rising of the Moplahs instigated by politicians whom Mr Montagu intended to propitiate Throughout these troublous times the rulers of the Native States maintained order and checked the spread of sedition which became rampant in British India They had long been viewed with hostility alike by the Western educated *intelligentsia*, which was eager for power, and by the revolutionary elements. Even in my time, a vile leaflet entitled 'Hear, O Princes,' printed in London or Paris, was sent to all the chiefs warning them that unless they joined the anti-British movement they would be ruthlessly destroyed. Hostility on the part of the pseudo-democratic party towards the Native States was natural and inevitable They seemed to stand out as formidable obstacles to the ambitions of the little politically-minded class which had been nurtured on the teaching of English democrats, and saw in Western systems of government, slowly built up in conditions fundamentally different from those of India, opportunities of securing power and personal gain to be quickly realised Mr. Montagu's Constitution, which established a Parliament for the governance of British India—a concession to which Lord Morley said that he would never agree—had the effect of sharply accentuating the antagonism between Native States and the new

political order, which has already produced significant manifestations. Among the just grievances of the chiefs is the persistent blackmailing to which they are subjected from 'Nationalist' papers published in British India. If a skeleton could be discovered in, or inserted into, the cupboard of a Native State, the chief was informed that publicity could only be prevented by payment It was impossible for him to give personal evidence in a British court, and he had no redress. Flagrant abuses thus arose, and at length, moved by the Chiefs' Council, the Government of India introduced the 'Protection of Princes Bill' This just and overdue measure was promptly rejected by the Assembly, and had to be certified by the Viceroy The hostility of the elected politicians to the Native States has been frequently shown in other ways, and the Press which they control constantly attacks the rulers of Old India

An American writer with long experience of the East has recently published his impressions after a tour in India In his view,

> The revolt in India against the white man is only a shade less acute than in China.

And he states that after attending 'one of the gilded sessions of these Rajas at Delhi,'

> I heard one of the most widely respected Nationalist leaders say, 'As soon as the British have stepped out, we will attend to these pampered swine'

Such is the language which may be used by the town-bred, Western educated lawyers, who form the bulk of the dominant political class and are wholly ignorant of the history of their country, towards the hereditary rulers who carry on the old traditions and remain the most stable element in India to-day When the 'British have stepped out of India' it is possible that the princes and chiefs 'will attend to' the callow politicians—the product of elections mostly farcical—upon whom Mr Montagu conferred power operating over the whole of India. The only certain result of Swaraj is civil war in which the warrior classes, led by chiefs with inherited military instincts, would forcibly assert their rights, and might carve out new territories from what was British India.[6]

The dyarchical experiment has been in operation for about eight and a half years, and the Government of India Act laid down that before ten years had elapsed a statutory Commission should investigate results and make recommendations for the future. As the report of such a body would depend entirely

[6] This is amusingly described in *India in 1883*, a prophetic pamphlet published in 1883 and long out of print.

upon its composition, it is natural that the chiefs should regard the outlook with growing anxiety. At Delhi on January 4 the Maharaja of Benares made a remarkable speech in the presence of the Viceroy He declared that :

> The ever-indulgent British Government, eager to reward India for its war services, made a fatal announcement in 1917, anticipating the actual state of things by at least half a century and attempting to build a twentieth century constitution with materials of the Middle Ages . We cannot do without British protection for centuries A further reduction in the British elements in the services and the courts would be a disaster [7] . . It is a mockery to call ourselves a nation We are surrounded by high combustibles, which once ablaze it will be impossible for us to control. We have dangerous explosives within ourselves Sympathy is bringing catastrophe The situation in India is complicated by the presence of 00 more or less independent Native States whose position is so solemnly pledged that no constitution which does not take account of them is worth a moment's consideration

Speaking at a State banquet to the Viceroy at Srinagar on April 13, the Maharaja of Kashmir significantly said

> We have every sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of British India, but we are anxious that the position secured to us by the treaties with Great Britain shall not be prejudicially affected There are some matters concerning us jointly with British India in which at present we have no voice We want a voice in these matters

How far their Highnesses spoke for their order I cannot tell, but every chief in India must feel grave misgivings at the vague and potentially disastrous prospects before him

Lord Lytton, the late Governor of Bengal, speaking at Calcutta on November 30 last, made some frank admissions. He said

> I am bound to confess that the events in Bengal in the last five years strengthened the case of the critics rather than of the friends of the constitution

And he went on significantly to point out that

> ...nment may have erred, not, I think, in intention, and when the time ... for the statutory Commission to examine the question the action of those concerned will pass under review.

...ntly, in the *Morning Post*, the Nawab of Dera Ismail Khan, ...ntly drew attention to the

> ...e or imperfect or misleading information or simply he fanciful ...ories or unsuitable adaptation of European systems, which brought ... and injurious results both for Indians and British

...these words the genesis and the drafting of the Government of

[7] This reduction is rapidly proceeding

India Bill are correctly diagnosed, and the Nawab went on to advocate

> an association under the name of Friends of England and India . . quite independent and free from the influence and participation of the party politics and of any party either in England or in India

Such an association, he thought, could show

> proper regard and respect for the much-honoured ruling princes and other chiefs, their States and their families

The situation in India may before long become critical, and neither Parliament nor the enormous electorate of 22,000,000 is in the least aware of conditions outside their experience and grasped only by the little minority which has been brought into personal contact with the life of the Indian peoples Before the war, German activities were directed to develop hostility to our rule and to assist secret movements of which there have been ominous manifestations [8] After the success of the revolutionary conspiracy in Russia the direction of the main attack upon the British Empire centred in Moscow, with results widely visible Attention is now concentrated upon China, where Communist agencies have already inflicted incalculable injury to British interests, and would, but for our naval and military intervention have led to wholesale massacres of foreigners in the towns of the Yangtse valley But these agencies were at work in India at an earlier date, and Communism is being steadily propagated throughout that country with the support of ample funds In India, as in China, the same game is being astutely played by the exploitation of nationalism for revolutionary purposes, and the conspirators at Moscow openly avow their object of arraying the Eastern peoples against the Western Powers, and especially against the British Empire, regarded as the most vulnerable

Meanwhile, the Montagu Constitution has led, as was certain, to Hindu-Moslem hostility in extreme forms previously unknown which by creating general unrest furthers the aims of the revolutionary party The elected majority of the Assembly, sitting at Simla and Delhi, has offered continuous obstruction to measures of the Government directed to the good of the people, and as it exercises control, subject only to the Viceroy's veto, over matters which deeply concern the Native States, their rulers share in the general incertitude and apprehension Non-British India has no voice in settling tariffs, and, being mainly non-industrial, its interests conflict with policies which can be instilled into elected politicians for the most part divorced from the agriculturists who

[8] See *India as I Knew it*, by Sir Michael F O'Dwyer (Constable, 1925), where the work of the secret conspiracies in the Punjab is lucidly described

form the vast majority of the population There are other ways in which the Assembly can exercise unjustifiable interference with the affairs of the Native States, although technically these affairs are reserved.

The Constitution of 1919 set up a mainly elected Parliament based upon an absurdly small section of the people of British India,[9] is permitted to legislate in certain respects for one-fourth of India which has no representation This democratic fraud was also perpetrated in all the provinces, where town-bred lawyers are supposed to act as Ministers deriving authority from the will of the people The general effect in India has been to introduce politics in the least desirable Western form, aggravated by the elaborate intrigues characteristic of the East, into the administration of India All the great services, on which the welfare of the masses depends, are crumbling At the same time, corruption is growing, even in courts of justice, crime has increased, notably in once peaceful Burma, while the cost of government has markedly risen

The Native States have one advantage denied to British India Their rulers are free to select their officials and, if they so desire, to draw upon the dwindling British elements in the services. *It may thus happen that* a progressive State like Mysore could reach a higher standard of administration than is now possible in British districts hampered by political faction.

A new crisis in the chequered history of India is impending, which, in the present distracted and uninformed state of public opinion, is most unlikely to attract adequate attention The Statutory Commission will probably be appointed this year, and on the manner of its proceedings the fate of India will depend. It is intended to provide Parliament with accurate information and to reach decisions untainted by political bias, and it should, therefore, be composed only of members of both Houses As, however, in accordance with present conventions, it will contain representatives of the Socialist Party committed deeply to Home Rule and to contempt of the undemocratic Native States, a unanimous report could not be expected The paramount duty of the Commission will be to endeavour to estimate the general effects upon the masses of all India of the Montagu Reforms It should therefore closely examine the proceedings of the Indian Parliament and of the provincial Legislative Councils, in order to judge how far the elected members and the Ministers have displayed any constructive ability and the extent to which they, and the

[9] In the election of 1923 for the Assembly, which at once developed hostility to the Government, only one person in 250 had a vote and only one in 1000 voted (Sir Michael O'Dwyer) As a representative body the Assembly is a mischievous farce

Assembly in particular, have opposed measures directed to the welfare of the unrepresented masses. A survey of the administration generally and of its cost, as well as of the present and prospective position of the great services, is essential, but difficult to arrive at. The Commission will doubtless visit the great cities of India, questing opinions, and it will be futile to take only such evidence as was forthcoming before the Joint Select Committee of 1919 The views of the princes and chiefs, of the zemindar and yeoman classes, of the warrior races, and of non-political Indians must be ascertained As intimidation in many forms is now rampant in India, this also will present great difficulties[10] The Commissioners' first object must be to devise such a scheme as will best promote the welfare of the masses, secure public order, and check corruption in the administration Only on these conditions can the second object—the smooth progress of India towards self-government—be attained. To place the latter object first is to retard its attainment, and already there has been a distinct setback in place of the advance which a wise policy might have accomplished

Broadly speaking, my own views, which I believe are shared by others who have served in and learned to love India, are

1. The Central Government should be completely reorganised In place of the obstructive and totally unrepresentative Assembly, which is a focus of intrigue and political faction childishly displayed, there should be a strong advisory Council If the princes and chiefs would consent to nominate representatives to such a body in proportion to the populations they rule, their interests would at length be safeguarded I can well understand their objections, due to the old traditions of their order; but I can see no other way of saving the Native States from the effects of the persistent hostility of the Indian politicians, or of guaranteeing the validity of the treaties and sanads, which, if the supreme Government were dominated by their opponents, would become ineffective To such a Council, which would carry great weight, the Government of India could explain its policy, while learning the views of real representatives of all India

2 In the provinces, the futile dyarchy—a device unknown in constitutional history—should be abolished in favour of a unitary executive half British and half Indian for the present. This would restrict high office to Indians who had shown the necessary capacity for constructive work in the cause of the Indian peoples. Advance towards self-government should be

[10] It is essential for this reason that parts of the evidence should be taken *in camera*

made in the provinces in the first instance, and be judged by progress in good administration for the benefit of the masses proved in individual cases. I would base secondary elections for the provincial Councils in the rural districts upon the village, which can choose its electors, and I believe that in this way the vast and vital rural population might be protected against the political domination of the urban *intelligentsia*, which is out of sympathy with their needs.

hese may be counsels of perfection, and I dare not hope that ey will be adopted by any Commission likely to be appointed. it possible at least to persuade the Government and Parliament at, in devising a Constitution for India, the future of the Native ates cannot be ignored without grave danger ?

SYDENHAM OF COMBE.

Note—Since these pages were written a number of leading hiefs, including the Maharajas of Bikaner, Alwar, Patiala, ashmir and Nawanagar, have conferred with the Viceroy in rder to represent their anxieties and just claims which must be aken into full account in any revision of the Constitution.

suitable, but too little discouragement to the unsuitable), and because agricultural co-operative societies seem to exist on sufferance in this country they have often accepted inferior stuff lest they offend their members by refusing it. Naturally, therefore, an idea is often found to exist that 'anything will do' for the co-operative factory.

But no business undertaking in the world could carry on under such conditions. If the movement is to be re-created, then this apologetic air must be abolished and a strong line taken to ensure adequate, suitable supplies and steadfastly to refuse the useless stuff. The co-operative factory is the property of its members, an incidental piece of machinery in helping them to produce bacon as profitably as possible; and it cannot be too strongly emphasised that the greatest help it can give its members is to turn out only the best bacon. Often complaint has been made that the members think of their factory as only a rival firm among others; but are not the initiators of co-operative curing partly to blame for this in their insistence on the 'saving the middleman's profits' aspect of it instead of the wider view of producing first-class, reliable bacon? They, too, have only interpreted co-operative bacon factories in terms of non-co-operative companies.

Suggestions have already been made above for creating *suitable* supplies; but there is the question of the factory getting them in adequate quantity and of discouraging the unsuitable. It is difficult to see how this can be satisfactorily accomplished without a system of contracts between the co-operative factory and its members The committee responsible for the National Farmers' Union Report were divided on this point, Mr. Crawford and Mr. Ryland being against and the other members in favour. The case against contracts is that they tie the farmer to a particular outlet, with no guarantee of a minimum price, that their enforcement jeopardises the members' good-will, and that they put a premium on inefficient management. But these would not be very grave objections if the members believed in their factory, and without this confidence a factory has small chance of existing under any conditions. If the members think it is being inefficiently run they have it entirely in their own power to change its management; and again one is forced back to the point that the co-operative factory's chief value is not just to make a profit as a factory. But to encourage grade A bacon production, give the farmer a control over the cured product so that the reputation of 'British Farmers' Bacon' is enhanced, and protect him from the possibility of intermediary profiteering that might occur if he, by his own efforts, quintupled the supply of suitable raw material. One cannot help feeling that, if these points were insisted upon

THE NEW FRENCH MILITARY ORGANISATION

WITH less than a week's debate, the lower House of the French Parliament recently passed a Bill for the General Organisation of the Country in Time of War, which involves the scrapping of all existing notions on the subject From the present system of conscription and mobilisation of the male population between certain age limits, together with a comparatively mild requisition of property, the Chambre des Députés has gone over to the principle of universal service, of mobilisation of all human and material resources in the country—in short, mobilisation of the whole national being There are two main reasons which prompted the passing of such a revolutionary change by an overwhelming majority of 500 to 31 votes. The first is the proved inadequacy of the organisation with which France had to face the last two aggressions of 1870 and 1914 In pre-1870 days military service was nominally compulsory for seven years, but there were many exemptions, and it was always possible to buy one's self out by the simple process of paying for a substitute, who was always, of course, a time-expired man, and this led to the creation of a class of professional soldiers who were no doubt efficient enough until they grew too old in the service, but on a general mobilisation of the manhood of the country it was found that many had had no military training at all The lessons of the brief but disastrous war of 1870 called for a change, and in 1872 it was enacted that military service should be due from everybody. There were to be no substitutes, but the time of active service with the colours was reduced to five years In 1889 it was found possible to reduce service to three years. There still existed, however, some privileged classes Students, ministers of religion, the eldest sons of widows, and the eldest of several orphans served but one year In 1905 Parliament, yielding to popular pressure, suppressed all these privileges and reduced the time of active service to two years for everybody. Experts had misgivings about the wisdom of this further reduction. Some formations, it was said, like cavalrymen and artillerymen, required more than two years' training, and the presence of only two annual contingents at any time under arms was not sufficient protection at the

frontiers Moreover, the French birth rate was steadily falling Whereas in 1876 there were about 500,000 male births per annum, which meant about 400,000 recruits twenty years later, in 1900 and subsequent years these figures had dropped to 400,000 and 320,000 respectively. To make matters worse, the art of waging war was constantly undergoing changes. With every new invention in the realm of aeronautics, ballistics, telephony, etc , new services had to be created and manned. The men could only be found in and taken out of the first line of defence, namely, infantry Optimists rather weakly retorted that if service was made more attractive there would be more re-enlistments, that some men in the non-fighting services—*e.g.*, orderlies, clerks, bandsmen, etc —could be weeded out. In spite of the unconvincing nature of these arguments, such was the popular clamour for a shorter term of active service that the reduction was voted Its operation was short-lived. The Germany of pre-war days soon brought everybody, whether expert or optimist, to realise France's dangerous state of helplessness In March 1911 the Reichstag voted a first increase of the German effectives as well as many improvements in equipment. In May 1912 it voted a further increase of two army corps, with the result that Germany's peace-time ratings outnumbered the French by about 145,000 men. This might have been thought sufficient protection , but scarcely had this second increase been put into operation than the Reichstag sanctioned a third and formidable increase of 153,000 men, which brought the German forces on the peace footing to the total of 876,000, against which the French could only oppose about 567,000, some of whom would have to be left to guard North Africa The French army thus found itself in a state of nearly 50 per cent inferiority to the German In August 1913, accordingly, the French nation was compelled to restore the three years' duration of service, but this was not to apply to the contingents then serving or under call-up notice to join The change, therefore, would not have had any effect until October 1915, except that it was provided that thenceforward young men would be called up at twenty instead of twenty-one, and the contingent which in the ordinary way, would have been called up in October 1914 was made to join in October 1913. If it had not been for that provision, France would not have had one extra trained recruit to meet the German onslaught some ten months later, and one is left rather gasping at what the consequences might have been The second reason for the recent, or rather the proposed, change (for it still has to go through the Senate) in France's national defence organisation is a melancholy consideration common to all countries engaged in the late war, namely, that while combatants found it a field of glory and death, others

exempted from actual fighting duties, either by reason of their age, their sex or their technical abilities, found it a fruitful field of profitable enterprise and an opportunity for easy and scandalous enrichment. There was much feeling on this point. For some years past in France whenever people spoke of war in an empiric sort of way (for nobody outside lunatic asylums and newspaper offices really wants another war) they usually wound up by saying that if there should be one, everybody ought to be mobilised, whether man or woman, young or old, and whether in the fighting field, the workshop, or at the writing desk. This was and still is the average former combatant's simple point of view. He does not stop to see whether it is a workable proposition. He is quite content to say that in time of danger it is the duty of all citizens without exception to place the whole of their resources, whether technical, financial or otherwise, at the service of the country without any more remuneration than the front line soldier whose offering is his life. One cannot help feeling some sympathy with this ingenuous view, especially in France, where the conscription laws were much more severely enforced than in England, and where, therefore, the privileged position of the lucky few, the very few, stood in greater contrast with the misery of the multitude who shared the common lot. The popular feeling could not be ignored, and as far back as 1923 the French Cabinet had decided upon the creation in each Ministry of a new department whose task was to be 'to keep in touch with and to centralise and co-ordinate all questions and information concerning national defence.' This effort on the part of the Executive met with little success, for it had to overcome the proverbial inertia of the administrative machine, and in fact in some of the Ministries the new department was never created at all. One notable exception was in the case of the North African Administration. Schemes and surveys were prepared for the rapid mobilisation of all forces in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, and plans were actually *mis à l'étude* for the purpose of linking up French West Africa and the Sudan with the Mediterranean by means of the Trans-Sahara Railway. The task before the French Parliament, therefore, was to lay down at least the broad lines of the general mobilisation scheme, which was to include the whole national resources, and within this broad framework to set up the departmental machinery which could settle the necessary details, in order, as it was said, to leave nothing to be hastily improvised on the happening of the war emergency. In accordance with French parliamentary procedure the Government proposals were submitted to a Commission recruited from all parties in the House (except the Communists, who refused to come in), and the Commission produced a unanimous Bill intituled 'For the General

ganisation of the Country in Time of War.' This Bill runs to ty-eight sections, of which about half a dozen are of first-rate portance as laying down new principles, the rest being devoted mere practical applications of the more crucial clauses.

The first section is perhaps the most momentous of all. It acts that

In time of war all persons of French nationality or subject to French irrespective of age and sex and all legally constituted corporate bodies bound as provided in sections 5 to 16 of the present law to take part, er as *combatants* in the defence of the country, or *as non-combatants*, in maintenance of its material or moral life

In support of this wide-reaching measure the *rapporteur* (or kesman) of the Commission pointed out that modern war is a r of the peoples, a world conflict, a war of effectives and terial, a scientific war, a complete war of all the human and terial resources of entire nations, an upheaval of the whole verse which had gradually obliterated the ancient distinction ween the military and civilian population, who are all brought hrown into the struggle in countless ways There is no longer selection of victims ; the whole nation's production is held for years or diverted towards works of death. Such is modern as described by the *rapporteur*, M Paul-Boncour, a brilliant ver who represents his country on the Councils of Geneva, and , by political conviction, is a Socialist It is easy to underad the amount of support to be found not only in Parliament in the country for the Bill introduced by this powerful orator sponsored by a unanimous Commission The only oppots were the small band of Communist members, one of whom, ding for the exemption of women, children, and the old, aimed, 'Men, women, toddlers and totterers will all be comints to-morrow from the cradle to the grave. You are going ut the whole population into strait-jackets, and thus bound and manacled you will throw them into the carnage' In the se of the debate, however, it turned out that even Communist sia had trained and equipped a very efficient army just as to be led to slaughter as the enthusiastic Fascists of Italy r the leadership of '*le chien enragé de l'Europe*,' as a later er called Signor Mussolini Not only Russia and Italy, but many also, were mentioned as reorganising their military forces, even England's modest effort in regard to her aerial forces quoted as a potential cause of danger. The French Bill, nded to be in response to all these war-like preparations, lises all classes of citizens, and as a necessary concomitant he other assets of the country, whether industrial, commercial, ncal, or even intellectual, in time of war—in short, everyg and everybody. From the first day of the war the whole

nation must either be with the armies in the field or at work behind the lines to provide supplies for these armies, and for that reason the Commission felt that the new law must extend to all persons, irrespective of age and sex, and its members decided to stand up to any facile sarcasm or ridicule which may be directed against some of the provisions. Apart from the Communists' fundamental objection to the principle involved in this first secti— of the Bill, there were qualms of conscience in more moder. quarters in regard to the comprehensiveness of the wording member representing one of the Northern districts inquir whether mobilisation of the non-combatants might not furni a pretext for such atrocities as were committed in Northe France He instanced particularly the deportations of women, measure which was condemned practically by the whole wor outside Germany He asked whether it could still be objecti to if these women were liable to be mobilised by their own Gover ment, or if, on the contrary, this sweeping section did not opera to some extent as a waiver of the right to protection assured to non-combatants by the Hague and London Conventions C behalf of the Commission it was retorted that the meaning such expressions as 'non-combatants,' 'open towns,' etc, ha been strangely construed during the war, and that the mei settling beforehand of everybody's post in workshop, hospital, office could scarcely turn civilians into real combatants or depriv them of such questionable protection as is afforded them by th ever wavering laws of war The point, however, was presse further by M Loucheur, who was a member of M Clémenceau' famous War and Victory Cabinet He appealed to the Commi sion to reconsider the matter practically on the same ground a earlier speakers, namely, that the right to deport women migh be claimed because they had a clearly defined part to play i the national defence scheme The result of these appeals wa that the words shown in italics were added in an attempt to draw at least a theoretical line between the combatant classes and thei non-combatant helpers This was the only modification obtained the more radical amendment to leave out the words 'irrespective of age and sex' being lost on a show of hands What the consequences may be to the persons concerned is a matter of conjecture The *Temps* raises the point without attempting to give an answer It considers this as one of the histrionic clauses of the Bill, likely to provoke derisive smiles, but also to be fraught with real danger to non-combatants in case of invasion. Warnings of danger were not wanting, but went unheeded. M. Lafont, another brilliant lawyer, whose opposition to the Bill secured several minor amendments, urged that occupying armies take over the sovereignty and powers of the native State, and that whatever services or contribu-

tions the latter could claim from the inhabitants can be exacted by the invaders. Though international law had often been trampled upon during the late war, he said, things would have been much worse without it. For upwards of four years the Belgian people had fought the German *kommandatur* day by day and step by step with the help of this much-derided code. Now that women and old people were, by their own national law, liable to impressment into the auxiliary services, it would not be possible even to protest against their being similarly impressed into the service of the occupying forces exercising the same power as the national authority. From a strictly legal point of view the argument was probably unanswerable, but the common sense of the Frenchmen who had gone through the war told them that it was at best only a legal point, and that if such deportations of women could not be prevented before they became mobilisable the position could not be worse after, and it was not worth while sacrificing the governing principle of universal service, which is at the basis of the Bill, for the sake of retaining a purely theoretical and oft-infringed right which could only be backed up by ineffective protests We may pass rapidly over section 2, which sets forth the cases in which mobilisation can take place The usual *casus belli* are well known Section 3 merely empowers the Government to create in each Ministry a department to deal with all questions concerning national defence These sections are purely declaratory of the existing system

On the same level of importance as section 1 it is probably right to put section 4. What the former does as regards the manhood, womanhood, adolescence, and senility of the country the latter does in respect of material resources As originally submitted to Parliament it placed under the sole control of the Cabinet in time of war—(sub-section 1) all means of transport and communication ; (sub-section 2) all questions relating to supplies for the armed forces and the general needs of the country ; (sub-section 3) all modifications in the legal relationship of citizens *inter se* and with the State ; (sub-section 4) the direction (' orientation ' as the French text has it) of the intellectual resources of the country in the interests of national defence ; and (sub-section 5) all necessary steps to keep up the *moral* of the country. In this form the article practically created a dictatorship and evoked some outspoken remarks on the part of the extreme left wing of the Chamber Sub-section 3 would have given the Cabinet power to suspend or change the whole body of the civil law, whether relating to contract, succession or civil status, and whether protecting property, liberty or life The wording was so wide that everything could be included within the scope of the sub-section and placed under the uncontrolled discretion of the Government.

Sub-section 4, dealing with the 'orientation' of intellectual resources, was stigmatised as '*la mobilisation des consciences*' As generals would throw human lives away, Cabinet Ministers would be conscripting minds and tampering with consciences, while a helpless Rump Parliament (*Parlement croupion*) could not even meet to take counsel. If the Executive were given such powers, of what conceivable use was Parliament? Its members might just as well be sent home immediately upon the outbreak of war. Stung by these observations, the Socialist element supporting the Bill carried an amendment to the effect that any measures within the meaning of sub-sections 3 and 5 would have to be voted by Parliament Sub-section 4, however, was not altered, and the dreaded 'orientation' of intellectual endeavour will be a prerogative of the War Cabinet: Poet and Painter, Pen, Palette and Brush, as well as Inspiration Divine, are all to be at their disposal. The sponsors of the Bill were probably wise when they decided at the outset to stand up to ridicule It must be admitted that in all belligerent countries during the Great War the Government had some of the powers enumerated in the section now under review, *e g*, the now departing Ministry of Transport in England The powers exercised by Ministers of Munitions, Food Controllers, etc, and a good many others besides, are all to be found under sub-section 2, but the original wording of sub-section 3 was probably unprecedented With the amendment requiring legislative changes to be voted by Parliament the country reverts to the system which obtained during the Great War. By means of emergency Acts for the defence of the realm or republic the Government can be given power to issue regulations on all matters affecting national defence, and the validity of these regulations, or, in other words, the extent of the Governmental powers, will depend on the wording and scope of the emergency legislation which the French Cabinet can induce Parliament to vote The fourth sub-section, as stated, leaves the matters included therein in the hands of the Cabinet, but under sub-section 5 the care of the country's *moral* or grit, the encouragement, punishment or dope it may occasionally need, remain matters for the French Parliament

The next division of the Bill comprises sections 5 to 16 inclusive, and regulates the 'employment of persons and resources' The broad principle is laid down that people are to be employed at the post where they can be most useful Within this 'cadre' or framework the Government asked for a certain latitude The law should be supple, and although fit men are of course to be under arms, yet section 6 enacts that in case of absolute necessity fit men may be ordered to other occupations. This is to be within the jurisdiction of the Cabinet, and an amendment requiring a

law was rejected. Certain services may be militarised in the national interest (section 7), but an amendment requiring a law for that purpose was accepted and carried. This will apply to such classes as railwaymen. The recruitment of civilians for administrative work may be made either by contract or by requisition (section 9). Sections 10 and 11 deal with what Frenchmen call '*une question délicate*' War, as M Paul-Boncour said, is no longer like a picture by Van der Meulen If women are to be mobilised in hospitals, offices, or in the harvest fields, if the fruit of the inventor's brain is to be conscripted, is it conceivable that only one class of citizens, the capitalists, should be exempted? Behind the armies the whole population must be at work to provide the means of carrying on the war—'*les ressources*'—to quote the French text. Section 10 states that these resources are obtained either by agreement or by requisition, and that in neither case is any profit allowed On the outbreak of war all industrial undertakings are at the disposal of the Government, who may *by decree* settle all working conditions, including salaries to be paid to the workers, managers, or other persons engaged An amendment to the effect that the decree was to take into account 'acquired positions' was withdrawn in true patriotic spirit, so that it may possibly happen that principals and subordinates will have to change places Section 11 says that the Government may requisition the services of all persons and corporate bodies, including trade unions, it may regulate the use or consumption of animals, foodstuffs, materials, inventions, property (whether movable or immovable), etc. Compensation for such requisition shall, in the case of services, consist of a salary only, and in other cases of the actual cost price of any article or property consumed or acquired. If the property is only to be used, the compensation is to be interest on the capital value of the property at the ordinary rates for State loans issued during the period of war, and if there be no such loans, then at the bank rate for the time being in force, plus something for wear and tear, or for the destruction or replacing of the article Replacing apparently includes 'writing off' or amortisation, the State meanwhile being responsible for running expenses, taxes, insurance, upkeep, etc Interest will only be payable in cases where the undertaking taken over is at least solvent, if not actually prosperous It will not be payable if the profit and loss accounts for the last three years, or such shorter period during which the undertaking shall have been in existence, do not show any profit or other remuneration paid to capital It does not seem to have occurred to any parliamentarians that this provision is harsh on new businesses which have not yet had time to earn profits. The point was not even raised in the course of the debate. The

valuation of the capital invested in a business must not take into account any increase due to the state of war, and the Commission appointed to make such valuation will include representatives of the workpeople engaged in the business as a check against mendacious inflation by the owners. This industrial mobilisation of the country had been urged as far back as January 1924 by a Select Commission appointed to inquire into war contracts The evidence taken by the Commission had exposed certain scandalous speculations in war munitions and essential products as well as the blunders of Government buying Officials sent out to America to buy one kind of article of which they could claim some knowledge found on arrival cabled instructions to buy many other things as widely different as horse-shoes and blankets or pharmaceutical products According to an official witness before the Select Commission, no book or register of orders or contracts was kept Section 11 is aimed at changing all this, and one of its results will be a new Ministry of Importations to deal with all official buying abroad The creation of this new department was supported by an unexpected argument concerning Allied debts The English reader may well wonder how that subject can be relevant It was said that if such a department had been in existence and efficiently working during the late war there would have been no inter-Allied debts, because the department would have pointed out to Allied Governments that the profits realised by their subjects on the contracts and orders placed abroad by the French Government were so high that the British or American Government's share of such profits by way of ordinary income tax and excess profits duty really exceeded the amount of France's indebtedness to Great Britain and America In short, it is going to be quite easy to prove the somewhat startling proposition that France does not owe but rather is owed money The Ministry of Imports is to be organised in peace-time in order to leave nothing to be improvised later and to obviate the costly mistakes of the late war Some anxiety is felt in commercial circles whether the suppression of all profits in all cases, whether of agreement or requisition, is really the best way to secure the highest possible output, and the *Temps*, in an editorial, indorses this view; but it was found impossible to resist the comparison with the case of the front line defenders in constant danger of death who get no profits at all The Bill effects a kind of compromise, for while profits are disallowed by section 10, section 11 enables the Government to grant rewards or prizes with a view to encouraging inventions and output This *via media* appears to be the best solution of a thorny problem As the war-scarred Colonel Fabry said, it is true that the combatant's *moral* is endangered if he knows that his own agony is but an opportunity for other people to make

money, but it is equally true that demoralisation sets in whenever there is a shortage of munitions. In this connexion a remark by M Paul-Boncour is probably the wisest of all and best worth remembering—namely, that 'the absence of war profits is perhaps the best guarantee against an outbreak of war' Subsequent sections were voted without opposition—*i e.*, sections 12, 13, 14, providing for registration or census of persons, animals, house property, machinery, etc. Section 15, dealing with mobilisation 'trials,' raised some objection, because it was contended that by decreeing a mobilisation 'trial' the Government could at any time secure dictatorial powers even in peace-time, and the section was amended so as to read that such trials could take place 'after the voting of special credits by Parliament'

Of the thirty odd remaining sections of the Bill few were even discussed Some, it is true, are mere glimpses of the obvious. It was probably unnecessary to enact that the Cabinet fixes the objectives or aims of the war, provides the means of carrying it on, and superintends their use, that officers commanding the forces conduct the actual operations in the field; that it is the duty of the Government to prepare the defensive organisation of the country against land, sea, air, and 'chemical' attack One interesting section provided awkward discussion—namely, the treatment of members of Parliament in case of mobilisation, and whether they should suffer the common lot or prove more useful in Parliament. A compromise course was adopted under which they must make their own election at the outbreak and for the whole duration of the war The debate was lively, and bitter suggestions were made that other people might also be allowed to make their own election At any rate, members of Parliament will not be allowed to change their minds afterwards, as it is considered unwise to let them go backwards and forwards from the trenches to Parliament criticising the military authorities, as happened during the late war Other sections of the Bill organise the machinery of the various departments already resolved upon by the main clauses of the Bill—namely, the departments of Transport, Supplies, Labour, and Imports. The heads of these departments are to be appointed in time of peace in order to be ready to act on the war emergency France is divided into regional units, and a special agent of the Executive is to be appointed for each region and entrusted with all the preparations for mobilisation, such as census returns, statistics, and plans, including a *Journal de Mobilisation* to be kept up to date. He will be able to call upon the civil authorities (prefects, sub-prefects) for assistance, and will moreover be supported by a consultative committee drawn from all classes of the population It will be realised that the importance of these last provisions

rather than the mere short-circuiting of middlemen's profits, th
co-operative factory would appear far more worthy of the ordinai
pig producer's loyalty.

Contracts would strengthen the factories' credit and enabl
them to look ahead instead of living from hand to mouth on th
sufferance of their members. They would ensure a steadie
turnover, and would prevent the attempts of rival firms to brea
up co-operation by temporary offers of a better price. The
would also make it easier to refuse unsuitable bacon pigs, whic
would be all in the members' interest. It is noteworthy that th
only one of the four post-war factories that still exists, th
Oxfordshire factory, adopted this contract system. It is tru
that the Four Counties factory adopted it, but nevertheless failed
but it adopted it late in the day, and never seriously insisted upo
it, while several other factories, unconnected with contracts, mac
its doom inevitable.

There is no reason why, if the co-operative factory can demo
strate its value, the good-will of members should be lost by tl
enforcement of contracts. The same system operates in the mi
trade without this occurring, although no doubt there have bee
minor instances of it; but it must be remembered with regai
to bacon factories that all the co-operative factories have bee
short of half the necessary pig supply, having been built befo
there was a need for them, and therefore they have had to
about begging for every pig they can get—an impossib
position. But if, as has been suggested above, bacon facto
co-operation began with increasing and improving the supp
of suitable pigs before ever a brick were laid, factories cou
then be built and adjusted more nearly to working at fu
capacity in a given district, and so be in a better position to ma
a contract and enforce it. If it is despaired that the co-operati
factory can ever offer better terms than a private firm, or if it
believed that the agricultural community is so dense that
factory's other advantages can never be driven home into the
understanding, thus ensuring their support, then the case f
co-operative factories collapses, and it would be far better
leave the non-co-operative firms in possession of the field. Th
are many, and there will always be close competition betwe
them; and it should not be forgotten that they pay, on
average, 10s. per cwt. more to the British farmer for his bac
pigs than any Danish co-operative society has ever been able
pay to Danish farmers.

Co-operation would still have the most valuable side of i
work in this connexion open to it, namely, helping the farmer
produce more of the right article—the one side which, curious
enough, no serious attempt to develop has yet been made. It

lies, not in any novel principle, but in the state of preparedness which they are intended to create. Henceforth improvisation gives way nominally at least to prudence and foresight. Nevertheless, the one serious fault to be found with the Bill is the haste with which it was rushed through. Commenting on this the *Temps* said that the only reason appears to have been that M Paul-Boncour was due to leave for Geneva to attend meetings of the League of Nations as France's delegate, and that it ought to have been possible for the Government better to allocate time so that the discussion of the Bill was not scamped, '*escamoté*.' But the Government were in a hurry to secure the main principle of universal service and mobilisation of all human and material resources without being fettered by any rigid legislation on details which they thought they could work out themselves They pleaded for *souplesse* within the actual framework of the law, hence the many cases where the draft Bill gave full authority to the Government to do things by 'decree' or regulations, and it was only in a very few instances that the opposition managed to get 'decree' altered to 'law,' thus saving a little of Parliament's control. In the inexplicable hurry to get the matter through the Chamber seems to have mobilised everything save 'money' The Bill constantly uses the word '*ressources*', but, wide as the word is, it certainly does not include money, for it is distinctly provided that interest is to be paid on the capital value of property and businesses requisitioned just as the holder of Government loans is to receive his dividends. It seems at least inconsistent with the fundamental principle of the Bill that one man should not be allowed to reap the fruits of his own labour, energy, inventiveness—in short, of his intellectual resources—while the other is left in undisturbed possession of the revenue from his pecuniary resources In both cases they should be in the service of the nation This Bill, which was to obviate improvisation, itself shows only too clearly signs of the same defect An Englishman may agree with the *Temps*' own verdict without being thought offensive The Bill needed fuller discussion, and it is fortunate that the Senate has yet to consider it At present it may create an impression—perhaps a sensation—by some of its more daring innovations, but generally speaking it is 'stagey,' and the performance falls far short of the intention

A C WRIGHT.

AN APOLOGY FOR RETRENCHMENT

THERE was a time when even the suggestion of an apology being needed for retrenchment would have been treated as an impertinence. Curtailment of individual or national expenditure was deemed an honourable if difficult duty. It was once a political cry and should be again to-day, save for the old fear of vested interests. But the idol of development still holds the field, and everything is staked on the hope of ever-increasing, and presumably infinite, expansion. Lost as we are in a maze, we are advised that the only thing is to go on until we lose ourselves further, on the chance of finding a way out. But we have entered the maze without any assurance that there is such an escape, and with all historical precedents urging that it may well prove a *cul-de-sac*. We are at least sure of the path by which we came. Is it not worth while to weigh the advisability of retracing our footsteps? Risk is a valuable incentive in human affairs, but only when one's personal safety is at stake. It is called by another name where responsibility for others is concerned.

When one desires a thing and has no money with which to procure it, there is a three-fold choice of action. It is possible either (1) to buy it 'on tick' and trust to the future, or (2) to borrow the necessary cash and pay interest for the privilege, or (3) to make an effort and do without it.

The value of the first alternative depends upon whether it is an act of courageous foresight or of mere rashness, and the amount of credit procurable depends, in consequence, upon an estimate of personal character. But in the realm of national expenditure (which is the one under immediate consideration) it has ceased to figure, though not, alas, altogether in that of international finance. It disappeared with the days when kings borrowed from the Jews or the Lombards and relied upon some inordinate [illegible] which to recoup the amount or even more. Now, when the credit of the whole country is at stake, it has given place quite naturally to the second alternative of the loan. The main difference lies in the fact that a percentage of the security now offered is tangible and based not only upon hopes of the future, but on accumulated gains from the past, which form a reserve

against certain contingencies. It is in fact a business proposition and no longer a gamble.

At least, that is what most people have long presumed it to be. But it is time to ask ourselves if such is any longer the case. One generation has now to find not only the interest on its own loans, but those of its parents and grandparents. There is, except in the rare case where loans are funded, no termination set to the period over which interest is payable. Original Consols still exist despite the Sinking Fund. What will be the borrowing powers of Great Britain in 2027 if the National Debt, instead of being diminished, increases at the present fashionable rate?

In business the problem is solved by the inevitable death of the industry. When interest is no longer payable the firm closes down. We can watch that process getting to work in the case of the railways. They are going, through no fault of their own, slowly but surely the way of the old stage-coach. There is no longer the same demand for their services. They have become (be it said with all pity and respect) old-fashioned; they will soon be obsolete. They will no longer earn the interest due on the capital which floated them. They have paid very well in their day, but their day cannot last for ever. No man with any historical knowledge demands that it should. The law, with a keen appreciation of facts, has recognised the difference between real estate and personal property; land is the only possession which has some value throughout the ages, and even that is variable, but all others are at the complete mercy of time and tide. Electric light, for instance, can no more be relied upon as a final and permanent source of income than gas, paraffin, tallow, wax, torches, rushlights. We do not expect interest to be paid on capital sunk in worn-out industries. How can we expect interest to be paid interminably by the State on capital which no longer has any earning powers?

Such facts provide hard fare for those who possess a share in decadent concerns. But then the facts of life are hard. Most, if not all, of the economic difficulties of any country at any time are due to this element of change (or progress, if the word be preferred), which means the discharge of men from an employment which they have mastered and the inevitable difficulty, if not downright impossibility, of finding fresh work except in an unskilled capacity. The history of England is full of such crises concerned with the very necessities of life—corn, wool, cotton. Whole industries disappear and new ones find a place. Wealthy towns decline in one quarter, wealthier cities arise in another. There is nothing to save Manchester or Birmingham from the fate of Malmesbury or Verulamium, except to use an old site for a

different purpose. Unemployment is one of the legacies of enterprise.

It may be as well to inquire, in passing, whether unemployment to-day is really so much greater than at any other period in our history. We hear a great deal more about it; but that is due to the Press. When there is a shortage of murders or divorces, unemployment fills the bill. But there have been epochs in England when the outlook must have seemed fully as dark as, if not darker than, it is to-day, when recourse was had to sumptuary laws in order to tide an industry over a perilous period or bridge a transitory stage, when the population was compelled by statute to wear clothes of a certain manufacture or to consume victuals of a certain type. History does not begin with the twentieth century As Dean Inge has wittily pointed out, ' Every age is one of transition, Adam probably said to Eve, as they walked out of Paradise, " My dear, we are living in an age of transition." ' Our politicians and platform speakers need not persuade themselves that they are the first men who have ever had to face a difficulty.

Capital, after interest has been paid upon it for a certain number of years, no longer has any meaning or value. It cannot continue indefinitely to pay even 2½ per cent like Consols, any more than one dressing of manure on a field will keep the soil in good heart for all eternity. We must realise that if we are to provide interest on past loans until the Day of Judgment, then we cannot afford to add to the burden by ever-increasing loans at ever-increasing rates of interest There is such a thing as throwing good money after bad, and if we value foresight more than rashness we will realise that we are not only making matters burdensome for ourselves, but entirely impossible for our descendants They will become citizens of a country mortgaged up to the hilt

Indefinite expansion and unlimited development under present conditions only tighten the noose round the country's neck. They afford a temporary relief, but their inevitable result is to make the population pay an increasing yearly tribute upon a capital which has a nominal existence, but no longer any other. It is, then, worth while considering whether retrenchment may not be the only possible means of enabling us to save our good name That this country should cancel its past obligations would be so deplorable that we refuse even to consider it here. But the alternative to such a catastrophe is not to over-capitalise the concern still more.

In industry, where nobody presumes an indefinite lifetime for any concern, matters may be different It may pay then to issue 7½ per cent. preference shares rather than to redeem 4½ per cent debenture stock if the fresh capital raised can earn the

ordinary shareholders an annual 20 per cent., because the ordinary shareholders are those who alone possess voting power. If they receive that for twenty years they will have received four times the amount of their original capital and they cannot grumble when the business goes into liquidation. But no one wants Great Britain to go into liquidation, and she cannot keep her books on the same lines With her the debenture and preference possess a vote as much as the ordinary shareholders, and they expect, moreover, Government security They will not empower her to raise fresh capital rashly in the interest of a few get-rich-quicks who do not care what may happen once they have made their pile

Those who are willing to grant that retrenchment sounds all right will want to know how it is to be achieved

The first essential is a return to the belief that the happiest man is not he who possesses the most, but who needs the least It is a creed wholly and absolutely opposed by the modern methods of publicists The aim of the advertisement is to convince a man that he cannot get on without certain goods, to make him unhappy till he has got them, to make him increasingly miserable until he has got more of them, and to make him feel thoroughly abject unless he goes on accumulating them The business of a salesman is not to sell a man the article he wants (any fool can do that !), but what he does not want The consumer, in other words, is blackmailed into acquiring unnecessary possessions through the medium of public opinion Smith has to buy a thing because Brown has got it, and Robinson is hectored into going one better Face to face with the naked facts, it seems amazing that publicity is not a criminal offence But so far as it is the result of private initiative it lies outside our present scope. It has been introduced here chiefly to emphasise the prevalence of the 'herd instinct' and to illustrate how the practice of dragooning a weak-kneed public into living beyond its income has become regarded as sacrosanct.

Great Britain is living beyond her income and flatters herself that she is doing it in the cause of enlightenment Every man, woman, and child in the country is to have at least 5*l*. a week, for the same reason that every up-to-date young man buys a Murgatroyd motor car or every aspiring young girl uses Savonarola shampoos Why ? Not because they can afford it (or, in many cases, even want it), but because it is the correct thing to do and people would look down upon them if they did otherwise In precisely the same way the State is forced into expenditure quite beyond its means because public opinion (created and fostered, needless to say, by individuals who make a fortune out of the enterprise) thinks it would be so nice if there were no suffering in

the world Suffering; there is the root of the whole matter Until people once more believe that suffering is something to be endured and not deliberately avoided there will be little chance of retrenchment ever being a popular cry. State interference encourages people to want too much and to want it too easily. Such a policy spells demoralisation for the individual and bankruptcy for the State itself.

A clean sweep should be made of all those upstart cries and contrivances which pander to the broadcast craze for comfort. A minimum wage, for instance. What exactly is a minimum wage? There are many to-day who think it should expand sufficiently to cover betting losses, charabancs to football matches, and other little amenities of life, and think, moreover, that the State, like a fairy godmother, should subsidise it until it does It is natural for us to want as much as we can get, and no one would think of blaming those who want that much But to suggest that it is practical politics is another matter. The only solution to the wages difficulty is that if a man cannot buy with them all the things which he fancies he must do without some A hard policy, it will be said. Well, this is a hard world I did not make it, and so I will not apologise for it But neither am I going to blame it. History tends to show that such hardship brings out the best in a man, and brings out the best men also

Another stubborn and elementary fact to which we must return is that there are such things as best men, that some people are worth more than others. Of course, as any psychopathologist would point out, those who talk most about the brotherhood and equality of men are either those whom their own inferiority embitters or else those who employ such a slogan as a stepping-stone for their own submerged superiority. The Socialist movement is a happy hunting ground for leaders. It is perfectly natural and completely admirable that this should be the case. But it would be more consistent and more convincing if such men were to proclaim as their object the substitution of one governing class for another. That we could understand, however little we might like it But with their present pretensions as they are we can only conclude that such profound ignorance of their own natures and designs does not qualify them for the arduous task of directing the destiny of others.

For an arduous and thankless task it is—far more so than that of raising false hopes. Who stops to tell the man in a highly specialised workshop that sooner or later his type of work will be replaced by a different process? That it has no value at all, however delicate or conscientious it may be, apart from the demand for it? That if he could transmute lead into gold, his labour would be valueless unless there were a market in gold?

To-day the workman is taught to believe that, by virtue of skilled and honest labour, he is on a level with statesmen In the eyes of High Heaven indubitably he is, but not necessarily in the eyes of the labour exchange. At any moment far less skilled labour may command a relatively better price. No man is free from the fluctuations of supply and demand. Even the master of his craft is not master of his destiny. He may find himself relegated, like Job, to several years' inactivity on a dunghill But Job was none the worse for it in the end

Any policy of retrenchment would mean a temporary upheaval in the labour market, because the artificial stimulus to over-production which exists to-day would be withdrawn Luxury trades, with their high but precarious wages (which ultimately cause more discontent than lower stable ones), would languish, and openings would have to be found in the industries least liable to convulsion There is only one industry in the world that is even approximately stable, because it is the only one absolutely essential, and that is agriculture

Folk have left the country districts in the past because wages were so low and the evenings were so dull Few of them can be blamed for having done so But the last objection should have less force to-day with the advent of broadcasting, which, properly managed, could revolutionise the conditions of village life The problem of rural wages is so old and threadbare that at the first mention of it people turn away in disgust, and here it shall be dealt with cursorily—not because it is unimportant (God forbid!), but because it is so perplexingly simple No new suggestion is propounded We have had sumptuary laws in the past, we have State subsidies to-day What reason under the vault of heaven exists for not safeguarding the nation's food supply and producing a breed of steadfast yeomen (far preferable to a 'bold peasantry') by means of the Budget and the Statute-book?

The reason, we are told, is the greedy landlord Has one ever seen a greedy landlord who has not derived his superfluous wealth out of *urban* improvements? It is because the towns encroach upon the country that a few lucky landlords have the opportunity of satiating an appetite which seems, by popular legend, to be abnormal in them from birth The wholly rural landlord is one of the poorest devils in the world and need be a bogey-man to nothing but his own looking-glass. It is only necessary to give him back a little self-respect to make him once more what he used to be, one of the finest and best-loved type of gentlemen in history. His class, no doubt, has contained scoundrels (what class has not?), but the relationship that existed between him and his tenantry, and which still exists in some fortunate places to-day, was something that for devotion not even the more enlightened and co-

operative factories have ever been able to achieve. If workmen migrate from the country to the towns in search of better prospects, who can expect the landlord not to take a better rent for his property under industrial occupation than it would bring under grass and crops? Goose and gander share the sauce. But if the landlord really is a bloated creature lusting to fatten himself on the blood of the poor, then general modern opinion would favour some form of increment duty by which he shared any windfalls with the State.

The real vital point is whether such an exodus from the towns into the villages would result in a lower standard of living. Retrenchment means economy, and economy means making money go further than before. It means buying different things, not necessarily fewer things. It may very well mean buying better things. If transference of expenditure from luxuries to necessities means lowering the standard of living, then lowered it would be. But if labour were concentrated on providing the essentials of life, then, by all normal laws, these essentials should become both cheaper and better. A meal, for instance, would be something more than the process of assimilating certain vitamins (or, more often than not, bolting down some concoction which contains none at all); it might be a luxury in itself. Better health might be considered a fair compensation for hysterical moments. Such ideals are too frequently banished as idle dreams. But they have a prosaic value when the only other alternative is a gyratory nightmare.

Happiness is not dependent upon any economic standard of living; plain living and high thinking frequently go together. But a man cannot be made to see that suddenly and against his own will. Job, whom we have had occasion to mention, railed on Lady Fortune in good set terms, and what he failed to take complacently we can hardly expect others to embrace offhand with fervour. Nobody likes to come down in the world. Any discussion of the sweet and spiritual uses of adversity (not advertisement) would be out of place here; it is a matter for the clergy. But it is one which should not for that reason be overlooked. It is of vital importance. Some hard things have been said in this article about publicity. Our salvation may lie in the clergy providing a still more candid diagnosis.

It is quite certain that a moral change will have to precede, or at least accompany, an economic one. It is primarily a matter for the individual rather than for the community. But the average individual can do little without the sympathy of his fellows. Isolation of outlook, always suspect, is ranked as culpable to-day when all the manners and accessories of life are dictated by the *worship of common approval*. A fiercer inquisi-

tion than Torquemada ever imagined waits for those who turn out of the broad highway. Their crime is that they are endangering the success of mass production, though they are never charged with the offence in these actual terms. Their persecution would come not so much from their fellows as from that state of mind which publicists have blackmailed their fellows into believing correct form. Not so long ago I noticed five young men talking together on a railway platform. They were wearing overcoats, not exactly uniform, but of precisely the same cut and cloth. They were martyrs to common acceptance. We need a few martyrs to personal conviction—real martyrs who will stand up to the trusts and the combines and go down before them only as the early Christians did before the lions.

Without such a concrete example before their eyes the mass of men will not take retrenchment seriously, much less respect it. If ever economy is mooted to-day, it is thrust aside immediately as tantamount to cowardice. We are told that we cannot put back the clock. The Summer Time Act showed that we could, though no one interpreted it as a palæolithic gesture. That we cannot accelerate the sun were a more timely reminder. Natural laws take vengeance upon those who disregard them, and present social ideals are in flagrant opposition to Nature. We are bent upon Phaethon's old ambition with nothing to foreshadow a more fortunate event.

One of the keenest observers of Nature, W. H. Hudson, remarked that she 'produces her effects at random.' Disbelief in random is the great heresy of the present age. That the year should not be contained in an orderly and precise number of days (360 for instance, or, better still, 400) is in modern eyes a proof of gross misorganisation somewhere. And how matters would be simplified if all men were exactly the same height! Tailors could be dispensed with, machinery be relied upon exclusively, all the profits could be absorbed by a clothiers' combine! It is subjugation to this state of mind which ultimately breeds complexes, when Nature, in rebellion against such adamantine soullessness, forces unhappy people to outrageous acts in a despairing search for relief. Sooner or later England, spurred on by natural resentment, will revolt against the Communists as it did against the Roundheads. The mentality of both is common; they share the same belief in standardised sterilisation. 'Dost thou think, because thou art virtuous, there shall be no more cakes and ale?' Grooves are designed for machinery, not men.

At whatever cost, there must be expelled our modern fanatical faith in the divine majesty of a groove. Something must be done to free all classes from the stifling superstition that a home is one of 250 boxes connected in an irrefragable row, that a job

unclassified at the labour bureau is not real work. It is this power of mass suggestion that is largely responsible for our present complexity, and it emanates from the towns. Hundreds of thousands are allured by the belief that residence in a town raises the social status. They may be disappointed when they arrive there, but they feel they have done the right thing; by some mysterious process they have gone up in the world.

This feeling that the country is provincial, that it harbours only failures and bumpkins, is what renders nugatory most attempts to win folk back to the land. There is, of course, the economic factor also Men cannot be expected to go into the country to draw lower wages than they are getting in the towns. But men drawing no wages at all in the towns will stay there rather than take a job in a hamlet They fear loneliness and loss of friends, no doubt—often with good cause. But they fear loss of prestige still more The insufferable craze for centralisation is to blame. Like the king, the metropolis can do no harm, and outside the metropolis it is believed that no good can be found A step that would repay sympathetic attention is the restoration of the county town to something of its former dignity, by widening the idea of 'circuits' beyond the legal world and adapting it to modern commercial needs.

Retrenchment will be booed and hissed as a reactionary step, and so widespread is the poojah done to a misconception of progress that the first whisper of such a charge would scandalise many well-meaning people Yet is there anything unworthy in a reaction? It is as essential a complement to action as autumn to spring Real progress, founded on natural laws, does not move forward like a tramcar, but like the seasons Reaction is as important a stage in its development as any, it is less a backward step than a pause for breath The more luxuriant the crop the more it exhausts the soil, and only a fool would wish for the abolition of winter. Let us give the tilth a little repose and examine the harvest in our hands It will need a great deal of winnowing before the bad ears are separated from the good

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vorth remembering that voluntary co-operation was tried at irst in Denmark and met with exactly the same setbacks as in his country. Dealers lured members away with tempting offers f better prices in order to sap the vigour of the societies, and ery soon what was virtually compulsory co-operation became a ecessity. This the Danes adopted with the most beneficial esults to their farmers. We submit to discipline in war-time ecause it is the path to greater freedom in the end; is it impos- ble to demonstrate that the same theory can hold good com- iercially in time of peace?

After production and curing there remains the question of elling, and little can be added under this head to the excellent ndings of the National Farmers' Union committee. The report oints out that there are three main channels of distribution open o co-operative bacon factories:

(1) Sale through importing agents.
(2) Sale through a co-operative selling agency.
(3) Sale through a factory's own selling organisation to retailers or untied wholesalers.

The first method has the advantage of the efficient distribu- ve machinery which the importing agents command, especially s most of the big London wholesalers are tied to them by con- act. On the other hand, the Danish Bacon and Co-operative rading Company, Limited, has shown how a central selling gency belonging to the factories can more than hold its own nd get in direct contact with the retailers at a considerable ving.

The third method of direct sale by factories to retailers or ntied wholesalers has many advocates, although it involves the xpense of a selling agency working in competition with existing holesale machinery. In the committee's opinion, the building p of direct outlets by this method is a slow proceeding fraught ith the danger of factory supply exceeding the development of ch outlets, or of output being restricted to the outlets that exist.

It is the second method that the committee favour for English con—sale through a co-operative selling agency. Something the sort has been attempted already, but it was a long and sad e of mismanagement and misunderstandings, of a scheme, erably supported by some societies and turned down entirely others. If, however, grade A bacon production were to be ously undertaken in England under a national movement t began with pig-breeding, was decentralised into every agri- tural district, to come together again through co-operative on factories in different centres, and be finally centralised once e in a single co-operative selling agency that sold its co-opera-

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS AND GOETHE'S FAUST

In his interesting and significant essay on 'Plato, the Idea of Progress, and India,' in the April number of this Review, Mr Hoyland has taken the concept of progress, and, after deriving it historically from the Greeks and the New Testament, has proceeded to point out its importance for the modern world, and above all for India He defines progress as an ideal present in the mind of Plato and of the true Christian, as a vision of a state to be realised—a state in which every individual bends his will into conformity with the Will of God and fashions himself into the likeness of his Creator. This ideal he traces first and foremost to Plato, whom he claims as a forerunner of Christ, and who, in his half-mystical, half-intellectual intuition of an *infinitely* wise, good and beneficent God, striving ceaselessly to create His semblance under the conditions of the material universe, was but a predecessor and prophet of the evangelising apostle Paul. To the impersonal conception of a reality beyond phenomena, the Platonic Ideas of Goodness, Beauty, Truth, Paul added the dynamic force of a personal Christ, who, embodying these Ideas, supplied the missing element necessary for the practical establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. Thus Paul is the perfection of Plato, the cycle of thought and vision is accomplished, the Truth is made manifest, and the West, inspired by the Idea of Progress, is to be the teacher and uplifter of the other cultures of the earth, since the West, with all its defects and shortcomings, possesses a secret not known to the others, or not felt to the same extent, 'the steady determination of great masses of mankind, by hook or by crook, to make the world, and their own lives as part of the world, more like the ideal. The voice of protest which is never still, the assertion in season and out of season that wrongs are wrongs The persistent attempts to protect the weak, and to systematise methods for their defence'—these things are the creative facts in the West.

Before we attempt to discuss these points it must be noted carefully that Mr. Hoyland maintains—

(1) That there is progress, in the sense that conditions do get better, *i.e.*, nearer the ideal;

(2) That progress exists only in the West ;

(3) That the West owes this to Plato and Christ ;

nd he argues from this, and very logically, that it is for the West duty, and also a practicable possibility, by means of education, o graft this idea on to the decaying corpses of the East—India, nd other countries which do not possess it. There can be no loubt, moreover, that if his premises are granted the conclu-ion is also true. There are, however, grave doubts whether Ir Hoyland's presentation of the problem in question is exact in ll its particulars, and whether there is not a wider gulf between 'lato and Christ than he imagines.

We note, in the first place, the admission that to the Greek deas of Goodness, Truth and Beauty, Christ added, and empha-sed, Love, and indeed sacrificed His life in the service of it ; and hereas Mr Hoyland seems to accept this as a mere emphasis of hat was immanent in the Greek concept, we prefer to maintain at love as Christ conceived it was alien to the Greek mind and ould not have been understood by Socrates or Plato The love f Christ embraced the lowly, the ignorant, the distorted, and led im to offer His body as a sacrifice to suffering humanity, to be ucified in a most unlovely and ignominious manner on a wooden oss This no Greek, not even Socrates, would have done, for ocrates, though he died in the service of truth, died gracefully, renely, untroubled even to the end The soul of Socrates would ave shrunk before the hideous soul-torment of Christ on the ross, and a death which was meant to redeem the world's sin nd to right the world's wrong, far from appealing to him, would ave repelled him by its lack of beauty, and appalled him by its ck of meaning For to the Greek there was no world's sin and world's wrong There were errors in men's actions and oughts, and far away there were gods who dwell in the regions unchanging Ideas, but there was no tragedy in the sense that rist felt a world tragedy and many after Him have felt it gain. In the Idea of Christ we can discern no vision of beauty en in the wide philosophic conception that Plato held The atonic beauty works upward from the beautiful body to the autiful spirit and to the Idea of Beauty, while that of Chris-anity, granting it has one, is the beauty of a kindly act, the auty of pity, of humanity, of unselfishness It is not sufficient assert that as ideals they become the same, and to read such a nception of beauty into the thought of Plato is to misunder-and him and to interpret him wrongly

The sculptural masterpieces of the Greeks, as phenomena of auty are essentially different from those of Christianity. The nus of Milo is a type of idealised beauty, but it is female beauty ealised, as Plato's Idea was idealised from reality, but there can

be traced no whit of pity, or love, or human sympathy in it, in any Christian sense. The Madonnas of the Middle Ages, crude though they frequently are, are idealised symbols of pity, or humility, or devotion—the five wise virgins, as distinct from the foolish ones. Or again, the innumerable Pietà statues of the Renaissance, Michael Angelo's *Pietà* in St. Peter's, which expressed the grief and sympathy of a mother for her dead son, would be inconceivable, and were unconceived, by the Greek mind The spiritual Beatrice of the Christian Dante was a conception of womanhood which the masculine Greeks, with their immense lack of femininity, never reached, or rather never desired, and even the half-pagan Raphael, with his humanly beautiful Madonnas, could not but express in their form-perfect faces the love of God and the perfect devotion of the Christian For these reasons we would prefer the formula Truth, Goodness and Love as the Christ Idea, and as a radically different one from that of the Greeks, and even from the perfect Greek Plato.

Lastly, it is difficult to believe that the remaining two factors in the formula, Truth and Goodness, can be said to be identical in Christianity and Plato. It would need a long dissertation to deal fully with this question, and it is probable that, intellectually, it cannot finally be solved One *feels* that they meant something different to Plato than they meant to Paul, and beyond that one cannot go.

It remains that there are two formulas—Truth, Beauty, Goodness ; Truth, Goodness and Love ; and if it be argued that Love is a feeling rather than an idea, then the answer is simply that Beauty and Goodness are also feelings And yet in one of his conclusions at least Mr Hoyland is historically perfectly justified —that the second formula swallowed up or absorbed the first It was not so much that Paul completed Plato as that he displaced Plato. Christ overcame Julian the Apostate, 'Vicisti Galilæe!' were the dying words of the last devotee of the older wisdom 'Thou hast conquered, oh pale Galilean!'

Granted, therefore, that Plato had an ideal and that men yearned after it, granted also that Paul had an ideal and that men yearned after it likewise, does this yearning produce Progress and a state of betterment—was it a unique event in the history of the world ? 'For 400 years,' says our author, 'the Platonic doctrines were preparing the mind of humanity for the reception of the Christian dynamic of Progress'—with a power and appeal which were to be at the heart of all future progress.

If we are to accept this thesis, the question immediately arises as to what the Greeks were doing, what they yearned for before the advent of Plato. Did they hit upon this progress by chance ? or was the gospel of Plato a gift of God—an intervention

the part of the Deity for the sake of suffering humanity ? We 1 of course accept either of these alternatives, or we can choose third solution which seems more probable than either. The nning of Plato, of Paul, goes back further than either of them, ht back to the origin of being, to the very formation and shap- of life It is found in Homer, who likewise is full of a longing something beyond, some state or condition which the world nnot give He also has an ideal of conduct which seems beyond reach of men, but which he would have them attain—the al of αἰδὼς, untranslatable to us but to some extent felt by us. hilles the hero, the noble Greek, offends against αἰδὼς when he ags the dead body of Hector in the dust of the Trojan shore ch action is 'unseemly,' and Nemesis overtakes him as Hector ows and says

ἤματι τῷ ὅτε κέν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
ἐσθλὸν ἐόντ' ὀλέσωσιν ἐνὶ Σκαιῇσι πύλῃσιν

[Homer, *Iliad*, 22 359]

n that day when Paris and Phœbus Apollo shall slay thee, all noble as u art, by the Skaian gates."

There is an ideal preached by the Hebrew prophets which ewise had its influence on the Hebrew race, the fear of God ich is the beginning of wisdom, and we can hardly doubt that e ancient Egyptians who lived before Plato was born had eir ideal towards which they yearned Finally who would nsay the Crô-Magnon man a yearning towards some state he ought better than his own, and which he tried to convey, after s crude fashion, to the nascent minds of his children ? It would em for the reasons stated above, that different ages do not lapt one fixed ideal, or system of ideals, once for all, but rather at as the long years follow each other in unending succession, mankind adapts new ideals, absorbing and refashioning those the past to new aims Plato knew of Homer's ideals, but he ade new ones for his age, and Paul remoulded Plato nearer to the art's desire

If this be so, it still remains to be proved that this process oduces better conditions and a better world—*i e* , Progress in e accepted sense of the word This is the very core of the roblem and, although it is not possible to reply definitely to it, e answer seems more likely to be negative than affirmative

It is doubtful whether Plato or Homer or the Crô-Magnon man ould care at all to live in the world as we have it to-day, as we ave made it and are making it in the service of our ideals Our uthor admits that the Platonic ideal did not suffice to amend he world because it lacked the dynamic factor of the Christ ersonality This is true, but it is hardly as true to aver that the acrifice of Christ led to amendment Who can say that the last

centuries of Rome and the Dark Ages were better than the era which preceded them? As regards the individual, it is mo probable that the world neither improves, nor grows better, in ar sense that can outlive the space of one man's life. Socrates, who view of life was so intensely human, and whose greatest deligh was to interchange ideas on sublime subjects, to discuss the natu of virtue, would be wearied by our modern civilisation. He woul not deem beautiful the things we deem beautiful, true the thing we deem true, nor good what we hold to be good! Nor woul Paul, in this age when the love of Christ and the vision of promised heaven have been diluted into a passion for truth in it scientific sense, and a love of man which places material comfo here higher than any life in the Kingdom of Heaven

Mr Hoyland speaks of lurid epochs in the history of Europe periods of decadence and barbarism, and from which Europe with its unconquerable capacity for recovery, has raised itself and of worse epochs in India, where, he says, there was n recovery But if the total opinion of each age is taken impar tially, would the lurid epochs be willing to admit any inferiority The feudal baron in the age of Stephen, with his starving serfs was behind the ideal of his age, but so was the factory owne of the nineteenth century, with his starving 'hands,' and so i many a capitalist to-day Is the discontent of the world to-day really less than it was in the age of Stephen? Were not protest raised then as now If they had not been raised the world would not have changed and we should still be under a feudal form of society The ideals of feudalism, chivalry, loyalty, honour were never reached, but were transcended, and we in this later age adapt from them what we think fit and no more To-day protests are still raised and ideals, some of which, it is true, are developments of Platonic and Christian thought, are placed before us Before we attain them they also will be transcended or transformed, and our grandchildren and their grandchildren will still be protesting We are no nearer our ideal than the Middle Ages were to theirs, nor can we have the impertinence to assert that we have improved the world.

Few men have had a more embittered career than Dante, exiled from the one place on earth which he loved, wandering in poverty from one town to another, forced to accept crumbs of charity from unfeeling strangers, and yet, dissatisfied as he was with the life about him, we can be sure, from the book he wrote, that he would reject every so-called progress that Western Europe has made in the seven long centuries that have passed between us and him

Is this not also true of India? To our ideals the practice of sati was an evil, and in the service of our ideal it was suppressed,

yet it symbolised an act of devotion on the part of many a loving wife to her husband who had passed away It also was service to an ideal We have transcended it, and that is all.

It seems unlikely, therefore, that the world suffers from progress in the sense of betterment It suffers from change, not from progress. Both conditions and ideals of conditions change, and they were changing before Plato and Paul lived Moreover, it seems to be true that they change more rapidly in the West than the East, and that under modern conditions it is the West which is influencing the East, and this in last analysis is Mr Hoyland's thesis What is, then, the ideal by which the West to-day is inspired and which it should carry to the far ends of the earth ? Just as Plato, Paul and Dante expressed the highest ideals of their age, so Goethe can be regarded as the spokesman of our modern epoch, more than Plato or Paul

In the Faust of Goethe we have the highest type of human being which the modern world, with its eternal yearning, produces, and the two problems which fascinate each succeeding age—the problem what is the meaning of the universe and the problem what must a man do in the world—it answers, not completely, but, in a modern sense, satisfactorily Faust, when presented to us by Goethe, is filled to overflowing with the feeling of a man inspired by the first of these two problems He desires to know all, to embrace with his ego the whole objective universe, to probe into and understand the innermost secrets of Nature, to follow the working of, if not to control, the wheels of destiny The answer to the second question is found in the end of Faust's life

The spirit of inquiry into Nature was first exercised most freely by the ancient Greeks—in fact, so freely that it has been asserted that it was 'invented' by the Greeks themselves, or rather, made a unique virtue of theirs This is erroneous! This spirit of inquiry is as old as man, and as old, in some primitive form, as evolution itself It has occurred in all parts of the earth and in many and diverse ways It was even operative, though concentrated on certain narrowed issues, among the Egyptians, and during the Middle Ages

Openness of mind is a quality which varies in meaning with the age The Greeks were not open-minded towards the barbarians, nor to anything, as a rule, beyond the range of the boundaries of their '*polis*' The Middle Ages were tolerant as regards nationality, but not as regards religious thought They were tolerant and open-minded in sexual relations Western Europe in the nineteenth century—England above all—became scientifically open-minded and morally most narrow-minded. Russia has always been morally open-minded, and politically bigoted. Three centuries ago Western Europe was bigoted in

religion, and sectarians burnt their opponents at the stake. Now **Western Europe ignores religious differences to a** great extent, but **political opposition is becoming so bigoted that** to be in conflict **with the powers that be exposes the opponents** to the assassin's **knife or bomb.**

Scientific thought widened again to its Greek width, and with an intensity the Greeks never approached, at the time of the Renaissance, and this intensity is the mark of the Faustian soul, the soul of the West. Oswald Spengler in his *Downfall of the West* distinguishes the soul of the Western man from that of the man of Greek antiquity precisely on this point—his desire to probe infinity, the soul of Hamlet and Faust. Greece had no Hamlet and no Faust, and by its very nature could have none. The pessimism which arises from the soul of a man who feels intensely his impotence before this task of embracing infinity rises to awful heights in the Faust of Goethe He meditates suicide, but is restrained There enters on the scene Mephistopheles, the devil of *negation*. The two make a pact and seal a contract Mephisto will accompany Faust through life, serving him ever and obeying his every whim, and if he succeeds in satisfying Faust, and satiating him, if Faust ever feels contented with what Mephisto provides for him, and shall say to the passing moment, 'Stay awhile, thou art so beautiful,' then the devil may claim Faust's soul Mephisto gives Faust a magic potion which restores him to his youth, and together they set out on their way through the world Part I of *Faust* is concerned mainly with the love episode between Faust and Gretchen Faust loves a maiden, behaves towards her as men behave towards women, and suffers with her the awful feeling of human breakdown He recovers from this as mortals alone can recover and passes on, He frequents wider spheres, falls in love with Greek beauty, with romantic beauty, thinks high thoughts and does high things, lives in the courts of emperors and fights their wars His old age, like his youth, is not without error and sin, but he repents, he *feels* and passes on, because life consists of trial and error He ends his life while engaged in a gigantic enterprise of colonisation which should bring happiness to countless future generations As he dies he admits that *could he achieve what he planned*, then indeed would he be happy, and, enjoying such bliss, as it were, *in prospect*, he expresses his complete sense of peace with the passing moment Mephisto, victorious in letter though not in spirit, advances to seize his prey, but in vain. Faust was *not satiated*, but had found the meaning of life in the *aim, the striving towards a goal* rather than in the goal itself, and he died with the hope of more striving before him, in new worlds and wider spheres

And it is this very ceaseless activity, mental, spiritual and

corporeal, which is the ideal of the West. Goethe believed that there was an inner force residing in men which led them through countless errors and delusions back to the right path at the end. There was in them, he believed, an indwelling principle of love, *das Ewigweibliche* (the eternal womanly), which prompted men to this ceaseless activity in all directions This principle, operative since the origin of being, perceived in its cruder aspect in the generative principle, he denoted by the term *das Ewigweibliche.* It is motive, not static, and therefore is not to be paralleled by the *love* of the Greeks It goes through life horizontally, not *vertically upwards* to a realm of unchanging Ideas, but separately for each individual. It works in all created things—man, Nature, and inanimate objects , it is the soul of evolution conceived as the result of a vital, not mechanistic, force *Faust loved all things, God, Nature, man, loved them intensely, refinedly and untiringly.* He had no *fixed ideal, no belief in direct divine intervention,* no thought of a *world to come, as an end in itself,* no belief that he could ever attain any end he might set before him. And here, above all, the philosophy of Goethe, the inspired prophet of evolution, *in recognising no ends and no goals,* differs from that of Plato and of Paul To Goethe there are no ideals, only a *striving towards,* no Kingdom of Heaven, but only *an eternal movement towards* it Such is the answer that Faust and the West give to the two problems of life ; to the question ' What is the world ? ' he answers, ' An *eternal striving,*' which would cease to have meaning if the need for striving ceased To the question, ' What should a man do ? ' he says ' *Strive* ' Reform abuses, knowing well that the reform of one series of abuses will immediately give rise to another series, and so on for ever Form ideals, follow them, knowing, if you like, that they will never be attained and will even change their form while you are on the road towards them Make calamitous mistakes, and endure the most dreadful catastrophes, since the world is so made, but pass on, ever striving, loving all whom you meet and all that you meet, through worlds that have no end, and hoping always that somewhere beyond space and time there is the peace of God which passeth all understanding, *parallel with, but not an end of* this world That which furthers this loving activity is *good ;* that which hinders it, which negates, which is personified in Mephisto, is *evil,* a clog on the eternal wheel of creation.

Such is the ideal of the man of the West, *to love and to act for the sake of loving and acting,* to feel that there is no end as there was no beginning, and to love and act as though there were , and whether he draws the elements of his ideal from Homer, or Buddha, or Plato, or Paul, he will fit them into this chain of loving actions, and his deeds will follow accordingly , whether mistaken or not,

matters not at all. Some will spread the gospel of Plato and Christ among the heathen, and to such be all honour, for they are acting on the ideal they set before themselves. Others will, with equal sincerity, educate the negroes of Africa, while still others will impede the spread of education at home. In so far as they are *sincere*, they are fulfilling their destiny. Others will strive to reach the frozen poles, others to climb the highest peaks of mountains, or to encompass the earth by flight. To each of these full honour.

The cosmic process is the act of embracing with which the ego strives to encompass the non-ego, the universe. This striving is eternal, and as it never began, so it will never end It was present in the nebula from which the worlds were formed, and it will be present long after this planet has dried up and grown cold There is eternal change in the eternal flux, increasing knowledge perhaps of the non-ego by the ego , and if this be progress, then there is progress, but not *betterment*, since the yearning is as strong as ever We have our ideal to-day, as had Homer, Plato, and Paul They turned to what had gone before to form their ideals and so do we And so when the pendulum has swung to its full Mr Hoyland is right in his main thesis To form an ideal we turn to the past—to Goethe, but not to him alone For there afar off shining through the dimness of the years with clearest radiance, is the threefold Idea of Plato, and the infinite love of Christ The light they cast is coloured for us otherwise than for its fashioners, but none the less, with these as our lamps in the labyrinth of life we shall not, in our ceaseless loving activity wander far astray.

F McEachran

ECLIPSES OF THE SUN

It is the principal object of the present paper to refer to the past observation of eclipse phenomena We leave to others the special investigation of appearances which will be critically looked for and studied at the coming eclipse The telescope, the camera, the spectroscope, and other appliances which have so greatly aided researches on the celestial bodies of late years will all be employed in intense efforts to glean information beyond what former endeavours have taught us.

The observation of eclipses dates back to ancient times; the earliest recorded event of the kind appears to have been in 2136 B C , when a curious and tragic incident occurred Ho and Hi, the two official astronomers, or astrologers, of the Chinese Emperor Chung-Káng, of the Hsia Dynasty, seem to have neglected to acquaint their master of the eclipse. Thus it came unannounced and found the court unprepared to perform the customary ceremonies on such occasions For this Ho and Hi were summarily tried, convicted, and beheaded. What exactly occasioned them to forget their duty has been variously stated, one writer saying that they had partaken too freely of intoxicants and were asleep when the eclipse occurred Some historians aver that the punishment was that of hanging. In any case, the main facts seem pretty well attested, though various authorities are not accordant as to details.

The exact date of this eclipse has been the subject of investigation owing to the fact that the time when the Emperor Chung-Káng ascended the throne was doubtful to the extent of 108 years Finally the year 2136 B C was adopted as probably correct, an eclipse occurring in that year, which apparently best satisfied the conditions

The remarkable incident recorded in Scripture (2 Kings xxii.), when the dial of Ahaz was brought 10 degrees backward about 689 B C , has formed the subject of much discussion and diversity of explanation What happened to Hezekiah may have been a miracle, but some have contended that it may be interpreted as an eclipse of the sun Isaiah conveyed to Hezekiah the message, ' Behold, I will bring again the shadow of the degrees

tive product as 'British Farmers' Bacon,' it is evident how immensely the pig producers' position would be strengthened, and how it would round off and firmly establish such a universal co-operative effort.

'British Farmers' Bacon' thus produced would be synonymous with a guarantee of excellence that could not be equalled, and it would be of a level quality, for the factories would have refused every pig not up to standard. The trade mark of 'British Farmers' Bacon' would automatically become the weapon that would enable factories to enforce contracts and insist on a proper standard, for no other bacon would bear this name or reputation, and so would command neither such an easy sale nor such a good price. Such an organisation would not only even out supplies throughout the country, but act as a stabiliser through periods of rises and falls in the prices paid to producers, and would give the industry the unity which is essential if we are to win back a large part of the 55,000,000*l*. odd that we are sending abroad each year for foreign pigs It seems the only way in which we can place ourselves in such an advantageous position as the Danes, who have gained the bacon trade of England not because their bacon is superlatively good, but because its supply is more or less centralised and its quality unvarying.

The conclusion of the matter is that each one of the steps outlined above—namely, establishing and diffusing a suitable breed of bacon pig, erecting co-operative factories to cure them, putting the factories in a strong position and centralising the distribution of their products under a trade mark which must essentially be a trade mark for excellency—can only be carried out successfully by winning the producer's confidence and making the position clear to his intelligence. It must be a whole-hearted national effort, and no one department can be regarded separately, for they are all interdependent, and each one is vital to the success of the whole scheme. Education and organisation—these are co-operation's work; and the less it bothers over the stupid bogey of middlemen's profits, or aims at getting work done for it for nothing by inexperienced amateurs, the better chance it will have of doing the farmers a real service. So far it has only irritated them by its inefficient methods of business or by stirring their jealous distrust of those who are falsely supposed to be exploiting them at enormous profit.

It is not even a step in the dark we need to take. As it would be impossible to find any example of a mistake that has been left unmade in co-operative bacon production, there is no excuse for making any further errors under this head. We know we have the requisite market on our very doorstep, we know that our land and our farmers *can* grow the finest bacon in the world. We are,

which is gone down in the sun dial of Ahaz 10 degrees backwarc So the sun returned 10 degrees, by which degrees it was gon down' (Isaiah xxxviii., 5-8). Biblical students of all creeds hav endeavoured to interpret the real nature of this incident, an many theories have been involved in its explanation An eclips of the sun has been alleged as the cause, and there was a larg partial eclipse, suggesting possible identity, early in the yea 689 B C just before noon, when the sun's upper limb was obscure by the moon Chambers has exhaustively discussed all th features of the event, and also the probable construction of th dial of Ahaz He concludes that an eclipse of the sun was probabl the contributing cause, and that it occurred on January 11 689 B C (*Story of Eclipses*, p 102)

The Rev S J Johnson remarks that 'an attempt has bee made to explain the retrogression of the shadow on the dial c Ahaz by an eclipse of the sun It is true we have no idea wha was the particular construction of this dial, and so we are ignoran of the precise nature of the miracle Some have observed tha not a word is mentioned of the sun going back, but only of th shadow on the dial The Jewish writers, however, and Archbisho Usher consider that the sun and heavenly bodies went back Johnson evidently regards the suggested explanation as ver doubtful

The history of solar eclipses is extensive, and even a moderatel full recapitulation of facts observed would fill many volumes The theories and explanations of the features recognised fron time to time form an additional mass of material, so that we ca only deal with selections here and direct would-be student requiring fuller details to a few works dealing more exhaustivel with this branch of astronomy —

1653 Ricciolus, *Almagistum Novum*
Tycho Brahe, *Historia Cœlestis*
1740 Nicolas Struyck, *Universal Geography*
1757 James Ferguson, *Astronomy*
1852 R Grant, *History of Astronomy*
1874 S J Johnson, *Eclipses Past and Future*
1899 G F Chambers, *Story of Eclipses*

There are many other volumes containing information on the subject No book on astronomy can indeed be considered complete without an account of eclipses and their remarkable phenomena

The Chinese describe no other eclipse subsequent to that of 2136 B C until about 1400 years later, and this occurred in 776 B C. Yew-Wang is reputed to have been the reigning sovereign from 781 to 769 B C, and Johnson computed that the eclipse may have occurred in the time of Uzziah, King of Judah,

June 15, 763. It was an almost total eclipse at Nineveh and is well described on the Assyrian tablets in the British Museum.

May 28, 585 B.C. Predicted by Thales of Miletus. This event seems to have put an end to a war then going on between the Medes and Lydians. A battle was raging when the light of day was transformed into the darkness of night. Astonishment and fear so overcame the combatants that they ceased fighting and agreed upon peace. Herodotus refers to this eclipse, but its exact date is not absolutely certain, though very strong evidence supports its occurrence at about 6 o'clock in the evening of the date above mentioned.

478 B.C., February 17. Historians relate that when the Persian host started on their journey from Sardis to Abydos the sun disappeared, though the air was perfectly serene and sky cloudless. The date is that when Xerxes undertook his great expedition against Greece. Various writers have disagreed as to the exact date of this phenomenon, but Hind has placed it in 478 B.C., and suggests that the battle of Salamis must have occurred two years later than the date usually given for it if his conclusion is correct.

364 B.C. Plutarch states that the sun suffered eclipse and that darkness covered the city of Thebes in the daytime. The great French astronomer Arago gave the eclipse as probably having taken place in the year 375 B.C., but Johnson has computed that the actual date was July 13, 364 B.C., when three-quarters of the sun's surface was hidden.

310 B.C. A notable eclipse of the sun occurred, during which the stars were seen. Agathocles had started on the day preceding its occurrence from Syracuse to the coast of Africa, and he and his navy were involved in the darkness, though it appears that a thin crescent of the sun must have escaped obscuration.

51 B.C. On the occasion of Julius Cæsar passing the Rubicon there occurred a solar eclipse, probably annular.

95 A.D. This eclipse preceded the death of Domitian, Emperor of Rome, and Philostratus, in describing the eclipse, says: "In the heavens there appeared a prodigy of this nature. A certain Corona resembling the Iris surrounded the orb of the sun and obscured his light." The darkness accompanying it was so intense as to give the impression that night had come. Plutarch possibly alludes to the same event, and mentions that the stars were visible during its continuance. He mentions the time as about midday.

237, April 12. This eclipse, on the authority of Capitolinus, was so great that nothing could be done without artificial lights. Struyck concludes that this event was total at Bologna, and Johnson confirms his opinion, for his computations indicated a

great eclipse at Rome at about 5.21 p.m. and that the total phase passed over the region northwards of that city.

324, August 6 An eclipse occurred in Campania, the greatest obscuration taking place in the afternoon The stars are said to have been visible. The magnitude, however, does not seem to have been more than three-fourths of the disc On about the same date several cities in Campania were partly destroyed by earthquake

418, July 19 A comet was observed in the semi-darkness at the time of this eclipse, and Johnson mentions it as the second instance of the kind recorded, the first having been observed by Seneca One ancient writer, alluding to this eclipse, says that 'towards the eighth hour of the day the sun was so much hidden that the stars became visible and that a light in the form of a cone was seen in the heavens' The comet from which this light was derived remained in sight for four months afterwards and, 'before disappearance, passed over the last star in the tail of Ursa Major'

538, February 15 Johnson remarks that it must be of some interest to learn the date of that particular eclipse first recorded as witnessed from England There seems to be no mention of one until the sixth century, when it is thus referred to in the *Saxon Chronicle* 'This day was the sun eclipsed fourteen days before the calends of March from early morning until 9' Tycho Brahe states it as happening in the fifth year of Henry, King of the West Saxons Computations show that this eclipse involved only two-thirds of the sun's diameter, and that it could not therefore be total A few years following, namely, in 540, September 1, there was a great eclipse at London, near noon, about nine-tenths of the solar orb being obscured The dates may have been confused, though it is difficult to reconcile the descriptions unless we assume that the records were incorrect in certain particulars

The foregoing instances may serve as examples of the character of past records and of some of the computations made with reference to them The following pair of eclipses are of particular interest as being the last visible from England

A total eclipse of the sun happened at London in 1715 on May 3, when the duration of totality was 3 m 11 s according to Flamsteed's observation Halley observed it from the metropolis and, in a paper which he communicated to the Royal Society on the subject, says 'I forbear to mention the chill and damp which attended the darkness of this eclipse of which most spectators were sensible, nor shall I trouble you with the concern that appeared in all sorts of animals, birds, beasts, and fishes upon the extinction of the sun, since ourselves could not

behold it without some sense of horror.' Louville, a Frenchman, who witnessed this event from London, says that as many as twenty stars were seen by the naked eye. The eclipse occurred soon after 9 o'clock on a clear spring morning'

1724, May 22. Last total eclipse visible in England. The event was watched by many persons, and especially by Dr Stukeley at Haraden Hill, near Salisbury 'The darkness was such that we seemed to feel it drop upon us like a great dark mantle' He described the scene presented as 'beyond all that he had ever seen,' and the most solemn that his imagination was capable of picturing to him The countenances of his fellow-observers assumed 'a ghastly and startling appearance With the end of the total phase there appeared a small lucid spot and from it ran a faint brightness indicating the formation of a crescent of returning sunshine In three and a half minutes the hill tops changed from black to blue, the horizon gave out the grey streaks, like those heralding the dawn, and the birds sprang joyously into the air.' The phenomenon was watched by observers at Kensington, when King George and some other members of the Royal Family were present.

This eclipse was also witnessed by Maraldi, Cassini, and others at Paris Venus, Mercury, and a few of the fixed stars were recognised by the unaided eye, but the darkness hardly seemed so intense as on some former occasions

In 1851 numerous expeditions were specially organised and equipped for witnessing and effectively observing the total eclipse of the sun The most eminent astronomers of the period and the most powerful and perfect appliances available at the time were employed A mass of data has naturally accrued from these able efforts and those that have followed, and pictorial and descriptive representations of the various phenomena have been published in many large volumes Every successive eclipse has added fresh material to the large amount already accumulated

The time seems to have arrived when a greater effort is both possible and desirable to combine and collate the whole with a view to getting further important facts and more certain deductions from their comparisons It is well known that the corona varies at different eclipses and exhibits conclusive evidence of periodical changes coinciding in time (about eleven years) with sunspot periods

The material gathered during the last three-quarters of a century, being enormous, may be regarded as ample for the most comprehensive discussion of facts At any rate, on several points important issues might come out of an exhaustive research, and the initiation of the work cannot fail to raise hopes that it will afford a decided advance in our knowledge of solar physics.

The corona is the oldest observed feature of solar eclipses, and dates back its first recorded apparition to September 18, 96 A.D. It has frequently been remarked, and many significant details have accumulated concerning its appearance. Its origin may be partly electrical. In earlier times the corona was attributed to lunar origin.

This appearance is one of the most prominent and remarkable of the various features presented during eclipses. It consists of rays or streams of light flowing outwards at different angles from the eclipsed sun, and varying in length, position and intensity. They must often have been seen by ancient observers, but they did not recognise the importance of describing them in detail. In May 1715 Halley, then Astronomer Royal, in witnessing the eclipse of that time, appears to have noticed the corona, which he called 'a luminous ring of pearly brightness tinged with the colours of the iris and concentric with the moon.' It probably first received record at a far earlier date, and was possibly viewed also in 968 and 1031; but in 1567 the corona was certainly seen by Clavius, and Kepler, in after years, referred its origin to a lunar atmosphere. At later eclipses the corona was again detected by various observers, some of whom thought it exhibited a rapid rotatory movement which was not substantiated in later years.

The total eclipse of the sun of about ninety years ago (1836) appears to have been the occasion of special efforts on the part of astronomers to investigate the secondary phenomena visible during the sun's complete obscuration. In 1842 and 1851 the investigations were carefully continued, and that very valuable adjunct photography was first utilised. Data were collected and compared, and the more recent eclipses of 1893, 1896, and 1898 added some facts to those already gleaned. It appeared from their discussion that the corona assumed different cyclical types corresponding in period to those of maxima and minima of sunspots which are equal to eleven and a quarter years. It soon became apparent that the corona was a sun-born appendage, and not due to any lunar envelope. The 'atmospheric glare' theory also had its supporters for a long time, but it had to be put aside for a more reasonable explanation. There was no avoiding the conclusion that the zodiacal light furnished the key to the coronal features. The researches of Young and Janssen found from the evidence of the spectroscope that it is partly gaseous and partly meteoric, but our knowledge of observational facts is by no means complete or the conclusions derived from them fully established. The corona varies in its details accordantly, as we have said, with the maxima and minima of sunspots, and a similar period of activity affects magnetic phenomena and

Auroræ Boreales. Evidently these things are connected in cyclical harmony and probably interdependent on solar action

The corona has been described as consisting of filaments which either emanate from the sun or are developed in his atmosphere most abundantly at those portions of his surface about midway between the equator and the poles Another writer describes it as 'a true solar appendage and an intensely luminous, though attenuated, cloud of gas, fog and dust, surrounding the sun formed and shaped by solar forces' Recent researches may be said to strengthen the electron-gas theory of the constitution of the corona Anderson supposes that the continuous spectrum shown by the corona is dissimilar from that exhibited by the sun He points out that such a distribution cannot be scattered by an ordinary gas, and from this finds indirect evidence for his electron-gas theory The 1925 corona was found by Slocum to present equatorial wings and polar rays characteristic of a minimum sunspot period, but there was a perfect dome typical of a maximum period, so that the orona seemed to present features of intermediate type Border-ng the sun the corona apparently consists of material of different haracter from that outlying the disc, but the precise nature of his has not been determined

Another feature displayed prominently near the time of otality is the string of bright beads which form along the astern margin of the moon and often remarked just preceding otal phase They are termed 'Bailey's beads,' from the circum-tance that they were first seen and fully described by Mr F Bailey in 1836 The pretty, serrated edge of the lunar contour t such a time has been variously accounted for, but the most angible explanation seems to be that they arise from the right outlying arc of the sun's surface shining through the nterstices caused by lunar valleys and craters, while the higher round hides the intervening sections The irradiation of light as also been applied to account for the appearance referred to, r t least partially to explain it Contemporary with the forma-tion of these beads red flames are seen to emerge from behind the moon's disc They are of solar origin and represent emanations f hydrogen gas, though sodium also appears to be implicated in heir origin These flames or prominences were first definitely iscovered by Captain Stannyman at the eclipse of 1706. He said hat 'the sun upon his getting out of the eclipse was preceded by bloodred streak from its left limb' Probably the red flames nd Bailey's beads' were seen and roughly figured years before hey were specially noticed and described in 1706 and 1836 respec-ively for old drawings include features singularly like them, and ave little doubt of their identity with modern representations.

The serrated, irregular edge of the moon caused by her mountainous surface when projected upon the bright disc of the sun shows very conspicuously at the time of an eclipse. It is strikingly apparent in a small telescope, and especially when a high power is used. For general purposes of obtaining a good view of the whole or a large part of the sun we must necessarily employ a low power. In examining an individual sunspot or cluster we must use high power, or details will be lost

Observing the sun by projection is an excellent plan of viewing a solar eclipse and exhibiting it to friends It has this advantage, that a large number of people may be shown the solar disc at the same time. This prevents trouble and enables explanation, etc, to be made with facility by the person working the telescope He can point out the positions of the spots and explain their magnitudes, etc , and the motion of the dark moon across the sun can be agreeably watched as it nears or recedes from the various spots. It is true that projection does not give such a well-defined view of detail as direct vision, and the delicate features of the spots are not so distinctly pictured as by the other method, but for its convenience and avoidance of all possible injury to the eye it is much to be commended This method is easily followed by directing a telescope to the sun and allowing the solar image to pass right through the instrument and fall upon a sheet of white paper placed a foot or two back in the same line to receive it. The telescope must be mounted on a stand, and the observer has to keep it adjusted so that the sun's disc is retained in the field of view

The rarity with which total solar eclipses can be witnessed from one and the same station may be appreciated when it is stated that the central region of the one now imminent, representing the total phase, will be only about thirty-four miles in breadth It will begin in longitude 16° 14′ west, latitude 46° 29′ north and, travelling eastwards, will cross Norway and Sweden, traverse the Arctic Ocean north-east of Siberia, and end among the Aleutian Islands, longitude 168° 34′ west, latitude 51° 1′ north An eminent mathematician calculated some years ago that a total eclipse of the sun at one and the same part of the earth's surface occurred on an average about three times in 1000 years or seven times in 2200 years This is fairly borne out by the statistics of previous centuries.

Many extensive lists of past and future eclipses both of the sun and moon are now available for reference Oppolzer published a table of all those which occurred, or will occur, from 1207 B C to 2161 A D. Schrader has more recently given particulars of all eclipses that may be seen from Central Europe from 2100 to 3045 A.D

The calculation of eclipses and their occurrence in exact conformity with the times predicted exhibit the prescience of the mathematical astronomer, and the great length of time over which his investigation may extend Thus in regard to total eclipses of the sun visible in England there will be three in the thirtieth century, according to calculation, as follows :—

Year	Date	Time	Place	Duration
2927	March 24	1 50 aft	Middle of Skye to Tain	3 m 6 s
2972	May 4	3 0 ,,	Rum to Aberdeen	4 m 30 s
2974	Sept 7	0 5 ,,	Shetland Isles	4 m 0 s.

Thus just 1000 years hence the sun will be totally eclipsed as seen from Scotland on March 24 at 1 h 50 m afternoon.

The average time of duration of a total eclipse is about three minutes (in extreme cases the duration may extend over more than seven minutes), but in the coming event totality will not continue longer than fifty seconds At stations in the north of England, on the central line, the total phase will range from twenty-one and a half seconds in the west to twenty-four and a half seconds in the east, so that nearly all the important work of English astronomers has to be performed within half a minute A June morning is promising in respect to atmospheric conditions, but there is no absolute certainty either in predictions or probabilities, so we must be prepared for disappointment. At most English stations outlying the total eclipse the obscuration will amount to more than ninety-five hundredths, and observers will view a brilliant crescent. It will be interesting to determine how many and what, planets and stars will be visible from the various stations within and without the totality area at the time of mid-eclipse

When the sun is suffering from eclipse the aspect of Nature is affected in a singular way, and people realise a strange feeling of unrest and uneasiness due to the change. They become conscious of a weird happening in the withdrawal of sunshine and in the curious atmospheric effects it has induced We are familiar with the everyday shades, tints and cloud scenery, but the eclipse provides an innovation in regard to colours and aspects quite out of the range of normal experience The countenances of spectators look strange, the sky assumes a dark, frowning outlook, as though threatening a thunderstorm Birds are mute, and Nature seems hushed as though hiding from a possible calamity People well acquainted with the harmless attributes of eclipse cannot help being somewhat agitated by the peculiar texture of sky and landscape at such a time. An indescribable

feeling akin to anxiety possesses them, especially when the brilliant globe of the sun becomes fully obscured and darkness falls sufficiently to allow some of the planets and stars to come out in the daytime firmament. But relief is afforded by the thought that it is all very temporary, and that the passing of a few minutes will bring out a silver crescent of the sun and then a flood of its returning light. Overawing shades are swept away to the far distance and all tension disappears with the outburst of solar refulgence Everything around resumes its normal state The moon no longer intercepts the great orb of day People recover their wonted spirits Nature is herself again The dim eclipse and all its weird influences thereafter become a memory.

In viewing the sun the observer should always interpose a piece of coloured or smoked glass, unless there happens to be a fog of suitable density to moderate the solar glare conveniently Injury to the vision may result from attempts to look at the sun without some protection to the eye

Temperature is strikingly influenced during the progress of a large solar eclipse It falls considerably, and the observer becomes conscious of a degree of cold far more extreme than is indicated by the reading of a thermometer At the solar eclipse of April 8, 1921, which amounted to nine-tenths of the sun's disc, I recorded the temperatures at intervals of fifteen minutes while the phenomenon continued, and the result was interesting The eclipse was visible from about 7 h 35 m to 10 h 4 m a m, the middle being about 8 h 45 m The normal rise of temperature was checked at 8 a m, and a notable fall occurred, so that at 9 a m the reading stood at 38 degrees, or 11 degrees below what it would have attained had no impediment arisen The cold was of stinging intensity, and an unusual appearance, like a large, dark, blue cloud, and somewhat similar to the aspect which precedes a thunderstorm, loomed over the north-east sky The same effect was observed to accompany the solar eclipse of August 30, 1905

W F. DENNING

THE ROYAL ACADEMY, 1927

'All great art is praise,' said Ruskin, and it is one of the most profoundly true utterances among the many that he made. The longer we live in the effort to paint, or to understand whatever life offers to our imagination, the more deeply do we see that true art is a confession, a belief, praise, that negations and detractions are anti-poetical: art has nothing to do with the '*Geist der stets verneint*', no skill, no brilliance, no passing glamour of amusement, can give immortality to the merely clever, the shallow cynical. With such a conviction let a painter go to the Academy and try to give his opinion of it. What can he say?

I believe, further, that criticism has no value except as a minor art, the art of appreciating and appraising other works of art. But if only that criticism is of any worth which praises and appreciates, it can only concern itself with that true art which is praise. What shall it say of the Academy? For—let it be said at the outset—although there is much that is interesting, and, in detail of technique and moments of feeling, good and true, there seems to me to be in this year's Academy so much more of fashionable foolishness, so much of the sophistication of the studio, so much of that brand of stupidity which the world calls cleverness and of that ignorant learning which puffeth up, and so little praise, so little truth and nature of style, that it is indeed hard to criticise profitably, for it is so hard to enjoy. It is the constant gibe that on 'private view' day people go and look at each other and not at the pictures. But, indeed, why not? I find them much more interesting and enjoyable. Of the painters themselves it is fortunately true that they are much better than their works; but why they have painted most of them, when there is so little sign of their having enjoyed doing so, is a mystery with seven seals. The result seems to me to be frequently ugly, but I daresay they were done with one eye to the lady who said, 'Of course, my dear, it's perfectly hideous, but then, it's so artistic!'—who is a perfect counterpart of the [illegible] man who said to me of a missionary oleograph, 'I don't suppose you'd think it very artistic; but it's a *beautiful* picture.'

par excellence, the acknowledged experts in the breeding of every branch of bloodstock to which we give our serious attention, and, if we go outside the agricultural community, there is no lack of business brains among us for organising the curing and selling of British bacon. Are our agriculturists so embarrassed with wealth that they can neglect this chance the gods have thrown in their laps? Are we, as a nation, so prosperous that millions of pounds of money and millions of hours of employment may as well go abroad as stay at home? We know that these things are not so, but when we see such golden opportunities being left to rot for want of a little vision and a little enterprise it is rather difficult not to be a trifle impatient when farmers reiterate that 'all farming wants is to be let alone.'

L. F. Easterbrook

When will this apostacy to the Beauty of Truth and the Truth of Beauty cease?

I have felt it necessary to say this because it is of first importance to cultivate and preserve our best and most natural powers of appreciation; it is useless to shift or vitiate our standards, a waste of time to discuss things which are only good for a certain purpose if that purpose is vain; for there is no room in a real world and in a serious life for art which is not the best art, and that means, an art which renews and ennobles the natural springs and roots of feeling in itself and in the race. I need not say that the most modest and the most light-hearted and amusing art is true and natural as often as the most exalted and prophetic; it is the charlatan and time-serving counterfeit, whether slight or pretentious, which is a burden on our time—'That time which nothing can restore.' There are many states of mind into which our lives in a city can easily lead us, and in which the fashionable pictures—and even the up-to-date criticisms!—may seem plausible enough. Painters live far too much away both from real affairs and from unspoilt Nature. They are for the most part steeped in studio artifice and the sophistications, the theories, the jargon of professionalism. When they meet with the expression of natural universal experience and feeling they do not understand it, and attribute it to some special source of knowledge; they call it 'scholarly' or 'literary,' or something of the kind; and yet simple people, and even sometimes children, understand it readily enough. I would sooner have the opinion of a doctor or a schoolmaster upon a portrait than that of a painter, or the impression made on a child by a religious picture than its professional docketing by an Academician—or a Modernist. I have been for some time absent from other painters; the sophistications of art always irritated me; now they seem to me a mere nothing, so far are they from Nature. I have just been among the loveliest natural scenery of Austria, Germany and Poland, and the pictures I have looked at have been the truest in the galleries of those countries; to return to the Academy is to return from the meadows to a factory of paper flowers. It has indeed, and alas, become true that a man returning from the natural modest life of a city like Vienna is at once appalled by the vulgarity and artificiality of life in London, especially by the pretentious modishness of the lower classes and the painted women in all classes—a sight unknown in the Continent except in France. I would be ashamed to bring an Austrian into an English teashop, still more to the 'private view' at the Academy. Whether we think of society or of the art which it produces, it is not possible to trim the standard. As well may a man living a real and natural life fall in with the artifices of

the stage. It is custom blunts the edge of sight; but, as the Academy catalogue cynically and ironically quotes from Reynolds on its title page, 'he who recurs to Nature, at every recurrence renews his strength.' I know that art may be discussed—and profitably—in abstraction from the *outlook* of the artist (for instance, the style of Milton or of Titian), but not apart from the *conception*. 'Tout déroule de la conception,' said Flaubert, matter and manner are one. And there are works in which the conception is the outlook

Nevertheless, I have uttered my principle, that criticism, like art, is praise. Goethe said to Eckermann 'Schelten muss man nie, wenn man das Schlechte schlecht genannt har, was ist dabei gewonnen? Das Negative ist nichts, man muss nur das Gute tun' I will therefore try to speak only of those works, or parts of works, which do indeed seem to me fine in whatever way, and refer to deficiency only so far as it may reveal a positive standard And fortunately, if such be rather too few among the oil paintings, there is more real excellence among the sculpture, and far more, and of a very high order, in the Black and White room and in the architectural designs And the poverty of the exhibition is not to be taken as a sign of poverty in English art Several of our best artists have recently died, Sargent's absence was already felt last year, Derwent Wood and Cayley Robinson and Ambrose McEvoy were artists of true eminence whose loss is all too evident, sculpture and painting have both suffered. But there are men not included in the exhibition, and Academicians still living who have not sent works this year, and a difference to the works of the Academy could be made by a few canvases by Brangwyn or D Y Cameron or Anning Bell which cannot be estimated And Mr Griggs is a regretted absentee in the Black and White room.

The oil paintings, the most numerous and generally noticed, may be given first mention The most interesting are perhaps the portraits There are three things which are of special interest in all portraiture—first, the relation of sitter to painter, secondly, the aspect of the sitter which has been selected, thirdly, the work considered as portrait compared with the work considered as picture

A man who wants his portrait painted rightly expects primarily a likeness, and an interpretation of his character in its best tendencies But no painter, however objective, can help mingling something of his own character with that of his sitter, the greatest—Velasquez or Holbein or Reynolds—are so objective that we cannot tell what manner of men they were save that they *were* objective; their individuality is in their technical style Weak painters—students in art schools—paint self-

portraits in endless succession, no matter what their subject, and there are even blind egotists who will assert that self-expression is the aim of art. Some very great artists—Gainsborough and Watts, for instance, and even Rembrandt—tend to find in their sitters recurrently a similar aspect, melancholy or idealism or some mood, natural to themselves, or admirable in their eyes Similarly, no actor, however well he interprets character, can help revealing and betraying also his own nature; if a man of real refinement acts—though consummately—a boor, the whole audience still knows he is a gentleman; if he is not one, he may 'walk on' for two minutes in the robes of a king, and his vulgarity will be the more apparent In this year's Academy we may look in vain for the brilliant objective truth and characterisation of Sargent. The finest of technical painters often show the least insight into character Mr Glyn Philpot's beautiful picture of Mrs. Mond shows none of the individuality of the sitter and little enough of the nature of the painter On the other side, Mr Harcourt gives in his portraits of Sir Oscar Warbury and Lord Armstrong a good likeness and a clear and definite character, as he always does, he does not obtrude himself—it is a very great merit Mr Gerald Kelly seems to me photographic The objectivity and detachment of great artists is never unselective, never unimaginative, never without sympathy and passion But if we look about for portraits that show selection, we shall find them to be not sympathetic and imaginative selections, but caricatures Such are Mr Maurice Greiffenhagen's, and they grow annually more grotesque They certainly show a sense of characteristics really found in the sitter, but caricature is a base form of art (now much lauded in a weak reaction against empty 'idealising' sentiment), it is really a very egoistic form nothing is more remarkable in works of caricature than their monotonous similarity, the exaggerations are the product of the artist's brain, and the qualities of the sitter which are drawn upon are not extended and never subtle Sir William Orpen is a caricaturist of a better type, he certainly gives the man-of-the-world's grasp of social character, though not the imaginative artist's insight into deeper, subtler and more intimate qualities The least agreeable appearance is also invariably given The portraits of George Philipps and Miss Penelope Lawrence are typical examples On the commonness and tricky mechanism of the touch, on the ugliness of the colour, and on the tastelessness of the lighting we need not dwell It is at least something that the first object, the expression of character, has been attained as cleverly as it has There are good and artistic portraits by Mr W W Russell, such as the *Isabella*; but in them the emphasis is not on individual character so much as on the picture Mr

Solomon J Solomon continues his portraits of eminent Churchmen—clever, but from the outside There are four portraits by Ambrose McEvoy—the last, it is to be feared, we shall ever see They again show the marked and attractive idiosyncrasy of the painter, combined, though not as much as in earlier works, with a grasp of character in the sitter, but the painter always predominated, and colour always comes before form There is idiosyncrasy of another and a beautiful kind in Mr Charles Shannon's pictures, which again makes the sitter's character a little dim—for instance, in the portrait of the Lord Provost of Glasgow The beauty of style and charm of the painter's self-expression makes us perhaps forego the characterisation in the portraits of Mr Glyn Philpot, of Mr Shannon, of McEvoy, but when a worthy subject is treated unworthily, a dignified sitter painted commonly, condemnation must be expressed Surely no woman living has more natural and inherent dignity and distinction than the Queen, and Mr Jack's portrait of her does a good deal, and more than I could have believed possible, to deprive her of it Look quickly from this painting to Mr Glyn Philpot's *Mrs Mond*, the contrast between the commonplace and the beautiful will be felt at once, and once and for all And yet I have no doubt of Mr Jack's respectful and serious intentions, and his cleverness and skill up to a point A perfectly *prosaic* treatment may be quite acceptable—as is the manner of Mr. Meredith Frampton's portrait of Mr Frank Naylor, it is much better than the ill-advised rhetoric of the imitators of Sargent, like Mr de Glehn The most successful of these imitations, both in style and in characterisation, is Mr Eves, but Sargent is in fact inimitable, and Mr Eves's portrait of Lord Winchester, though an undeniable likeness, is rather frivolous Mr. Glyn Philpot has pursued his own course from the days when he painted like Leighton to the present when he paints in a style all his own and yet classical in its harmony of visual truth with feeling, he has learnt from the great masters but imitated the 'peculiar marks' of none

If the varying balance of objective characterisation and subjective mood is interesting to observe in these portraits, it is also suggestive to consider the varying conscious ideal of the nature of characterisation which is shown For objective truth may be truth to the daily social manner and appearance, or it may be truth to the memory of the inner intimate man Sargent gave always the first, Watts exclusively—too exclusively—the latter Sargent's method failed sadly with Lord Balfour and Lord Curzon and Lord Roberts His portraits are not monuments to the men Watts failed equally with Matthew Arnold and Browning, his portraits omit too much that made them

great—humour and spontaneity and bizarre charm. The two aspects, the homely and the monumental, are combined in all great art. Now, if we look round the Academy walls, we shall find almost exclusively the aim of Sargent. Men and women are set before us as they talk and move every day, revealing as little, and betraying as much, as their social experience and habit allows None are monuments to their inner and abiding residue of built-up character, their permanent nature, by which their friends will remember them when their manners have faded into oblivion For instance, look at Mr. Greiffenhagen's portraits *Donald Mackelvie* and *John Fleming*, Mr. Kelly's portrait of Mr. Guy Dawber, the new Associate, and at Mr. George Harcourt's portraits Some are indeed simply 'likenesses,' as the camera gives likeness; the Hon John Collier aims chiefly at this, though he does not seem to me to have chosen a characteristic view of Aldous Huxley. Some are even painted from photographs—most hopeless of all hopeless tasks The fault is not perhaps in the aim of the artist, but in the idleness of sitters who will not sit Nevertheless, as a portrait painter myself, I wholeheartedly admire the skill with which the life and manners and form have been over and over again seized and well and firmly drawn There is great merit in Mr. Fiddes Watt's *Sir Henry Cook*, in Sir William Llewellyn's *George Walter Knox*, in Mr George Henry's head of Sir Hector Clare Cameron, or Mr Clausen's *Nut Brown Maid*, in Mr Dugdale's *Professor Armstrong* and Mr Souter's *Miss Fay Compton* (though weak with her best feature, the forehead) and Miss Katherine Clausen's really fine head *The Artist's Mother*

The third relation—that of portrait to picture—is most interesting Mr. Charles Shannon and Mr Glyn Philpot always give us beautiful pictures, lovely in design and colour, Mr Greiffenhagen's are strongly designed, Mr Russell's painted with a light and sure accent. Mr Wells's *Mrs Roger Pilkington* is cleverly designed and treated as a picture There is an admirably drawn and thoroughly painted picture, *Gipsy*, by Alan Beeton—not a portrait of character, but excellent as a study of form On the other hand Sir William Orpen's are merely portraits, displeasing to the eye, however interesting to the judgment And Mr. Harcourt's have no aim besides character and likeness There is no doubt that one main element in good design is concentration, and in a portrait attention should be concentrated on the head, but curiously, Mr. Glyn Philpot, who gives us an attractive picture, yet fails in this very core and essence of design The beauty of his works is always in detail, and to be enjoyed at a near view, and is, it must be confessed, primarily technical; yet so much can it be enjoyed that it seems

unworthy to cavil at any deficiency. For important as is concentration upon the main subject in the design, the appreciative handling of all the details and accessories, though in their just relation to the whole, is equally important The more a man paints, the more he values and admires the fine treatment of all parts Titian used to say, ' Any man may paint a head, only a master can paint a background ' ; it is a profound saying . and conversely, the more he appreciates not only the difficulty of doing it, but the joy of attempting it, the more he is dismayed at the carelessness and perfunctoriness of the painting of detail is so many otherwise good works. I have just been painting a portrait of a lawyer in a D C L gown , and I am astonished to see with what boredom this magnificent robe is treated by Mr Harold Speed in his portrait of Lord Grey, because the picture is so admirably designed, so finely constructed, seen and drawn And the opportunities afforded by the women's dresses have been strangely missed in many portraits—by Mr Eves, Mr. de Glehn, Sir John Lavery , and most strangely in the royal robes so coarsely blocked in by Mr Jack The more is the delight which Mr Philpot and Mr Shannon give by their treatment of accessories and textures The white dress of Mrs Mond is deliciously drawn and painted , the screen most artistically managed , the accents of precious colours—the blue and the lovely rose red—used with exquisite effect The most careful following of the transitions from one texture to another, and of the varieties of accent, in Mr Philpot's picture is to be recommended He has not Sargent's power of relating all the parts to an effective whole , but he has a more truly artistic manner of treating the parts in themselves.

When we turn to the ' compositions,' as they are now called, the pre-eminence of Mr Philpot is again unquestionable. Yet him, as much as for anyone, the word ' composition ' is ...icantly appropriate It is commonly accepted that the ...tion of historical painting is dead The great pictures of ...man Hunt, Madox Brown, and Watts have no real successors. Decorative mural painting has been practised finely by Brangwyn, Cayley Robinson .. Anning Bell, and by younger men also , but there is an absence of convincing poetical paintings in the Academy Even Mr. Philpot's are not really poems , they are compositions ' The truest pictures come to a man as a kind of music expressing the burden of the subject , the component parts, the human actors, the scene, the details, implicit in it and moving out of it into life as the work is dwelt upon Goethe speaks of the Secret Genius that whispered inner rhythms to his ear This is the experience of all truly creative and poetically gifted natures, however humble in accomplishment Some at least of the pictures in the Academy were to my knowledge born

in this way. But some of the most effective and accomplished lack poetical conviction as a whole. I find it hard to think that Mr. Philpot experienced and believed in his weeping Venus or his Adonis; they are too much the replicas of the types he always uses—uses, not sees—save in so far as they are like well-known artists' models. But the flowers, so well drawn and designed, he did surely see as a poet even if they are lacking in natural and healthy freshness, and the treatment of a score of details is so lovely, and so consummate in style, however strange in their idiosyncrasy, that no one could fail to enjoy them There is one feature of the picture which it is extraordinary to me that he should have allowed himself—namely, the tasteless and heartless playing with the gash and the bloodstains as accents of picturesque design But perhaps, as one painter suggested to me it was necessary to explain that Adonis had not died from drinking the water of the lake, which has every appearance of being poisonous There is morbidity of colour on the flesh also, but we can at least dwell upon the details, and especially the plants, treated as no one since Burne-Jones has treated them And how often and how beautifully has not the fig-tree in Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, appeared in Mr Philpot's pictures?

There are very characteristic and curious works by Mr Ricketts and Mr Shannon—*The Death of Montezuma, Don Juan*, and *Hermes and the Infant Bacchus*, highly mannered, but so accomplished and professional in that manner that the student can learn much from both, and dignified indeed when contrasted with the callous affectation of one very prominently hung Academician, Mr Flint, and of some of the modernist outsiders, the limit of tastelessness and vulgarity, both in feeling and handling, being reached perhaps in Mrs Laura Knight's *Dressing for the Ballet* I dislike the wilful and crude bizarrerie of Mr Greiffenhagen's *Pool of Bethesda* and of the *Flagellation*, by Mr Vivian Forbes But these are mentioned only because they are things which by their prominence cannot be passed over, and the frivolous exploitation of religious subjects cannot be condoned There is much good to be found elsewhere For instance, Miss Agnes Tatham sends a characteristic lunette, *Music*, which is full of beautiful design and delicately treated passages Her spirit is pensive and a little divided between the past and the present fashion, her colour is always very deficient in life, glow, and even in harmony, but so curiously drawn and felt are the forms that in enjoying them we ask for nothing else—no standard but her own is appropriate or just

The more modernist compositions seem to me childish, derivative and antiquarian—Mr Morley's, for instance There is an equally marked absence of really strong living and imagi-

native pictures of contemporary life. Mrs. Proctor's *Morning* is solid—'too, too solid flesh'; but it is nothing else. Why is it that the present is only regarded as a subject for trivial genre, or the portrayal of fashion and manners? The sense of historic life in the present felt by Veronese or Rembrandt, or indeed by Breughel and even Daumier, is lacking There is in truth, in one sense, no 'past', pictures of great poetic myths or the religious experiences of the race are not archæological reconstructions—they deal with universal and timeless issues, but so can pictures of our own daily life be universal. But I feel—once more I return to it—that the painting of the Academy is unconvinced and unconvincing: men do not paint their experiences unless they are painting landscape); they 'choose' conventionally accepted subjects and bow down to them, as the critics bow down to the fashionable mannerisms, or as an old lady of High Church habits whom a friend of mine took to the cinema genuflected to the screen before entering her place But we have no right to ask more than a few men living at any one time to show genuine imagination

The landscapes, as usual, are the most 'free,' the most genuine pictures in the exhibition—as far as they go Landscape is, after all, limited in its possibilities Human experience cannot grow to a very wide and deep range in nature less than human, even though it cannot maintain its purity if cut off from its roots in the earth Landscape painters are the most egoistic and inhuman of all artists, it is usually impossible to enter into human relations with them But, mysterious and abnormal products as they are, their imaginations are less shackled by the past, by historic art than the imagination of others, and many of the pictures in the Academy are very good Technically the lessons of the past have been well learnt There are no Clausens, no Camerons But the Oliver Halls are as richly painted and dignified and harmonious in colour as ever, especially his *Bridge over the Tagus*, the excellence of design is remarkable in a score of works, the Hughes-Stantons, the Lamorna Birches, the Arnesby Browns, the Adrian Stokes, the Bertram Priestmans, the Sydney Lees, the W T Woods, the Campbell Taylors, that is to say, the language of art has been used as well by the painters of hitherto untouched and unpainted Nature as by any—perhaps better There is, of course less to say about landscapes than about pictures of human life, the range of possibilities in expression is so much more limited and much less involved either in the varieties or in depths of experience When the artistry has been appreciated there is little to do save to remember actual Nature and to enjoy the [illegible] of it by the standard of our memories and affections for the earth Often there is more freedom of style, and therefore

more fresh and hearty enjoyment for the spectator, in a landscape, because there is a much less severe and exacting standard of truth; the expression of character in a portrait—that most subtle task to which a painter can address himself—imposes a discipline which fetters abandoned enjoyment: there is no sense of holiday in a portrait; all the greater is the satisfaction when such a difficulty is triumphantly overcome Many landscape painters suffer from 'the weight of too much liberty' and fall into a rather facile manner. Mr. Lee knows he can suggest the splendid places he depicts, even if he draws them not quite right and colours them not quite true or even in an unheard-of sap green and daffodil yellow; at a distance the enjoyment of a lovely place will be suggested Mr Vicat Cole, though he paint it with a mechanical touch and monotonous observation of its parts I see more and more landscapes every year which are enjoyable at a first glance but appear empty and carelessly treated when looked at closer Mr Clausen's and Mr W T Wood's are always notable exceptions And the great merit of many pictures scattered through the Academy rooms is undeniable Anyone with feeling and an eye for Nature (and they are equally important) will find them In this place should be mentioned the growing fashion for flower pictures, of which Mr W T Wood's immense congeries of blooms and fruit is the most striking, though there were much more enjoyable ones in his lovely exhibition two years ago at the Leicester Galleries

If we pass to the Water Colour room—full, as usual, of landscapes—the chief impression is always that a majority are attractive at first, but dissatisfying when looked into carefully True, our best water colourists, Mr Clausen, Mr Henry Payne (these two I at least always enjoy more than any others), Mr A. R Smith, Mr Wood, do not often show in the Water Colour room at the Academy, and their works are exactly those, in water colour as well as in oil (when they use oils), which most repay closer scrutiny. But there are some charming and beautifully treated things. there is a Wood and an A R Smith, full of the greatest merits and a standard for work in their medium, two delightfully felt drawings by A R Middleton Todd, some clever Cecil Hunts, some striking flower paintings and a pastel unusually attractive in quality—rich and not cloudy—by Leonard R Squirrel

It becomes much more difficult to single out any works for special comment in the Black and White room Here is the fullest enjoyment for all and the truest edification for the artist There seems to me to be no section of the Academy equal to this room. *Causas non oportet investigare*; but perhaps one reason is that in a more self-limited medium perfection is more easily

There are only certain subjects which can be treated in black and white—especially in line—at all; and the satisfaction of form truthfully and not imitatively expressed is the reward of the artist who directs his labour to these circumscribed means. A friend of mine was once drawing in Switzerland, when one of the 'monstrous regiment of women'—amateurs who sketch indefatigably in water colour—came up to her and exclaimed, 'Oh, you do the buildings! I find the buildings too difficult, I do the mountains!' There is none of this misplaced aspiration in the Black and White room. There are mountains, and very good ones, such as *Les Baux* by Olive Branson, most thoroughly treated (the same subject is effectively but less satisfyingly given by Leonard Squirrel) A large number of the best works are, however, architectural, such as the splendid ones by Mr. Rushbury, the new Associate, and by Mr Malcolm Osborne Some of the rising generation of etchers are most remarkable, the beautiful and original work of Robert Austin and the excellent exhibits of Stanley Anderson are evidence of this. But almost everything in the room repays careful attention

The sculpture is in some ways on a higher general level than the painting, in other ways lower I wrote in *The Nineteenth Century* in December last year on 'The Decline of Modern Sculpture' it is certainly obvious that there are far fewer works in sculpture than in paint, and few of them sold, it is now the second of the two arts There are few works of real eminence, and yet a higher average level in some ways exists. Is this an anomaly or an illusion? I think not, for it refers only to ordinary skill, and not to imaginative style A solid object must be solidly designed and modelled and fairly complete and convincing, or no one will look at it, but the painting on a flat surface can stop at the most facile suggestion and not be generally dismissed as inadequate There is no reason why a painter like McEvoy should not place on a large part of his canvas a mere confusion of colours, and convey thereby a real feeling to the imagination, a real mood, which may truly express something of a portrait, but no stone, bronze, or plaster object could be left in this state The finest painting is complete also, but much painting can exist and be justified by its attraction and its meaning for the imagination and yet be much further from technical completion than a student's work in clay. On the other hand, amid a collection of pieces of sculpture most of which are competent, there are only a few really distinguished. The loss of that splendid sculptor Derwent Wood is very much felt. One of the most beautiful of living modellers is Mr. MacMillan, who exhibits a most delicately and subtly carved marble head, reminiscent of his *Syrinx* of two years ago. There is a striking

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL BOY

A YEAR ago in this Review [1] I tried to set down some of the more important changes that have taken place in public schools during the last twenty-five years, and attempted an examination of certain tendencies which appeared to be likely to change the character of schools for better or for worse. Now I am attempting the much more difficult task of endeavouring to analyse the changes in the boy that are noticeable over a similar period. It is worth while making the attempt, however, because the type of boy evolved by the public schools has a most important effect on the life of the nation, and it may be possible to notice certain tendencies which, if unchecked, may have unfortunate results.

English public schools are something of a mystery to foreigners, and—dare one say it ?—perhaps something of a mystery to schoolmasters, parents, and even to the boys themselves. Wherein lies their strength, and how is it that the English public school boy continues to compete successfully in all branches of human enterprise with his Continental rival in spite of the fact that the latter is frequently better taught and harder working ?

There are, of course, the obvious things—development of the sense of duty, training for leadership, and the team spirit—in which the public schools excel ; but I suggest that there are two points in the analysis that are often overlooked, and the importance of which may easily be underestimated. The first of these is that 'slow growth is the best growth.' Under the English boarding school system the whole development of the boy—physical, mental, and moral—is for ten years entrusted to the care of those who devote their lives to this task, while this is followed in many cases by three years at the university. This is a long period—much longer than in other countries for the majority of boys—but the system is justified by results.

The second point may be summed up briefly as 'games instead of girls.' Looked at broadly, the effect of the English system as compared with the Continental is that during the years of growth boys think (and talk) about games instead of the charms of the other sex.

[1] 'Public Schools,' the *Nineteenth Century and After*, February 1926.

and most excellent work by Mr. Jagger, the sculptor of the magnificent Artillery Memorial—a garden group splendidly treated. There are accomplished and finished heads by Mr. Reid Dick, especially, perhaps, his *Anne*, a baby, and groups in a rather mannered style but attractively and ably designed. There are portrait busts good in character and able in treatment, such as the one of Lord Balfour by Mr. Cecil Thomas and of Lord Reading by Mr. Jagger. One point of general interest which is perhaps more worth dwelling on than the success of a series of individual exhibits is the prevalence of two almost opposite methods of treatment—one aiming at surface textures (like hair, skin, or the material of textiles) and at visual illusions (such as the darkness and luminosity of eyes), the other aiming at mere form, the rendering of structure, or the language of convex and concave shape The finest sculpture is based always on the second, but gives also to some extent the first (For instance, the Elgin Marbles give the softness of flesh and the hardness of bone, as well as the large structure) Monotony of surface (as in the bust of Lord Reading referred to) may be as unsatisfying in the long run as over-emphasis on mere surface appearance ; yet, on the whole, the stress on form, structural or emotional, is by far the more valuable tendency of the two

And this suggests one final observation There is a whirl of discussion about ' movements in art ' There need be no acrimony —and, indeed, no discussion The finest artists go on their own way the ministers of Nature, which is universal and unchanging The rest are inevitably swung in a series of reactions There are three phases, three fashions, represented in the Academy The first, the oldest, is the sentimental The giants of the Victorian age—Watts, Holman Hunt—were above all poets, expressing feelings to the hearts of men , their weaker followers are sentimentally anecdotal and ' literary ' The second phase is the ' impressionist ' fine artists like Whistler and Sargent painted the visual aspect of things truly ; their imitators paint it cheaply The inevitable reaction is the Modernist movement, whose best leaders refuse appearance and poetry alike, and devote their art to pure *form* , for instance, Mr Meredith Frampton's *Still Life* and Mrs Proctor's *Morning* in Room II both give solid form and nothing else The shallower and insincere adherents give empty imitations of the more ' classic ' of the primitives or else mere abstract arrangements of solidities They seem to have no sense of beauty—they prefer ugliness -and no feelings beyond the crude disillusionment and precocious cynicism of unhealthy and egotistical adolescents The most damaging fact that I know against Modernism is that it has to be explained ; books are written about it and international agencies advertise its

theories No movement should be taken too seriously: no one above the mental age of twenty-three will think Mrs Proctor a great artist because she does *one* thing to the exclusion of all others, and a thing which happens to be the rage; but they will not think her a charlatan either. There was need for this form of 'classical' revival; and the true (perhaps unknown) artists will give form, but also appearance, colour, charm, and, yet more, poetry, inner truth, moral conviction—all three elements as the Pre-Raphaelites gave them. They will not be noticed, but they exist And, however sophisticated the majority may be, there is enough good art at the Academy to make a visit really enjoyable and profitable; and the general level is at least more serious and artistic than it was twenty years ago

D HARMOOD BANNER.

AN EMINENT PRIZE COURT JUDGE: SIR SAMUEL EVANS

THE hackneyed phrase '*felix opportunitate mortis*' certainly applies to Samuel Evans, if one regards the public career of a man only from the point of view of entirely successful achievement. Many reputations are, after considerable successes, eventually diminished, so that the man who dies leaving a task completely performed and his work undimmed by subsequent failures or diminution of results is essentially fortunate in the moment of his death.

Evans was fortunate also in that, in consequence of the Great War, a task was placed on him at once unusual and difficult and of international importance, and that he possessed the capacity successfully to cope with it.

The son of humble parents in South Wales, he was born in 1859, and died on September 13, 1918. For some years he practised as a solicitor; then, having saved some hundreds of pounds, he was in 1891 called to the Bar and at once obtained a leading practice on his circuit, so that in 1901 he was able to become a Queen's Counsel. In 1890 Evans had been elected member for Mid Glamorganshire, and then entered on a parliamentary career. Clear-headed, quick-witted, courageous and sociable, he was admirably fitted to be a successful parliamentarian and at once made his mark in the House of Commons, where he was soon recognised not only as a man of great gifts, but also as the possessor of an excellent parliamentary style. These qualities, in addition to his capacity as a lawyer, fully justified his appointment in 1908, by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, as Solicitor-General. In the opinion of competent judges it is doubtful whether any law officer of modern times was so skilful and powerful a debater as Evans proved himself to be. In Committee the rapidity and accuracy with which he could draft or alter an amendment was extraordinary. Had he devoted his life to politics instead of his profession, he would have attained a high position in public life.

In 1910 the judicial office of President of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice became vacant, which Evans accepted, but with considerable reluctance

To the ordinary observer he would seem to have had an unusually successful career and to have attained a position which he might well consider to be a satisfying conclusion to an active legal and political life. But Evans was ambitious, he was still in the full enjoyment of his vigorous faculties, and to rest and be thankful was incompatible with his temperament, and, so far from regarding his new position with satisfaction, he thought of it with regret. It was therefore an extraordinary opportunity for the exercise of his remarkable gifts when, on the outbreak of war in August 1914, it became his duty to preside over the Prize Court in London. But for this event his career would, if he had gone no further, have had no importance; it would, in fact, have been less remarkable than that of many lawyers who have attained high judicial or political positions. The opportunity which offered itself was unique, and, as it happened, there was a man capable of seizing it, with the result that Evans has secured permanent judicial fame.

From a personal point of view the position and work of President and sole judge of the Prize Court satisfied to some extent for a time his desire for a field of activity in which undoubted powers could be utilised more effectively and publicly than was possible in the ordinary work of the court of which he was the head. It is often difficult for contemporaries to estimate accurately the position of some men of their time. Lord Stowell, whose fame as a creator and expositor of English prize law is universal and permanent, was chiefly regarded by his contemporaries, when they thought of him at all, as an erudite ecclesiastical lawyer. It is equally certain that Evans's unusual judicial capacity in maritime law and during the war in prize law, was never publicly appreciated. The fact was that a remarkable quickness of apprehension and an equally remarkable lucidity of view combined with constant industry were unknown until circumstances brought them to light, and then their results were scarcely generally appreciated.

Ninety-nine of Evans's judgments in the Prize Court which were delivered in the four years during which he presided over it are to be found in the series known as the *British and Colonial Prize Cases*; a smaller number may be found in the *Law Reports*, larger in *Lloyd's Prize Reports*. But this ninety and nine contain substantially all the main decisions of the court during this period. On them Evans's judicial reputation rests. Apart from the place which they occupy in a particular branch of English law, they are of international importance, especially in the United States, and the time has come when it is desirable to describe, briefly but clearly, the chief features by which they are distinguished, and to estimate their legal value.

Anyone who, now or in the future, peruses them will be struck by the style which marks them, at once vigorous, lucid and concise. The functions of a Court of Prize are, for example, admirably enunciated in the following passage, which is also illustrative of the judge's style :—

The decisions of a court of law should proceed upon defined principles. Those principles have to be applied to ever-varying sets of facts. But the court has the function and duty not merely of deciding individual cases, but of determining them upon principles which shall be a guide to others as to what their positions and rights are in the eye of the law.

In the domain of international law, in particular, there is room for the extension of old doctrines or the development of new principles, where there is, or is even likely to be, a general acceptance of such by civilised nations. Precedents handed down from earlier days should be treated as guides to lead, and not as shackles to bind. But the guides must not be lightly deserted or cast aside. Already, in the course of the present war, I have had to deal with questions not remote from those raised in these proceedings; and in dealing with them I have striven after careful consideration to decide them in this spirit, with the guidance of the past and in the light of later experience.

If this sentence were scanned by an habitual critic of literature he would note with satisfaction that the phraseology throughout is unusually apt. Every word is appropriate; there is no redundancy, and, on the other hand, no baldness. It would be impossible to find a better indication of the manner in which precedents should be judicially regarded than the words 'precedents handed down from earlier days should be treated as guides to lead, and not as shackles to bind.' The whole of the quotation from which the isolated sentence is taken may be matched over and over again in these judgments, the standard of which remains singularly level from the beginning to the end of the series.

These judgments are as typical of the literature of the age as were the dignified and resonant periods in which Lord Stowell's decisions are contained, typical of the eighteenth century and worthy of the intimate friend of Dr Johnson. Evans' decisions are equally characteristic of their author's penetrating and orderly mind, and of his appreciation of the just yet liberal use of the English language; and if one adopts Mr Taft's definition of an ideal judge as one who confines himself to a brief and clear-cut analysis and a logical conclusion, who has the power of lucid statement, a sense of literary style, sufficient industry to revise and again revise, some facility in the art of condensation, and who avoids lengthy and irrelevant dissertations, Evans would certainly answer to the description. While gifted with unquestionable fluency of expression—indeed, a contempt for those who only possessed a limited vocabulary was a noticeable trait—he always kept this power within due bounds.

In a judge, or, for the matter of that, in anyone who has to express thoughts in written or verbal sentences, the most admirable use of language is useless unless it is employed as a vehicle for learned and orderly statement. Some judgments bristle with learning, but read like limited encyclopædias; others marshal statements with precision, but are failures when the application of general principles becomes essential. The pre-eminent merit of Evans's judgments in the Prize Court is that they contain an orderly presentation of facts within a short compass, an appropriate application of legal principles to concrete circumstances and learning without pedantry. Of this last feature one may find a memorable instance in the judge's masterly and instructive survey in *The Hakan* [1] of the law of nations as set forth in the treatises of jurists and in the decisions and rules of all civilised nations in regard to the position of an owner of a vessel on which contraband has been seized and condemned. It is a judgment remarkable for its spacious lucidity.

It was not to be expected that, as the war extended from year to year, the later judgments should be as important or as numerous as those delivered during the earlier period of the great struggle. In fact, in the last reported decision, that on the case of *The Alfred Nobel*,[2] the date of the judgment is June 6, 1918, about three months before Evans's death. Some judgments were given between that date and the beginning, on August 1st, of the Long Vacation, but they were not of general importance or of value as precedents. This particular judgment fitly concludes the series; in it he vindicates and explains the power of the Prize Court to rescind orders obtained by fraud, and it illustrates the difficulties which the court met with in its efforts to unravel ingenious commercial tricks and subterfuges intended to facilitate the entry of contraband goods into Germany.

> It cannot be too well known [said the judge] that claimants who desire to establish their claims must put their cases honestly, fairly, candidly and fully before the court. That has been said in the course of the last three years or so over and over again. So far from having done that, the deponent in this particular case unfortunately stated what was untrue, and implied what was false, by suppressing material facts which ought to have been laid before the court.

The claimant had, in fact, stated that the goods in question, which were consigned to Copenhagen, were not intended to be sent to Germany, but that they had either been sold, or would be sold for consumption only in Scandinavia. By these false statements the claimant had obtained from the Prize Court an

[1] Law Reports, [1916] P 206, *British and Colonial Prize Cases*, vol ii, p 206

[2] Law Reports, [1918] P 293, *British and Colonial Prize Cases*, vol iii, p 177

order for the release to him of the goods in question. This order was now rescinded and the goods were condemned as prize

During the war neutrals complained that they were treated harshly in the British Prize Court, and that it was a hardship to be obliged to disclose documents concerning shipments which it was alleged by the Crown were destined for Germany. Certainly a less acute mind than that of Evans might often have been deceived, as he, for once, was in this instance.

The mass of confusing material out of which he had to extract the truth is well illustrated by another of his latest decisions—that in the case of *The Posteiro* [3] The trial occupied a week, and a reserved judgment was subsequently delivered. Valuable cargoes of coffee on the *Posteiro* and other vessels were the subject-matter of the case; a mass of commercial documents, correspondence and telegrams between persons and firms in South America, Scandinavia, and Germany had to be examined, since each consignment required separate investigation. It would be impossible here to enter into all the facts, but an extract from the judgment relating to a large consignment of coffee will indicate the character of the investigation:

> The grounds for the condemnation of all the coffee specified in the schedule 'A' cases, are that it was conditional contraband shipped by Trinks of Santos with an undoubted destination for Trinks of Hamburg at Hamburg, which is a base of supply and a garrison town, and that it would be given up to or taken by departments of the German Government Moreover, I find that it was destined to become the property of enemy merchants on its arrival, and on that ground it could be treated as enemy property, with the result that the claims by the shippers would be barred, and the coffee would be condemned in the absence of a rightful claimant under the Prize Court Rules

A feature of Evans's career as judge of the Prize Court is illustrated in this and other cases—that is, his mastery of commercial details, often of an extremely technical nature He dealt with them, whether they related to commercial transactions or to banking, as if he had been absorbed in them all his life, and with a clearness and confidence which could not have been surpassed by a skilful and experienced chairman at a general meeting in the City These cases must, however, be perused from the point of view of prize law, not from that of commercial law in actions between private individuals or corporations The Prize Court has to apply legal principles to proved facts in order to ascertain who is the owner of a captured vessel or cargo or its nature and destination, upon which the legality of a capture depends

The commercial character of many of the most important judgments in the Prize Court delivered not only by Evans but

[3] *British and Colonial Prize Cases*, vol. iii, p 275

by his successors, Lord Sterndale and Lord Merrivale, was a feature which emphasises the difference between the Prize Court in the Great War and in the war with France in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The war with Russia in 1854 is negligible, because the maritime commerce of Russia was small During this and the Napoleonic wars judgments were based on ship's papers and documents seized on the ship. 'By the law of prize, the evidence to acquit or condemn must, in the first instance, come from the papers and crew of the captured vessel The captors are not, unless under peculiar circumstances, entitled to adduce any extrinsic testimony.'[4] When we bear this rule in mind, as well as the simplicity of commercial transactions in the eighteenth century as compared to those of the present day, it is possible to realise the immense difference between the duty of the judge then and now.

The power which Evans displayed in dealing with intricate, confused and often intentionally obscure commercial details may be regarded primarily as a triumph of personal ability It was his duty also to apply existing principles of prize law to new facts, and also to administer a new procedure As regards this latter subject, the captor, as represented by the Crown, was entitled under the Prize Court Rules of 1914 to produce all evidence which was relevant to his case, and could oblige a party to a cause to make a full disclosure of documents which threw light on the issue This right to a 'discovery' of documents was one which Evans upheld rigorously from the very beginning of the war Claimants were compelled to disclose books of accounts and commercial documents, and many business books if they related to the matter in question

No doubt this procedure caused much trouble and annoyance to many neutrals, but Evans never weakened in his determination to support a procedure which was intended to place all the facts relating to an issue before the court A man of timid character might easily have reduced the new procedure to impotence. Unquestionably it contributed largely to the elucidation of many complex facts, and in the end to the condemnation of many cargoes which would otherwise have found their way into Germany It had also an important indirect result, for it prevented attempts to import into Germany goods which would have ultimately found their way into the hands of the enemy. The extent of this influence it is impossible to estimate, but it was certainly considerable and may be traced in some degree to the fact that Evans never failed to uphold the new procedure

Important as was this phase of his work, it is less interesting

[4] [illegible] on *Prize Courts*, p 18, approved by the Privy Council in 1856, in *The Albert and Fanny*, *English Prize Cases*, vol ii, p 537

and of less value from a juridical point of view than his treatment of the law of prize, which he rightly regarded as progressive, in that there was room for 'the extension of old doctrines or the development of new principles.' In one of the earliest of his judgments Evans resolutely extended an old doctrine to a state of facts to which in this country it had not hitherto been applied From the time of Lord Stowell it had been held in British and American Prize Courts that persons having a lien or charge on a vessel had no rights as against captors. But it was contended in *The Marie Glaeser*[5] that mortgagees were entitled to receive the value of their mortgage out of the proceeds of the captured and condemned vessel on various grounds, and especially on this one, that the law of nations had advanced since the Declaration of Paris, 1856, and that it was the policy of the law in its present state to protect the property of neutrals This contention was rejected on broad grounds of principle and historical precedent A judge with a sympathy for neutrals and a casuistical intellect could without much difficulty have differentiated between mortgages and other liens, and have been impressed with the argument that the advance of maritime commerce and the protection afforded to neutrals by the Declaration of Paris had produced a change in this feature of prize law since the eighteenth century

The judgment in the entire series of the most historical value is that which once and for all placed the rule of continuous transport in the English law of prize Its influence, whether from the point of view of belligerents or of neutrals, cannot be exaggerated. The doctrine was first applied in the English Prize Court during the eighteenth century to unlawful trading, and there were no British decisions in which it was applied to the carriage of contraband or to transportation overland Subsequently in the American Civil War the doctrine was extended by the Supreme Court of the United States to cases of contraband But not until Sir Samuel Evans's judgment was it decided that the doctrine of continuous voyage or transportation, both in relation to carriage by sea and to carriage overland, had become part of the law of nations and part of English prize law In the now historical case of *The Kim*,[6] the hearing of which extended over twelve days, the port of destination was Copenhagen, and the result of this legal decision was that the court was not restricted in its vision to the primary consignment of the goods, in these cases to the neutral port of Copenhagen, but was entitled and bound to take a more extended outlook in order to ascertain whether this neutral destination was merely ostensible, and, if so, what was the real and ultimate destination

[5] *Law Reports* [1914] P 218, *British and Colonial Prize Cases*, vol. 1, p 38

[6] *Law Reports* [1915] P 215, *British and Colonial Prize Cases*, vol 1, p 405

A further result was that an immense quantity of American goods was condemned as prize by means of a doctrine which, by a singular irony, was first clearly enunciated in the Supreme Court of the United States. Of no less importance was the extension of the liability of a shipowner on whose vessel contraband had been captured and subsequently condemned when such cargo was destined for a place in enemy territory beyond the neutral port which was the actual destination of the ship. Whether the cargo reached the enemy at a seaport or at an inland town *viâ* a neutral port, 'the effect on belligerents would be similar in either case. The trade, if successful, would in both cases be injurious to the belligerent entitled to make the capture and helpful to the enemy.'[7] So that, for instance, a ship carrying to Amsterdam a cargo destined ultimately for Germany in time of war, is liable to condemnation.

The cases which in the preceding pages have been referred to are employed as illustrative of the general character of the judgments of Sir Samuel Evans, since each exhibits his fearlessness in the application of legal principles, his mastery over complicated facts, his lucidity of statement, and his clear exposition of legal principles, all characteristic of the whole series. That the result of his judgments was favourable to a belligerent is obvious, but it is equally obvious that they rested on a sure basis and that each extension of the legal doctrines which support the rules of prize law places the neutral in a worse position. He may abstain from trade with a belligerent, but if he enters on this perilous but often very lucrative intercourse he must be prepared both for gain and loss.

Yet, lasting and important as are the decisions of Sir Samuel Evans, the influence of the Privy Council must not be overlooked and deserves a full and careful consideration. For this tribunal affirmed Evans's decisions in judgments which not only fortified them as precedents and declarations of law, but illuminated and enlarged them. This constant affirmation of the decisions of the Prize Court from 1914 onward is also a tribute to the value of Evans's decisions and to the importance of his work as judge of the Prize Court.

If one were to endeavour to formulate shortly the character of the judicial work of Lord Stowell and of Sir Samuel Evans one might say that the former created a definite body of English prize law out of formless mass—dicta of international jurists and obscure decisions of previous English judges; the latter considered, applied, and extended accepted principles, adapting them to a different and immensely enlarged commerce, to a procedure

[7] *The Maracaibo*, *Law Reports*, [1916] P. 266; *British and Colonial Prize Cases*, Vol. II, p. 296.

will be necessary to return to this point later, but I mention because it is most important that it should be borne in mind considering the tendency of changes in the boy observable ing the last twenty-five or thirty years.

We are embarked on an ambitious task in this analysis; not y is the subject difficult, but also a very large number of my *ders have the material for criticism. They remember their n school-days twenty or thirty years ago, and now have their n sons at public schools, able to provide comparisons.*

With this plea for indulgence, let us plunge into the subject.

Naturally enough, a very brief consideration leads us to the onclusion that the boy himself has not changed at all in the last hirty years. The change that has taken place is in the boy's eaction to his environment, and even here it is not so much that he boy reacts differently as that the environment itself has altered. believe that the 1927 boy, placed amidst the surroundings of chool life as it was in 1897, would respond in exactly the same way that stimulus as did his predecessor of thirty years ago. How, ten, has the environment altered? Is it for better or for worse?

I venture to suggest that by far the greatest change that has ken place has been in the masters, and this change has been ery much for the better. In what follows, may I urge my critics observe two precautions as they take their memories back to eir own school-days? First, let them try to remember the elings they had towards the masters during their *school-days* id avoid altogether any recollections of their later relationships 'old boys.' Secondly, let them bear in mind the general run their impressions and avoid the blurring of the picture by me particular exception.

With this word of caution I put forward the following rough neralisation. Sixty years ago, with comparatively rare exceptions, masters were regarded by boys as their natural enemies; irty years ago the exceptions were decidedly more numerous d might even have formed the majority; to-day, with comparatively rare exceptions, masters are regarded by boys as their tural friends. What are the reasons for this?

The most important is undoubtedly the change that has taken ace in the qualifications required in a master if he is to obtain post at a public school. No longer is the possessor of a good iversity degree considered *ipso facto* fully qualified for a mastership at a public school. To have been a school prefect, and the ssession of athletic ability, personality, and character, are garded nowadays as qualifications quite equal in importance academic distinctions. Obviously, therefore, the schoolmaster now a more human creature, and makes, in consequence, a onger appeal to the boy.

which had been radically changed and to novel administrative orders. The decisions of the twentieth century were the complement of those of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries; united they form a comprehensive body of English prize law as it emerged from the Great War in the form of judicial precedents. Nor can they be dissociated from the growth of sea power in time of war, since every decision which extends the legal action at sea of a belligerent is in effect an extension of the power of the Navy.

It would be out of place in a review of Evans's judgments in the Prize Court to conclude with a lengthy delineation of his personality. But an estimate of the work of a judge without some kind of portrait of him as a man would leave him a colourless expositor of legal dicta An official and friendly association from the time when Evans became President of the Division and a closer connexion during the momentous years 1914–1918 could not fail to produce definite impressions. Uncommon and unconventional, Sir Samuel Evans rapidly changed from one mood to another, at one moment he would be kindly to one person, at the next harsh to another He was quick to appreciate merit, perhaps too prone to detest stupidity, want of industry vexed him On one occasion in the course of a prize case a small seaport in Northern Europe was mentioned. 'Where is it?' Evans asked the counsel When the reply came that he did not know, the judge sharply ejaculated, 'I should have thought that any intelligent man would have taken the trouble to find out.' He disliked want of thoroughness in others because he was so thorough himself In order to be fully equipped as a judge in the Admiralty Court he undertook more than one sea voyage with the definite intention of obtaining instruction in and observing actual navigation at sea From the moment of the outbreak of the war in 1914 he became an ardent student of international law. Like other members of the legal profession, with the noticeable exception of the late Sir Erle Richards, he knew little of this branch of law, but the remarkable fact is that he dealt both with English and with American decisions on questions of prize law when he delivered his judgments with an ease and a grasp which gave no signs of recent acquisition of knowledge. This was the result of unusual quickness of mind in combination with strenuous industry, an industry which to some extent undermined his health. For his legal researches often continued throughout most of the night, and it was not uncommon for him to begin the writing of a lengthy and important judgment after midnight

With such a temperament strong likes and dislikes were inevitable, which off the Bench no effort was made to conceal, and in conversation adverse opinions were frankly expressed, hardly discreet even in a private interview.

Without an unusual power of self-command such a temperament might easily have produced a want of judicial calmness. It was significant of Evans's strength of character that he was seldom unreasonably impatient.[8] Nor did his mental alertness induce him to bombard counsel with questions or to indicate too frequently weak points in an argument His successors in the Court were by nature calm and patient; Evans was quick and impatient. but as judges they did not differ in conducting a case with tranquillity and thoroughness

Keenly interested in politics, appreciative of music and art, he was also a sound judge of literature One evening at the close of the legal term before the Long Vacation in which he died he sat with me for an hour in the Green Park, in the pleasant sunshine which he enjoyed, acutely analysing books and authors, and interspersing his talk with stories of historical figures who had once lived in adjoining houses—ghosts of Piccadilly and Pall Mall

In sport and open-air games he took neither part nor pleasure, a limitation of activities which was in some degree injurious to his health and curtailed the full measure of his existence Yet undoubtedly Evans, to use Landor's expressive line, warmed both hands before the fire of life He enjoyed the passing hour—the exercise of his intellectual gifts, the movement of the world around him, with its various figures, an amusing story, the sight of a good-looking woman and the sparkle of a glass of champagne There is a certain irony in the fact that so human a personality will only be remembered in the future by the judgments which he delivered in the Prize Court, now enshrined in legal reports and in treatises on international law

E S Roscoe

Admiralty Registry

[8] Mr Morgan May, a barrister who frequently gave his services as the official in attendance in the Prize Court, well recollects how at the end of a day's sitting the judge called him into his room and expressed his regret if he had been irritable, and said that he had been in great pain throughout the sitting

THE CONVOY

II

To those who travel on the high seas every sound that reaches the state-room indicates precisely what is taking place. Thus, if the syren commences regular blasts, a fog has settled down over the ocean; if the patter of feet and the swish of brooms arouse them from their slumbers, the decks are being washed down, and if the clanking of the forward winch vibrates the ship, the anchor is being got in and the hour of departure has arrived.

Always a light sleeper, the grating of the anchor chain aroused me. In a few minutes I was standing on the upper deck. The delusions of the night had vanished; the whole Canal was transformed from a region of uncouth forms and ghostly shapes in strange attitudes to a scene of animation and vivid colour. The terrifying monsters of the night before now reposed peacefully at their moorings, with steam up and signals flying, waiting for the marshalling of the convoy.

The sun was already rising, and a never-to-be-forgotten panorama was laid out before us as our ship hauled out from her berth into the Canal and moved down the fairway half a mile or more to a new position in readiness to take her place in the coming pageant.

We stood, as it were, in the wings of the theatre and could watch the performers enter the stage. Scores of huge steamers in their clownish colours surrounded us. Seaplanes hummed backwards and forwards overhead; motor boats were already picketing the open sea beyond the breakwater, and launches dashed in and out the shipping with officers and last instructions.

Was there ever such a sight to be seen before as 'a fleet in fancy dress' decked out for a masquerade across the ocean?—costumes so diverse and ridiculous that each ship might have been painted by some crazy artist from another world. The commodore's flagship, scarcely a stone's throw distant, was gay with bunting, and all eyes were turned towards her. She was not a battleship, or a cruiser or a sloop, or even a second-class passenger vessel, but a ten and a half-knot squat-bellied freighter masquerading in a crinoline of black and white brocade.

With the precision of a well-rehearsed play each ship moved out into the fairway as her turn came to take up her position in the convoy. First a slim sloop in pale grey, with slender masts and a spider's web of wireless aloft, tripped gracefully past us like a ballet dancer gliding on to the stage. Then two destroyers (the acrobats of the fleet) shot out from the naval basin ready to turn somersaults and perform all sorts of lightning feats. Obviously of the latest design, with high free board, and their after-decks almost awash, apparently without effort their narrow hulls slipped through the sparkling water.

Then the 'K' boats (six of them), till now unseen, shot out from half a dozen different berths. Like harlequins in striped pantaloons, they formed line ahead and bowed and ducked as they reached the open sea; then dispersed to port and starboard to take up their positions on the extreme wings of the convoy. They have an air of cheek and impudence and, in anything but a dead calm, the motion of a rocking-horse as they squelch the waves both fore and aft, and no man knows in which direction they are moving. Some call them double-ended trawlers, as even their own commanders cannot tell you at a little distance which end is the stem and which end is the stern, but they are the most ingenious and invaluable guardians that ever accompanied a convoy on the high seas. They make no boast of speed, but will puzzle the most scientific periscope that ever scanned the horizon, and they are the key-pieces of the 'fleet in fancy dress' as it sweeps across the ocean.

Now one by one the main fleet left their moorings. First the outer port wing forward vessel, then the next in line; the flagship gets under way, and the French liner, crowded with coloured troops, next moves majestically down the channel, then the blue and white *Mahronda*, with a six-inch gun hanging over her counter, and we follow closely in her wake with paravanes unslipped ready for immersion to sweep up the mines that might have been laid in our course.

Now the paravane is the simplest of all war inventions. As we cast off our moorings and took up our position in the line, with all the dignity of one of His Majesty's brand new twin-screw 1,000 ton transports decked out in colours of the rainbow, the paravanes were slung overboard, one from the forward port derrick and one from the forward starboard derrick. There they hung suspended in mid-air, with their torpedo-like bodies, like clumsy models of giant flying-fish. Each paravane has a steel beak with a serrated edge like a pair of pliers always open, and, though innocent of all explosive or independent action, does its work with deadly thoroughness.

As we left the mine-swept channel our ship became the leader

of a line. The winch brakes were released and the paravanes splashed into the water, one to port and one to starboard Simple though they are to look at, they are scientifically constructed, and by means of a rudder and 'stabiliser' maintain a certain depth below the surface some 40 feet from the ship's side

To the stem of our vessel was hinged a stout iron davit From either paravane a steel cable was run to the head of this davit, which by means of blocks and tackle was lowered into the water, so the davit formed a projecting derrick arm beyond and below the bows of the vessel. As the ship proceeds forward towing the two paravanes, one to port and one to starboard, the cable is taut and forms a 'guard-rail' or 'moving boom' about and around the fore part of the ship When the cable comes in contact with the moorings of a submerged mine the mooring slips along the cable till it reaches the beak or jaws of the paravane, which immediately snip the mooring wire in half, and the mine floats harmlessly to the surface at a safe distance from the side of the vessel to be disposed of at the gunner's pleasure. Prudence forbade my asking questions at the time, but I marvelled at this masterpiece of thought and science which has defeated the mine-laying submarine

We were reputed to be a 50,000,000*l*. convoy, and with our escort numbered some twenty-five vessels As each ship drew into the open she took up her appointed place as if taking part in a naval review There were four lines and three to four ships in each line, and three 'K' boats to port and three 'K' boats to starboard of the squadron and a sloop with two destroyers in the van Each vessel had her appointed speed and her appointed place, and they all surged forward as a single ship, but there had been no rehearsal, no manœuvres, no service training—just a scratch lot of merchant steamers fortuitously brought together—yet this mob of independent units was transformed into a trained squadron On our port bow was the chequered flagship, on our port beam, 150 yards distant, the French liner, and now for the first time the perfection of the camouflage was displayed in the open sea

There is a peculiar optical illusion that even the man in the street cannot have failed to have observed when he travels by train If his train passes another train on a parallel line moving in the same direction as he himself is travelling, this other train will, strangely enough, appear to be going backwards Let the traveller imagine the effect of a number of trains without engines travelling at different speeds on parallel lines, and he will at once realise that some will appear to be going in one direction and some in another, though in reality they are all going in one direction.

Now the convoy consisted of four lines of ships, but not all

xactly in line with each other, though moving in one direction. 'irst one, then another, would drop astern or surge forward, so hat from the horizon they formed a moving line, and no man ould detect the individual ships, as the camouflaged hull of one up half screened the camouflaged hull of another ship, and the arkings of the one were merged into the markings of the other. nd the three 'K' boats to port and the three 'K' boats to arboard of the squadron had, as I have said, two bows each— iat is, both ends of these vessels were precisely alike—and they aintained a fixed speed in their allocated positions in their elation to the main fleet

Thus, when the 'U' boat appears on the horizon to port or tarboard, what does he see? The 'K' boats, being the nearest, oom the largest; but in which direction are they moving? pparently first in one direction, then in another, as the conoyed vessels forge ahead or drop astern and pass and repass he 'K' boats

The deception is perfect. If the direction of the convoy annot be detected, the 'U' boat is unable to run ahead over the orizon to lie in wait for the coming fleet Neither will he run ie risk of being run over by the whole convoy if he can avoid it, s even if he sank a vessel he would probably be sunk himself y one or more of the depth charges that every vessel would hurl t him

And so the camouflaged fleet masquerading across the high as confounded the hostile submarine and all his devilish tricks, nd no reward is too great for those individuals whose perception 1st conceived this combination of science and organisation

As we gathered speed through the outer anchorage the grisly lics of the war were all too visible in their grim reality A mile more away to starboard a coasting steamer run ashore to save er sinking In the shallows a Greek schooner and a fishing igger with submerged hulls lay within 100 yards of each other, nd a few cables distant the topmast of a tramp steamer pierced ie sparkling waves.

These tragedies spoke for themselves It would have been a ill mind indeed that wanted further evidence of the perils of ie sea No one knew from minute to minute when the tell-tale ibbles of a torpedo racing through the waters would not be en We stood no chance; we had neither great speed nor iallow draft, neither double hull nor water-tight compartments— ist a gigantic egg-shell with a few partitions Nevertheless, hether real or imagined, there is a feeling of safety in numbers, nd the convoy, though nothing but a fleet of glorified tramps, as a haven of safety to the single ship zig-zagging across the ean A *débutante* at her first ball was not more fascinated

than I was with the endless evolutions of the variegated fleet around us. From daylight to sunset I could watch these ships with never-failing interest, from the scarcely visible destroyers to the ' K ' boats on either wing.

It was the first afternoon Port Said lay far astern, the convoy was in perfect trim, and the sun was approaching the horizon. Sitting on a table on the upper deck with the naval officer (the only passenger besides myself), I observed the leading destroyer run up signals. Dense smoke belched out in volumes from her funnels She turned in her tracks with incredible speed and headed straight for the convoy. Every steamer began to blow her syren Every gong in the fleet boomed out across the water

Like a single ship the whole squadron swung to port, then to starboard, opened out engines, and put on topmost speed

Troops in their life-jackets sprang to attention at the bugle's call, and stood in serried ranks on the deck of the great French liner Every gun was manned, every man was in his place beside the boats

As the destroyer dashed past us in a cloud of spray she tossed overboard from her stern some objects that looked to me like paint drums. Terrific explosions followed one after the other in quick succession Huge columns of water rose into the air, and our great ship of 13,000 tons trembled from stem to stern The destroyer, like some mad creature, turned and twisted in every direction, crossing and recrossing backwards and forwards the site of the explosions, till she was lost to view far astern in dense clouds of her own smoke as the fleet swept on at full speed

It was all over It seemed but a few minutes at most since the gongs had boomed out their ' clear for action,' and the destroyer was lost to sight astern, and yet the events of half a lifetime seem crowded into those few brief moments

Like a dream it sometimes haunts me Every action of myself and those around me still stands out with vivid clearness The sudden spring from the table to the doorway and leaping down the companion to my cabin at a single bound. Seizing my pneumatic waistcoat and buttoning it round me as I ran up on deck again The bo'sun hammering the 4 7 shell-case on the boat deck, the boat's crews running up from all directions at the infernal din The gunners behind their loaded weapons on the poop My eyes riveted on the flying destroyers tossing depth charges into the sea 100 yards away, while I was frantically and breathlessly trying to inflate the waistcoat Confound the thing! It would not fill, and I had no more breath in my lungs It must have a leak, I thought.

The intense expectation. Should I see the torpedo coming?

Obviously our ship was the nearest to the spot where the submarine had disappeared, and at so short a range our ship could not be missed. For a moment I thought the trembling of our ship as the depth charges exploded was due to the explosion of a torpedo in our hold. Indeed, if I had not seen the charges thrown overboard I should certainly have thought so

As the light faded the ships were lost to view and the summer night descended on the seas Would the submarine pursue us and catch us up in the dark ? I wondered But the chance of that was small, I knew, as the commodore of the convoy would outwit the enemy in the hours of darkness

No, it was far more likely that, if the 'U' boat was not already a home for the fishes on the ocean bed, he would continue to cruise about in the vicinity of Port Said looking for other game to prey on A stern chase is a long chase, and that is ill suited to under-water craft with their limited fuel supply As a pursuer he is little to be feared when the ship carries a good marksman, but as a beast of prey lurking in ambush his victims have but little chance of escape He must see before he is seen, hear before he is heard, shoot before he is shot at, or he is in as much danger, when he attacks a convoy in full fighting trim as the intended victim

One day followed another in quick succession, but the evolutions of the 'fleet in fancy dress' never palled The sense of power, strength, and security was seen and felt around us as the great ships swept forward unmolested on their course—the most imposing exhibition of science and organisation that a man could wish to see

They were an endless combination of colour as one ship forged ahead and another dropped astern Again and again as the bows of one ship overlapped the stern of another in the distance it would be impossible to tell where one ship began and where the other ended Every zig-zag marking, every blotch and daub, every stripe and line, that looked so clear and sharp, formed a kaleidoscopic picture of moving ships—sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another—changing their length and even their design

Sometimes a ship had two funnels and one mast, or a few minutes later two masts and one funnel, or two or three vessels would take on the appearance of a single ship with bows first in one direction then in another, as they forged ahead or dropped astern crossing and recrossing the 'K' boats, which maintained a fixed speed on the wings of the squadron

A single mottled liner with three funnels and two masts would suddenly dissolve into a trio of variegated tramps The whole squadron incessantly dissembled and reassembled, and yet they

swept forward as one unit in one direction at ten knots. They cheat the eye, as they are never in the same position for two minutes together, yet they move as a single ship controlled by a single brain.

There is incessant progress, but a multitude of speeds; precise formation, but a medley of units; perfect order, but absurd confusion; a common course, but many directions.

Individually each vessel is an outrage on the artistic sense. Collectively they are a masterpiece in deception. The imagination of an artist, who thinks in leagues and works in miles, with a rainbow for his palette and creation for his model, on a canvas of such vast dimensions that a whole ship is but a detail, and a 20-foot black-and-white diagonal stripe but a finishing touch in light and shade on a picture, you must view from the horizon.

We are never so much in danger as when we feel most secure. It was, I think, the fourth day out from Port Said. The commodore alone knew our exact position, or the course we should be steering in the next half-hour, and all was serene and peaceful as the 'fleet in fancy dress' swept across the ocean.

Sometimes we had a ship right aft, sometimes a ship to port and starboard; but, as I have said, the formation ever varied from minute to minute, and at times we lagged till near the last in the convoy. But we had the speed of the fleet with our twin screws, and could take up any position the commodore desired, and it was not uncommon for us to alter our position more frequently than others. So it did not surprise me to notice in the forenoon that we had dropped back to the last line; but as I stepped on the upper deck after lunch there was an ominous silence, a complete absence of vibration there was no mistaking.

The engines had stopped. Our speed was rapidly decreasing, and the convoy was already slipping from us. A breakdown? There seemed no doubt of it. Some fault in the engine-room—a hot bearing or a leaky joint, I thought; but we shall soon be off again. The minutes fled; we lost all steerage way, and the convoy, now a smudge of variegated colour, was at last lost to view over the horizon.

When a single ship drops out of the convoy, the loneliness of isolation can hardly be more acutely felt. You know they cannot stop—they dare not wait for you; a single submarine might sink half the fleet. Think what you will, put on all the jaunty air of indifference you can muster, the hard brutal fact stares you in the face, hammers in your head, and dances before your eyes, that if a submarine appears, *you must be* the victim. There is no chance. You are hove to—you are stationary. He cannot miss your 13,000 tons of ship and cargo.

The guns on your poop might as well be overboard. You

cannot manœuvre. The bombs in your mortars will reach but a few score yards, and your depth charges, when you lie like a log on the ocean, will hurt no one but yourself if you toss them overboard. Your weapons are blunted and useless, one and all, they mock you as the ship rolls idly on the gentle swell To 'clear for action' in the face of danger is one thing, to lie inactive and incapable of taking action but expecting danger every second is quite another.

However, the fates were kind, no 'U' boat appeared, but an intense satisfaction and relief cannot be denied as the ship once more gathered way, and in a few hours we had regained the convoy The whole fleet will slow down so that stragglers may regain their place, but the convoy cannot, dare not, stop from Port Said to London

Till now fine weather had favoured us, but the late summer of the Mediterranean was drawing to a close, and as we neared the gateway to the Atlantic the wind veered round to the west and storm clouds blotted out the horizon

There is a majestic grandeur about a storm at sea. The gentle, undulating swell is lashed to fury Titanic forces battle with each other, and man's quarrels stand out in all their puny insignificance You feel the deck heave beneath you The salt spray stings you in the face as you hold to rail and stanchion The ship rolls, plunges forward, ships a heavy sea, which surges to and fro across the main deck, but does no harm, and you who have felt and seen this fifty times on fifty different voyages feel greater confidence than ever that the ship will ride the storm in safety You trust your ship against the gale You cannot see her fighting inch by inch, or feel the pressure of the wind against her structure or the strain upon her engines You sink upon an even keel between two rollers, and rise again to the heave of the next great swell with scarce a thought of the enormous bulk and weight, that Nature is treating as you would a paper boat upon a pond

Yesterday we sailed gaily forward masters of the sea, a 'fleet in fancy dress' upon a peaceful ocean To-day Nature flings the masqueraders to the winds and shows us how to camouflage the high seas with inky clouds and seething breakers But it is the ships of the convoy that rivet your attention, plunging in the endless waste of foam-flecked waters, drenched from stem to stern in driving spray—the playthings of the elements as they are tossed from crest to crest It is this apparent helplessness which impresses you The contrast from the ordered progress of the day before

Can they survive such treatment? Already many have been blown from their stations and some are in trouble

The *City of Madras* is a smudge in the distance, or blotted out

Before the days of organised games, Officers' Training Corps, etc., masters had few points of contact with the boys out of school hours. Being of a more academic type, they naturally spent their leisure in study and writing, while the boys seldom met them outside the classroom except on formal occasions. Nowadays masters take a very great interest in almost all of the boys' out-of-school activities, and consequently they not only have opportunities of meeting, but also many more interests in common.

All this is thoroughly good, and it has undoubtedly done much to establish a more friendly relationship. Furthermore strange as it may seem, English public school boys have at last begun to appreciate that there is some good in education after all Doubtless also there has been considerable improvement in methods of teaching, and these two factors have combined to make the boy more interested in his work, with, consequently, fewe scenes of friction in the classroom.

Another cause of bad feeling in the old days was certainly the poor and insufficient food provided at many public schools A parson friend of mine told me that he was at one of the greates of English public schools in the year 1898 and stole food from shop because he was starving. Other boys, whose parent could not afford to give them an allowance, did the same, whil the stealing of potatoes, carrots, turnips, etc., from the field round the school was a common occurrence. The improvemen not only in the food, but also in the care and comfort whic surround boys at public schools, has done much to remove source of legitimate irritation and bad feeling.

Here, then, we have the first great change in the boy's re-action to his environment; antagonism, more or less veiled between master and boy has been replaced by friendship an co-operation.

Parents who have read thus far will no doubt be thinking me as a schoolmaster whose vision is so narrowed that he imagin the influence of the master to be greater than that of the parer Not at all: the only reason why the parent does not come fir in this analysis is that I am nervous of tackling so thorny a subje

But has the parent changed in the last thirty years? Ar if so, how has the change affected the boy?

To the first of these questions we must give an emphat affirmative. The changes have been tremendous—first quantitative, and secondly qualitative

Where are the big families of thirty years ago? How ma brothers and sisters did you have then, and how many sons a daughters have you now? Large families have vanishe smothered under a cloud of income tax demands, school bil and the increased cost of living. A rough calculation of t

from view by rolling banks of clouds. The white peak on her stem as her bows rise high out of the water is the only mark by which she can be recognised. For a brief moment she is poised aloft in a wilderness of curling breakers, then down she sinks till her hull is completely out of sight.

The *Clan Buchanan*, of the famous fighting line, is performing the gyrations of a drunkard in our rear with a disordered helm She wallows in the trough of the seas, and, like some amphibious monster, shakes the water from her turtle-back

The *Mahronda* still keeps her station with her fore deck smothered in sheets of spray as she resists every onslaught with the stolid indifference of a granite breakwater

The chequered flagship—the '*Lady Cheybassa*,' as we called her—has fallen far away astern—once the pride of the fleet, but now in a sorry plight with some internal trouble Again and again, so tremendous is her roll, it looks as if she would burst her stays and send her funnel overboard

To starboard the *Warfield*, a captured German, digs her nose into the waves at every plunge and vomits the seething waters from her scuppers at each roll

Further to starboard the *War Bison* butts her way against the storm She is a standard ship, a haystack of a vessel, with few lines and no beauty She has a small squat vertical funnel with a central upper deck and bridge, and fore and aft she is much alike, so at a distance it is difficult to detect her course. The seas leap at her bluff bows, and her whole hull rises and sinks, but she is wonderfully steady

To port nearly on the horizon is the *Kentucky*, while at times scarce a stone's throw distant from ourselves is the *Kansas* I can hardly take my eyes from her, she is so close She fascinates me as she fights the gale I thought of her as a sleeping prehistoric monster in Port Said Now she is tossed about by the mountainous swell with ludicrous ease She sinks into the watery valleys, till I look down on her streaming decks, as she heels towards us, as a man may look from the upper storey of a house into the street Again she would rise higher and higher, top the advancing wave, and rush forward with alarming speed as we sank lower and lower, till it seemed as if no power could prevent her crashing on to our decks as we heeled towards her and paused to meet the next great wave. At times the whole length of her sea-green bottom rose above the level of my eyes, glistening like the belly of a porpoise as she lurched along beside us

And so the ships of the war convoy fought their way slowly through the gale Since noon we had vainly tried to catch a glimpse of Gibraltar As the light failed the wind dropped, the clouds drifted apart, and the gaunt outline of the rock towered

high above us. But in ten minutes it had again completely vanished, and one by one the vessels were lost to view, till only the gleam of the pale green bottom of the *Kansas* could be seen at intervals as she rose on the crest of a heavy swell.

It was now rumoured that the flagship was putting into the harbour for repairs, and that the commodore would transfer his flag to some other vessel The order came to 'heave to,' and our great ship was soon a lifeless hulk pitching and rolling in the mountainous seas As she fell away her engines would give a few turns to keep her head to the wind, till she again subsided into that unpleasant sagging roll which is peculiar to a heavily-laden ship that has no steerage way

Where were the ships of the convoy? What were they doing? Would they drift hither and thither? In the light of day it would have been interesting to watch the reforming of the squadron after being scattered by the gale In the impenetrable darkness that surrounded us the possibility of collision could not be dismissed

What if a submarine was waiting for us at the entrance to the harbour? He could see the bulk of our vessels against the sky and sink us one by one with ease But torpedoes and submarines and all the infernal devices of the enemy were of less danger than collision The *Kansas*, whose bulk had loomed so large on our port beam but a few minutes ago, could be at no great distance The thought of these huge vessels crashing into each other in the darkness and being crushed like egg-shells was too appalling for the mind to grasp Here we were, one of a number of vessels, two of which we knew were damaged and half out of control, in a narrow strait labouring in a heavy sea, subject to conflicting tides and currents, waiting for we knew not what to happen So the minutes lengthened into hours and still we waited

Though our vessel was a large one, the upper deck in the centre of the ship was of no extent First to port, then to starboard, then ahead, and then astern I peered into the surrounding darkness More than once I felt sure there was a 'K' boat cruising round us Then for a second a blue light would appear in the distance But still we staggered from side to side, gradually regained an even keel, then once again began that interminable roll, which grew worse and worse till one gripped the salt-soaked rails to keep one's feet on the slippery deck as she brought up with that ever-recurring jerk

Would this hideous nightmare never end? Would the signal to get under way never come? Or had we been overlooked and the convoy left us in the dark? Such thoughts obsessed the mind Occasionally my fellow-passenger (a naval officer) would growl about the imbecility of the commodore of the convoy in

'heaving to' in such a dangerous situation, or would dwell on the possibility of his ship having so completely broken down as to be out of touch with the squadron and each captain being left to do as he thought best. But this conjecture was always dismissed as absurd, as no captain would remain in our unenviable position unless by superior orders. Better by far to make for the Atlantic or the harbour than to continue this suspense

As the night advanced the strain became almost unbearable Anything was better than continually pacing the deck and peering into the gloom I felt my way down the companion and clambered into my bunk I tried to read *The Silver Hoard*, a novel the chief engineer had lent me a few nights before with the remark 'It is not a bad yarn,' and even now I can recall the vivid description of those myriads of salmon that ascend the rivers of Alaska and the way they are caught and canned

I dozed, woke, and dozed again The motion of the ship was less violent than on the upper deck, and in my fitful slumbers I dreamed I was once again in that cockle-shell of a boat on the inky waters of the Canal vainly searching for my steamer The exaggeration of dreamland was on every hand, but all was intensely real The darkness through which we pushed our way could be seen and felt—the smallest ship a giant *Lusitania*, the quay wall a precipice 100 feet high, and the anchor cables made of links through which a boat could pass with ease As the moon rose and lighted up the weird designs the waters swirled and eddied, heaved and sank, and rose higher and higher, till we could look upon the decks of the ships that surrounded us on every side First imperceptibly, then faster and faster, the ships in their vivid colours began to move in all directions, and we vainly tried to clutch at passing gangways while the porter's frenzied shouts of 'War-ah-moor' died on his lips Surely they must grind into each other with a deafening crash? But no, in wild confusion they pitched, rolled, and collided without a sound Then our boat seemed doomed as the narrow alley-way between two vessels slowly closed in upon us I saw the look of frantic terror on the boatman's face as he plied the oars with every ounce of strength . with a start I woke

I thought a moment, then the events of the last few hours rushed upon me But what was that familiar sensation? Surely the vibration of the engines

A thrill of relief went through me After all, I argued, it was only to keep her head to wind Still the throb of the engines seemed longer than usual We were moving, there was no doubt about it now The rolling ceased We kept an even keel, and the gentle motion sent me into a soothing slumber as I lay quite still.

A flood of sunshine streaming through the porthole roused me as the steward unscrewed the blackened disc.

I rose and went on deck We were at anchor, and there, not a cable's length distant from our stern, was the inner harbour wall of Gibraltar.

In every direction ships in fancy dress were to be seen, and one by one I picked out the members of our convoy Many of those at anchor were even more gorgeously decorated than ourselves in weird and vivid patterns

In the Canal the ships had jostled one another, but here they were scattered over the sparkling waters of the harbour, and, to add to the brilliance of the scene, nearly every ship was covered with signal flags hung out to dry which fluttered from stays and halyards Once again we were a 'fleet in fancy dress' decked out for a masquerade across the ocean The fortress guns above our heads kept up an incessant cannonade as they practised at dummy periscopes drawn across the harbour, and the marshalling of a convoy for the East added animation to the scene.

Before dark we were once more under way minus our disabled flagship, which we left behind to carry out repairs and to follow on with a seven-knot convoy Neither did the sloop nor the destroyers now accompany the fleet, but our faithful 'K' boats jogged along to port and starboard as before

As I have said, the commodore (who, by the way, had now transferred his flag) alone knew our course But all routes were possible in war-time, and the great sweep we were making into the Atlantic did not concern us as we steered towards the setting sun Fine weather favoured us, the days slipped by without incident, and we crossed the Bay of Biscay

On the seventeenth day out from Port Said we sat at breakfast as usual As the captain rose from the table a quartermaster handed him a message He read it out 'Destroyers in sight'

Though I suppose we had yet to pass through some dangerous waters, a sort of 'thank God for home and safety' feeling came over us as we hurried up on deck to catch a glimpse of our new and welcome escort They soon joined the fleet, and after delivering instructions to each ship by means of a sea line which was trailed over the stern they took up their position ahead of the convoy

At dawn next day we were off Land's End The ships for Liverpool dropped astern and left us, and our faithful 'K' boats went with them. More destroyers joined the squadron, and in our new formation we found ourselves the port-wing ship with a destroyer close on our port beam darting hither and thither in the choppy sea. All hands, from the captain downwards, were in

excellent spirits, and a freedom of intercourse took place which was absent in the early days of the voyage.

I was no stranger to the engine-room. As night fell and unrelieved gloom settled down over the Channel I betook myself below at the chief's invitation. I admired every one of those engineers with a genuine admiration. Many a previous chat I had had with the chief in the snugness of his cabin, and marvelled at the unconcern with which he recounted incidents that before the war would have been published to the world as heroic deeds. He would tell me of the early days in the great blockade when courageous skippers cheerfully rammed the hostile 'U' boat if they saw a tell-tale periscope feathering the water, till the enemy cunningly fixed a periscope to an oscillating mine, and many a good ship met her doom in her gallant attempt at distinction; of the callous indifference of the enemy in sinking ships and casting the crews adrift, and the marvellous shots of merchant gunners that had sent many a submarine to the bottom.

But sooner or later his sarcasm was directed to the shortcoming of his present charge. He would speak with cynical disgust of the leaky high-pressure cylinder gland (to which I had myself drawn his attention on more than one occasion), and the incessant application of the hose-pipe to one of the main eccentric straps excited him to profane comparisons. From bilge pumps to deck winches, 'every blessed thing was tight,' as he expressed it. Not a wheel valve could be moved without the assistance of a wrench or a bolt without a hammer, and it was the rule, and not the exception, to send two men to do one man's job. But the enormity of placing four furnace 16-foot single-ended boilers face to face so close together you could only fire one furnace at a time was the crowning folly he abused, criticised, and condemned as a piece of wicked negligence on the part of her responsible designers. Would he not have liked to have put every single one of them for a week in that infernal stokehold in the Red Sea? With this satisfying vision he would relight his pipe and puff vigorously in silence.

In a cargo vessel such as I was in with twin screws the engine-room and stokehold take up an immense space in the centre of the hull. From the plating on the port side to the plating on the starboard side there is not a vestige of a partition or a bulkhead, neither was there in this ship a bulkhead between the engines and the boilers. The side plating of a merchant steamer is no more protection against the torpedo than a sheet of paper is against your fist. It is shattered beyond hope, and God help the men below if the torpedo strikes the ship square in the engine-room.

That night I explored this death-trap from the stokehold, with its 16-foot Scotch boilers, to the extreme end of the port

shaft tunnel, from which you can climb like a monkey up a vertical ladder that seems endless and emerge below the poop The chief was in a communicative mood He compared the ship and all the machinery in her critically to Royal Mail steamers he had been accustomed to run in far-off peace days, and his remarks were neither complimentary nor flattering to his present charge We paused in our progress down the shaft tunnel, thumbing the bearings as we went, and he pointed out to me the exact spot where the torpedo entered the shaft tunnel of the *War Lance* (a sister ship). He explained with great minuteness and a wealth of detail precisely what occurred and the destructive effects of the explosion at such a vital point

Oddly enough, our present position at sea was not far from the site of this disaster, and his graphic description brought the whole scene to my mind as I gazed at the huge bar of whirling steel and thought of the tremendous power of the explosion that would shatter it to pieces For a moment the apparition of an approaching torpedo ran before my eyes He explained to me how the water rushed into the shaft tunnel and poured into the engine-room , the impossibility of closing the shaft tunnel door against the flood , how the watch scrambled up the ladders with the water at their heels, and left the sinking ship without a shred of clothes except that which they had on their backs It was her first voyage outward bound, and now she lies at the bottom of the English Channel in company with many another gallant vessel that met her fate at the hand of the enemy

We crept back to the engine-room The watch changed over, and the chief told me the family history of these vessels He described them as high-speed tramps, troublesome to manage and extravagant to run How they were built in Japan in record time in a yard that was designed, erected, and finished in record time when speed was considered a safeguard against the torpedo, so they were fitted with twin screws, and held the record speed of fourteen knots for tramp steamers How the British Government bought them on th stocks and handed them over to his company to run The ports they had been to in the East, and her cargo of manganese ore, petroleum and rubber, and tea by the million pounds—enough, as he said, to last all London for six weeks , and I began to realise 50,000,000*l* would hardly buy the whole convoy.

He told me of the outward-bound voyage, how every hold was full to the hatchways with coal, which took three days to unload at Port Said, and how she rolled in ballast across the Indian Ocean in the monsoon and finally ran aground in the Hoogly

'There were,' he was saying, 'three of these ships—sister ships—and they christened them *War Lance*, *War Helmet*, and

War Armour: the grating whirr of the telegraph cut him short. The pointer indicated 'stand by.' I ran up the engine-room ladder to the main deck, then up the companion to the promenade deck, to see what was happening. The captain had just descended from the bridge. 'Anything wrong?' I inquired, 'Nothing,' said he with a chuckle, 'only the admiral is not pleased with me—first I go too fast, then I go too slow'; and he chuckled again in high good spirits—no doubt because the convoy would be safe on the morrow

Next day we continued our promenade up the Channel under the watchful eyes of five destroyers In the late afternoon we strung out 'to line ahead,' and one by one passed through the gateway in the great mine barrier strung from shore to shore It was reported that three men alone knew the road, and at this time it would have been certain destruction from our own mines to have made the slightest deviation from the course That night we dropped anchor in the Downs.

Official statistics tell us that of those who ran our merchant ships during the Great War, 14,661 laid down their lives for their country

E. C Bowden-Smith.

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the Nineteenth Century and After, *10 & 12, Orange Street, Leicester Square, W.C. 2.*

Letters as well as articles will be considered for publication, but letters should be confined to criticism or amplification of articles which have already appeared in the Review. No anonymous contribution is published.

THE

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AND AFTER

XIX- -XX

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FOUNDED BY JAMES KNOWLES

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oys in my house shows that out of a total of sixty-six no less ıan twenty-four are 'only sons,' while a further twenty-three have o more than a single brother or sister Nowadays a family of ve would appear to be very unusual (there is only one boy out of ıe sixty-six from a family of this size), while families of four are ıfficiently rare to be noticeable.

Without pursuing this Malthusian investigation any further, ;t us examine the result of the small family tendency of the resent day. Naturally enough, when the majority of families onsist of one or two children, a boy is individually a much more nportant item in the family life than when he was one out of x or seven. More attention is paid to him; he spends more me in the company of grown-up people than was formerly the ase; during the holidays many households revolve round the nly son, home from school. Thirty years ago the parents of a ırge family would sometimes go to the Continent by themselves; ow they take the boy to winter sports. The multiplication table sed to confine a family theatre-party to rare occasions; nowaays the holidays of many boys are a long round of theatres and ances. The boy of fifteen sits up to dinner, stays at hotels, goes o *thés dansants*—things that would never have been dreamt of in any similar homes thirty years ago.

It is all perfectly natural, and I do not suggest for a moment at there is any harm in these things, but they can be overdone. erhaps the restlessness of modern society is due in part to the fact at so much more is done now to amuse and entertain growing ys and girls that they are helpless when thrown back on their n resources. Certainly many boys return to the more natural nd healthier) life of school thoroughly satiated with the pleasures the holidays. I feel that I am on dangerous ground, and that lignant protests from parents are waiting to fall upon my ad; but let me ask them two things. Have they noticed that eir boys tend to become slightly irritable towards the end of holidays? And what do they do during the holidays to train eir boys to amuse themselves?

In any case, whatever may be the causes, it is a noticeable t that boys of sixteen are inclined to be more grown-up, and re of them want to appear young men of the world, than was case thirty years ago.

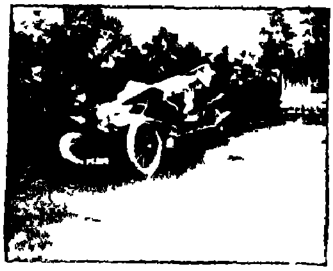
Parents have changed; home life has changed; masters have anged. What is the general effect on the public school boy? hat does he think of, what does he talk about, what is his outk on life, compared with that of the boy thirty years ago?

In a short article it is only possible to direct our inquiry to two subjects which loom larger than any others in the life the boy at school—work and games. Two illustrations leap to

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The titles of articles are printed in italics

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be sufficient to account for a diminished interest in games. Undoubtedly the focus of games enthusiasm must be the school football fifteen or school cricket eleven. The doings of the school teams, the chances of colours being awarded, the possibility of somebody being given a trial in the next match—such are the subjects of never-ending interest in a school where games enthusiasm runs high. Not at all bad subjects, either, when compared with their elders' talk about golf and lawn tennis ; the boys are at any rate concerned with other people's exploits, and not their own.

The way in which the size of the school affects the boy's interest in games is simply that in the very large school the ordinary boy is so much farther removed from the members of the first fifteen or first eleven. In the school of 300 not only has each boy a greater chance of getting into the first fifteen himself, but it will be rare if every house has not one or two representatives in the teams. On the other hand, with numbers increased to between 600 and 800, the boy's chance of representing the school is correspondingly reduced, and it will frequently happen that some houses will continue for several years without any member in a first team. It is not surprising, therefore, if the boys in those houses take less interest in the doings of the teams.

Another reason why some boys will be inclined to lose interest in games is that in many public schools the running of the games is left almost entirely in the hands of the senior boys. Not only does this lead to favouritism and consequent dissatisfaction, but the best value is not got out of the games from an educational point of view Too much power is put in the hands of the youth of seventeen or eighteen when he is able to settle a small boy's whole athletic future by placing him in a 'colts' game where he will have good and continuous coaching, or by condemning him to one of the ordinary games where little or no interest will be taken in his progress. This system tends on the one hand to too great glorification of the athlete, who seems to the small boy to have powers almost equivalent to those of life and death, and on the other hand to boredom for the ordinary boy who is cast into the outer darkness of the distant pitches with never a word of encouragement and advice.

Surely, also, games are such an important part of school life, and can be so valuable an aid in the training of character, that they are a legitimate sphere of influence for the master. At many of the big schools, however, apart from the first games and 'colts,' it is rare for a master to be actively engaged in the regular superintendence of games. I have heard all the arguments about the value to the senior boys in the added responsibility and training in organisation by looking after the games, but I submit

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that this is amply provided for nowadays by the Officers' Training Corps. The development of the Officers' Training Corps at public schools has been most striking during the last few years, and it now plays a most important part in the training of a boy for responsibility and leadership. In the old days of Cadet Corps the work largely consisted in the officers (nearly always masters) standing out on the parade ground and drilling the boys, and, except in the cases of a few senior non-commissioned officers, it is doubtful if the process had any very great value. Nowadays the whole of the training is to teach the boy to command, and it is a splendid thing for junior corporals and lance-corporals to have to take their turn in front of their squads and give them instruction in military exercises.

But to return to games. Let us assume that there is a tendency for the public school boy to grow less interested in games, and let us assume, further, that this tendency, though hardly noticeable at present, is likely, for the reasons given above, at the larger public schools to grow more pronounced in the future. Well, what of it? Does it matter?

To answer these questions we must take it for granted that if the boy begins to take less interest in games he will begin to take more interest in something else; if he does not talk, and think, about games he will certainly talk, and think, about some other subject What subject will it be? 'Work, my dear sir, work and intellectual pursuits,' I can picture a Headmaster of my acquaintance making reply while he rubs his hands with satisfaction. 'At last we are beginning to destroy this fetish of games which for so long has exercised its demoralising influence in public schools. No longer will boys spend all their leisure hours talking and thinking about cricket and football; the art of the Greeks and the charm of conics will take their place.' I do not believe a word of it. Intellectual pursuits will not provide much of an outlet for the hunting instinct and spirit of adventure in the growing boy. It may be all right for a few boys, as it always was, but I suggest that in the majority of cases if boys have little interest in games they will turn to girls. Certainly that is the experience on the Continent, and it is a significant fact that last year boys from a great public school should have risked expulsion to go to dance at a night club. 'The spirit of adventure,' you say. 'Yes, but turned in which direction?'

But now I shall be fallen upon as a crabbed old misogynist by a band of co-educationists, mothers, sisters (especially sisters), dancing mistresses, jazz bands, and the rest. 'Why not?' they cry. 'There is no harm in it. Why shouldn't the boy of sixteen or seventeen take an interest in girls? Why shouldn't he go to *thés dansants* and evening dances?' I protest that I have not

said that there is any harm in it. I am only a humble inquirer, or at any rate only an inquirer, and I merely point to what seems to be a tendency, asking if it be true. My whole aim and ambition is that the public schools of England should continue to produce as fine material, physically, mentally, and spiritually, as they have done in the past, or, if possible, to improve on it in the future. Others are far more competent to judge of the effect of the change, if indeed there is a tendency to a change in this direction. I would ask them to direct their inquiry first of all as to whether one of the underlying reasons for the success of the public school system has been that the interests of boys during their years of growth have been directed towards games instead of girls. Secondly, if there is a tendency towards a change in this direction, let them consider whether it is for better or for worse. If they decide that it is for the better, let us do what we can to encourage the tendency; but if for the worse, then I have indicated ways in which it can be checked. I suggest, however, as rather a striking fact that educational authorities in France, Germany, and possibly other countries are at the present time making great efforts to promote and encourage in their secondary schools a greater interest in games. It would be a queer result if at the end of the next thirty years we found that foreign nations had changed to our system while we had changed to theirs.

STEPHEN FOOT.

THE ADVANTAGES OF A CLASSICAL EDUCATION

THERE may be those who, on seeing such a title as the above, will turn impatiently away, exclaiming against the ineptitude of any attempt to revive so hoary a subject. Enough, and more than enough, of books, articles, and letters to the editor, they would maintain, have been hurled to and fro above what is but little more than the corpse of a controversy. Might it not now be left in peace, buried under its own immense heap of Placets and Non-placets ?

Yet this question of the rival merits of 'classical' and 'scientific' education is one which in some form or other will be with us always, or at least so long as men have the habit of disagreeing on matters which concern them most, for it is one which, when traced to its fundamental elements, will be found to be among the most basic and vital which can ever be propounded. And although so much has been written and spoken on both sides, it may yet be found, when the subject is more thoroughly analysed, that only the fringe has up to the present been touched and that the real reasons why one method should be preferred to the other are overlooked.

The arguments which are generally advanced in favour of a scientific education are, in brief, as follows : that the most important subject of knowledge for terrestrial man is that of the processes and workings of the physical universe in which he lives, together with the laws (when these can be formulated) by which it is governed ; that such knowledge is of primary utility to man, and that in the absence of it he will be unable to direct his life successfully and must inevitably fall a prey to Nature—that is to say, he will be crushed out of existence by the working of those inexorable natural laws which he has not taken the trouble to understand ; finally, that art, literature, philosophy, and religion, though admittedly of value, are more in the nature of beautiful adornments of human life rather than absolute necessities, and that education in these directions should come after and be subsidiary to an education in natural science, which is the primary essential.

Professor Graham Kerr, at a recent meeting of the British Association at Oxford, which forms the subject of a leading article in *Nature* of September 4, 1926, states the case thus. He lays emphasis on the fact that the general truth of evolution is doubted by no intelligent educated man, and that however much biologists may differ from one another as to the nature and causes of variation, they are all agreed that one form of life has gradually grown out of another, and that there has been no interruption of the stream of life by the intervention of a creative *fiat*, however this stream may have started. He goes on to ask, if this be so, why is it that so small a portion of school time is devoted to teaching the all-important truths of science to the young? Why in the twentieth century is our education still predominantly academic and literary? We are living beings, and biology deals with the laws of life and physical science, with the workings of this wonderful universe in which we find ourselves placed; surely it is the knowledge of these things that should constitute the greater part of the teaching which we are to receive when we are young.

Although reasoning of this kind has a plausible appearance, it is only because the case has been but half stated. As the article in *Nature*, from which the above is taken, points out:

> Professor Kerr seems to forget that there are two elements in education; first, the giving of useful information, and secondly, and by far the most important, the training and development of the mind, the instrument by which this information is to be used. The question then arises, 'How do the boys trained in public schools and in their extensions, our older universities, quit themselves in after-life?'
>
> The answer is not doubtful Our political leaders, whatever their shortcomings, are on the whole the best in the world, and it is noteworthy that the exceptions to the rule have not been trained in public schools. Our Darwins, Lyells, Kelvins in most cases began their educations with a classical training Michael Faraday was of course a great exception. Continental scientific men have in nearly every case also had a classical foundation for their education . . .
>
> Space forbids our entering into a discussion as to how the classical training effects its object, but we would direct Professor Kerr's attention to two things First, that great naturalist, Dr Bateson, whose untimely death we all deplore, admitted that he was a 'failure' as far as classics were concerned, yet he led a crusade in favour of the retention of compulsory Greek in Cambridge Secondly, when about twenty-five years ago, classical training on account of its supposed inutility had been reduced to a minimum in American education, the consequences of this step were so flagrantly disastrous that a strong movement was begun to restore this teaching as an essential element in education

Such a pronouncement as the above, coming as it does from so high a scientific authority as the editorial chair of *Nature*, must inevitably carry great weight.

In support of a classical education it is urged that scientific facts in themselves are of little value to human beings unless they can be related to the laws and principles which underlie them; that the knowledge of the physical universe is not of primary importance to man, since he has a spiritual as well as a physical nature, and, since his physical nature exists for the sake of his spiritual side, and not *vice versâ*, it is the knowledge of spiritual truth which is of first importance to him; lastly, that an education which deals mainly with phenomena and external things without relating them satisfactorily to the subjective or abstract realities which are behind them is not only incapable of fulfilling the true office of education, but is actually dangerous, since owing to the undue emphasis laid on one side, and that one the external side of things, an entirely warped outlook is produced, the faculties of the mind which deal with intellectual and spiritual matters are left undeveloped, and there is a tendency to dismiss all things which cannot be weighed and measured by material instruments as unreal and hypothetical.

It is claimed that a classical education not only introduces to the mind subject-matter which is unequalled in its beauty and truth, but at the same time trains the mind to exercise its own powers and thus enables it to arrive at truth at first hand, simultaneously presenting to the consciousness models of all that is best in the method by which truth can be expressed.

> Always in the classics the standard and the touchstone had nothing to say to any degree of merit falling short of what is perfect. . . .
>
> The Greeks were not merely a highly gifted, but an amazingly brilliant race, and everything they made is marked by beauty and fitness, without excess or extravagance. . . .
>
> It was sometimes said that this complex age had nothing to learn from the Greeks because, for example, they knew nothing of Science with a big S, or of the problems of a scientific and industrial civilization. But the statement was, in Aristotle's phrase, manifestly at variance with notorious facts. The great value of the Greeks was that their life was simple, and their minds were courageous and free, and therefore with clear vision they faced all the essential problems of humanity.[1]

Such are the arguments advanced in support of the two types of education, but before weighing the one set against the other it may be well to consider briefly the real nature of education itself. One of the most notable features of the modern misuse of language is the manner in which words whose true meaning is inherent in their very form are violently distorted into quite a foreign connotation. How many psychologists, for instance, would admit that their science had anything to do with the soul,

[1] Presidential Address of the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Hewart of Bury, to the Classical Association in Manchester, quoted from *The Times* of October 9, 1926.

and how many teachers really believe that the most important part of education is not the putting in, but the bringing out? This is a fundamental point, for if the real purpose of education were to cram, pump, or insert into the mind something which was not already there, then the scientific method would be unequalled, for the number of scientific facts is already vast and continually increasing, and the mind thus inflated could go on being expanded until it either burst or was filled to capacity.

But real education is not a driving in, but a drawing out. What, then, is this something which, if it is to be drawn out, must already be possessed? The something which it is the office of education to draw out is the totality of the innate ideas of truth which are already in the mind, albeit in a latent or unconscious condition. The fact that the mind does possess these innate ideas, or this potential knowledge, is conclusively proved by Plato in the dialogue *Meno*, and, although their reality has been questioned by some modern philosophers, it is obvious that no actual knowledge of any kind could be acquired unless there were already in the mind a potential knowledge of some description. For example, no amount of teaching could ever teach a child to distinguish between a human being and a tree unless there were already in its mind some kind of subjective 'idea' or inner criterion to which the external objects could be related. The whole object of education is the awakening or leading out of this potential knowledge. The mind of a child is unaware of the ideas or truths which it contains, because its attention has not been directed to them, but as soon as the teacher does direct its attention to these truths the child at once recognises them. A familiar example is a mathematical or geometrical demonstration. The child at first is unaware of the conclusion to be demonstrated, but when the steps of the proof are gone through in an orderly manner it at once recognises the truth which is involved.

It follows that the mere storing of the mind with facts does not constitute education in any sense of the word, but may even render the real process of education more difficult. The distinction between facts and truth is one which is often overlooked. Truth is the conformity of the thought of the cognising consciousness to the thing or reality cognised; it is attained in so far as the idea in the mind really corresponds to the existence or being to which it refers. But a fact is merely a thing done or accomplished. No number of facts relating to phenomena could ever constitute truth, or give to the mind real knowledge, unless such facts were related to the causes and principles behind them. Knowledge of facts is of little value unless these facts can be related to each other and explained in the light of laws and principles. But these laws and principles are not in themselves phenomenal or

material, for although they may be recognised as operating in phenomenal objects, and their workings may explain perceived facts, they themselves are not dependent upon the objects or facts and are therefore immaterial or noumenal. They are, in fact, aspects of these same truths, or ideas of truth, which are innate in the human mind, for the same laws operate both in man and in the universe, and it is only because man has these 'ideas' or principles already latent in himself that he can recognise them in the workings of Nature.

The problem of the educator is to convert this potential knowledge into actual knowledge, or to confront the mind with truth in such a manner that it is immediately recognised and becomes a conscious possession.

In a certain sense the whole of life is education, since from birth to death man is perpetually confronted with an amazing variety of objects and events which it is vitally important for him to understand. The physical universe and the physical and phenomenal side of things generally are like a great puzzle which can only be solved completely when all external phenomena can be fully related to their subjective causes. But if man had been confronted with these mysteries, upon the solution of which his whole well-being depends, without being given the faculties by which he might solve them, then he would be the most miserable creature on the face of the globe. On examining the real nature of man, however, it becomes increasingly clear that he has all the necessary faculties, and that only the training which a real system of education can give is necessary in order that he shall be able to use them. Thus the faculties which enable him to direct the physical side of his life, such as senses, instincts, and memory, are operative in all normal human beings; but those which pertain to the abstract, intellectual, and spiritual side of his nature require definite and deliberate training, for since they are higher and more important than those which pertain to the physical side, they appear later in life and take longer to mature. Human beings may and frequently do live a moderately successful physical life without developing the power of abstract thought, but in so far as they do this they are leaving unrealised the greater part of their own possibilities.

These are the faculties which education must bring out into activity, for these alone can really explain to man his own nature and the nature of the universe in which he finds himself. The other faculties may supply him with data, but they can never give explanations; they may record instances, but they can never formulate laws. In order to understand any fact it is necessary to relate it by means of the reason to its cause, and in order to realise the true nature of any effect it is necessary to

trace it back to its original cause. Facts, to a mind which has not learnt to reason, are like heavy weights which prevent it from moving. They are more useless to it than petrol to a horse.

In considering any method of education we have first to examine its subject-matter, the actual content of the body of knowledge which the mind derives from it and its utility or inutility, and secondly, and more important, the effect on character, the extent to which it enables the individual who undergoes it to actualise his potentialities and take his place in life.

The subject-matter of a scientific education includes the nature, processes, and laws of the universe and of man, or so we are told. But when the actual content of a scientific education is examined it is found that many of the 'laws' formulated are hypothetical, many of its conclusions tentative, and that its totality includes more than one hitherto unsolved contradiction. Moreover, it is admitted that ultimate causes have not yet been reached. Science has not yet arrived at the stage of being able to relate either the universe or man to the First Principle, which is the Author of both. It has not yet solved the secret of life, or the mystery of consciousness, or the nature of matter. We neither belittle the devoted labours of the scientists who havee investigated and are now investigating these problems, nor do we disparage the many benefits which scientific discovery has brought to the world; but we are considering the question from the point of view of education.

It is one thing to realise the necessity of scientific investigation and its importance in solving our industrial problems, but it is quite another to advocate the training which it involves as a means for educating young minds at an impressionable stage, and before they have been trained to think for themselves or have had enough experience of life to give them a balanced outlook. We may fairly ask whether it is wise or safe, or in any way justifiable, for the educator to store the mind of a growing boy or girl with a body of 'facts' many of which are unexplained, with a system of 'laws' which are liable to be changed within the next few years, and, in a word, with a mass of knowledge totally unrelated to ultimate principles and real causes. The effects are obvious enough Most biologists are avowed atheists, while physicists tend more to agnosticism; but the whole tendency of present-day scientific education is towards the most barren materialism.

The subject-matter of the classics, also, deals with the universe and with man; they also deal with the relation of these two to God. Although it is the modern fashion to disparage the scientific knowledge of the ancients, it may yet be found, when certain obscure and profound passages are more fully understood, that they knew are more of the ultimate nature of things than we imagine.

But the subject-matter of the classics is all-various. Whether we turn to them for history or myth, lyric or epic, comedy or tragedy, philosophy or theology, we shall find it perfect of its kind. To quote the words which Lord Hewart puts into the mouth of his imaginary witness to the value of the classics :

> It would be odd, would it not? if the witness had not the courage to say that, as there is nothing new under the sun, and nothing modern except perhaps more rapid and dangerous methods of locomotion, there is no contemporary puzzle or problem upon which the ancient classics do not throw light . . . What better illumination is to be found for the graver and underlying difficulties of the present century than the memorable passage in which Plato, comparing the condition of the State with the condition of the human body, employs all the resources of a vocabulary at once varied, cogent, and precise to explain the reason why we do not say that a man's finger is in pain but do on the contrary say that the man himself is in pain in his finger?

The argument is sometimes advanced that the subject-matter of the classics has no practical utility The question is of course dependent upon the standards by which practical utility is judged. But in the most strictly utilitarian walks of life the product of a classical education will be at an advantage because the more rigorous superior training of his mind will enable him to marshal and reduce to order details and facts without difficulty. This was abundantly proved in the war when it was found that for producing organising ability and initiative a classical education was unequalled. Moreover, in dealing with any modern problem he will have in his mind a host of instances, the accumulated experience of artists, statesmen, and philosophers certainly not inferior to those of to-day. And if utility is to embrace, as it must. something besides success in amassing wealth, then the studies which perpetually introduce to the mind masterpieces of truth and of beauty will be found in the ultimate weighing up to be the most useful of all, since they give to the intellectual and spiritual nature its proper and necessary food. For just as the physical body is changed and modified by the kind of food which it takes in and assimilates, so also, and in a more permanent manner, are the intellectual nature and outlook changed by the subject-matter of education A diet of 'solid' facts, concrete instances, and the dry bones of mathematical formulæ produces in time a hardening and rigidity of the mind, a fatal sclerosis of the intellect which gradually renders the individual incapable of dealing with abstract ideas or of considering any subject except through the obscure diminishing glass of a mechanical materialism.

But subject-matter is not the only factor to be taken into account in the consideration of any system of education. Even more important is its general effect on character, individual and

collective, and the degree in which it is effective in educing o making active the latent powers which are in all human beings Can it be said that a scientific education in itself alone is adequate ? Does it enable a child to understand life in the fullest sense of the phrase and fit him to take his place therein ? What have scientists themselves to say on the matter ?

No one can feel satisfied with the results which the widespread teaching of science in Great Britain has so far produced. The majority of men appear not to have retained the merest fragment of the scientific facts they presumably learnt at school, and they certainly show no signs of having assimilated scientific principles and method. Even among men of science themselves it is not rare to find science regarded as a craft rather than as a philosophy, and a successful chemist or physicist is often on no higher an intellectual level than a skilled motor mechanic In these circumstances, science will still advance so long as destiny throws up from time to time the man of insight and genius—the Dalton, the Clerk-Maxwell, the J. J. Thomson—but is that progress likely to be as thorough or as rapid as would be desirable ? Is it in the least degree probable that the intellectual advance of the nation at large will keep pace with even a comparatively slow advance of science if present conditions continue ? It seems that the answer to both these questions must be a regretful 'No'; whereupon the further question arises. What will be the effect upon civilisation if the general intellectual level lags seriously behind the progress of science ? [a]

The late war, the writer goes on, showed us what may happen if the powers and forces of science are misapplied. He then deals with the argument that men of science collectively are not responsible for the misuse of scientific knowledge, pointing out that, although in a certain sense science is non-moral, it is impossible to divorce science from the scientist, who is human and shares human responsibilities.

Knowledge of the powers of Nature may be only a curse to man if he has not also the knowledge of the purposes for which those powers are to be used. But it is precisely this latter kind of knowledge which a modern scientific education cannot and does not even pretend to give, since science in the sense in which we commonly use the word regards all that belongs to the spiritual side of things in which alone is the true purpose of material things, to be found as entirely outside its domain. What is to become of the next generation if it is to-day possible for one of the most promising products of a modern biological school to state in all seriousness that man is a purely material and mechanical being, the essential of his nature which distinguished him from other creatures consisting merely of a different arrangement of molecules ? This is no hypothetical case, nor is it an uncommon one.

[a] 'The Influence of Science,' by E J Holmyard (a review of *Science and Civilisation*, Essays Arranged and Edited by F. S. Marvin): *Nature*, October 16, 1926.

The only education which can ever be adequate in the full sense of the word is one which will confer on him who undergoes it the power of solving problems for himself, by the light of his own reason, which will unfold to him in orderly stages the principles of his own human nature and the nature of the universe in which he finds himself, together with the knowledge of the Source from which all things came and the purpose for which they exist. This is not an impossible ideal of education, but one which is within reach at the present day. It demands, however, one great requisite, and that is the complete and adequate training of the human mind. The problems by which the modern world is confronted might without exception be solved if those who exercise themselves in their solution had enjoyed education which had developed to the full their power of reasoning.

Atheism, agnosticism, and scepticism are not, as is sometimes imagined, signs of intellectual maturity, but of intellectual adolescence. Spiritual realities are more real, and therefore more certain, than any particular thing or isolated fact. Our doubts as to their reality and demonstrability have arisen, not because our intellectual attainments are superior to those of the ancients, but because we have not yet reached their level, not because we now know more of the true nature of things than was known 3000 years ago, but because our attention has been so much directed to the phenomenal and the sensible that we have almost lost sight of the noumenal and the intelligible, in which alone is the ultimate explanation of things which we touch and see.

To take but a single instance of the false conclusions which are apt to be arrived at when facts are dealt with by minds untrained in the real art of reasoning. In a passage already referred to we find the statement that the general truth of evolution is doubted by no intelligent man Now what exactly does this imply ? The ' facts ' of evolution are well known and generally admitted—namely, that in Nature we observe a scale of existences ascending in complexity and degree of intelligence from the amœba at the one end to man at the other. But when it is argued from this that the lower could have produced the higher, that a lesser degree of intelligence could by itself have given rise to and been the producing cause of a greater degree, or, in the popular parlance, that man could have ' descended ' from the monkeys, the absurdity of the theory based upon the facts is obvious. Before anything can evolve or come into manifestation in the physical world it must first subsist as a perfect potentiality in the world of thought.

This is but a single example of the errors which are inevitable when the proper training of the mind is neglected. One often hears it said that the most important things in life, such as the

collective, and the degree in which it is effective in educing or making active the latent powers which are in all human beings. Can it be said that a scientific education in itself alone is adequate? Does it enable a child to understand life in the fullest sense of the phrase and fit him to take his place therein? What have scientists themselves to say on the matter?

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This is but a single example of the errors which are inevitable when the proper training of the mind is neglected. One often hears it said that the most important things in life, such as the

reality of God or the divine origin and immortality of the human soul, cannot be proved. But this is plainly due to a misconception of the nature of reality, since, if it is possible to prove anything at all in human life, the reality of the Creator of all things must be the most easily proved of all; and if it is possible for man to have *certain knowledge* of anything, he must be capable of investigating the nature of his own soul. Our difficulties are in a great measure due to the fact that we are inclined to keep the spiritual and the intellectual in two distinct and watertight compartments. But, as Tudor Jones has said, ' many have conceived of spiritual life as something entirely different from the mental life. It is different, but only as the bud is different from the blossom.'

It is not, of course, contended that the ordinary classical education will by itself suffice to train the mind to a self-evident and luminous comprehension of reality and truth. Nor does it supply fully the three essential requisites outlined above. But it is claimed that it lays the foundations for the proper training of the mind in a manner quite beyond the possibilities of a purely scientific education, and that what is, so to speak, built into the structure of the developing consciousness during its pursuit will be a real and permanent possession and not merely a system of theories, more or less tentative, that the scientific discoveries of to-morrow may supersede.

As Lord Hewart has said:

> And without doubt our witness would have much to say of the value of Latin Prose as an instrument of education—that subtle and testing exercise which, while it demands not only grammatical accuracy, but also literary knowledge and imagination, compels a person even against his will to be perfectly honest with his own mind, never imagining or persuading himself that he understands or can express what he has only half thought out.

Perhaps that is the greatest benefit which any education can confer—a complete intellectual honesty developed by a constant stimulus to real thinking. But an education which deals mainly in facts, real or supposed, will eventually cause the process of abstract creative thought to become more and more difficult, at the same time blinding the consciousness to nearly all that makes life worth living.

To sum up in the words of one who, for all that he fell foul of the official classicists of his day, yet had more of the true spirit of the Greeks than many an Athenian—the great Thomas Taylor. Speaking of the difference between the pursuit of knowledge by experimental methods and by philosophic reasoning he says:

> No less remarkable is the difference between the tendencies of the two pursuits; for the one elevates the Soul to the most luminous heights and to that Great Ineffable, Who is beyond all altitude; but the other is the cause of a mighty calamity to the Soul, since, according to the elegant

expression of Plutarch, it extinguishes her principal and brightest eye—the knowledge of Divinity.

In short, the one leads to all that is grand, sublime, and splendid in the Universe; the other to all that is little, grovelling, and dark.

The one is the parent of the most pure and ardent piety; the genuine progeny of the other are impiety and atheism.

And, in fine, the one confers on its votary the most sincere, permanent, and exalted delight; the other, continual disappointment and unceasing molestation.

It remains to consider what is the peculiar quality which gives to the classics their unrivalled potency as an education. Other nations have had, and have, great literatures; yet in the opinion of the highest authorities, they are not so suitable as educational agents as the literatures of Greece and Rome. What was it that gave to the life of Greece its marvellous vividness and to that of Rome its massive dignity? The culture of Rome, while it imparted its individual characteristics to its literary masterpieces, yet owed much to Greece. What, then, were the mysterious sources from which the Greek writers derived their inspiration? The original source of that civilising influence which gave to Athens her brilliance and to Rome her *gravitas* was Egypt. For thousands of years before the time of Pericles there had existed in that country a civilisation which produced works of art before which those of Greece itself grow dim, with a religion of a beauty and sublimity unsurpassed in the history of the world. The wisdom of the Egyptians was no fable, or it would never have caused the master-minds of Greece, such as Pythagoras and Plato, to spend years of their lives in the Egyptian temples for the purpose of acquiring it. In Egypt herself this wisdom found expression in the religion, the culture and art which to-day we endeavour in vain to fathom, and when Greece was touched by its influence all her many-coloured genius flamed out in splendour. This it is that gives to Plato his quality of timelessness, to Homer his eternal youth: this influence, bubbling over into Greek tragedy, has lifted it beyond the processes of decay—it has vivified and transfigured every Greek art. It may not be an obvious or even a direct influence, but it is there, a subtle something woven into the very texture of Greek thought. To-day official anthropology, having outgrown its tendency to regard the Egyptians as a primitive people, is coming to regard Egypt as the primal fountain of all our civilisation.

The Egyptians had undoubtedly solved many of the more fundamental problems about which we are still perplexed. Their wisdom included a knowledge of the real system of the universe. And it is because the best Greek literature is founded on truth

[illegible] are our modern literary achievements that its appeal to the human mind is so strong. To take, for instance, the case of Homer. The *Odyssey* is much more than a mere tale of adventure, though even as such it would be a work of transcendent genius. But beyond its literal meaning it has a symbolical one: it is a profound allegory describing the wanderings of the human soul. Even this may not exhaust its meaning, for it may yet be found, when its symbology is rightly interpreted, that scientific truths which we believe ourselves to have recently discovered are contained in it. Whether Homer himself consciously intended all these meanings when he wrote the poem is immaterial, for an inspired poet often expresses more than he himself understands; the point to be emphasised is that as these profound truths were known and formed a part of the general background of thought, they were expressed in one aspect or another by the creative artists of early times.

It is because the works of classical writers form collectively an expression of truth far more complete than any other literature in the world that their value in education is so great, for even if, as may be the case in reading Homer, the mind is not conscious of the more profound meaning behind the literal one, yet because that meaning is there, because the work as a whole is founded upon truth and deals with real principles, the mind is conscious of a satisfaction and a sense of security which the most charming and brilliant writings which were based merely on speculation or fantasy could not give.

The Greek myths, too, contain treasures which we have hardly begun to investigate. The more crude their form the more profound, as a rule, is the truth to be found in them. Where, outside of the classics, could one find such a collection of stories, tales that can delight a child and afford subjects of meditation for a philosopher?

> Nor [says Lord Hewart] are we at all likely to suppose that any mere accident can explain why the same studies—to go back to the distinction drawn by Aristotle between the various functions of education—serve for the building of character, for present and future intellectual enjoyment and for amusement and rest. We recall once more Mr. Justice Denman's words:
>
> '*puero vix intellecta . . . gaudia quanta seni.*'

Even yet we do not perhaps realise the full possibilities of a classical education. The greatest treasures which the classics contain we often pass by through lack of appreciation. Plato we have not, as a nation, begun to understand. If taught, as they too often are at present, without the knowledge of the more profound aspects of Greek thought which is necessary to vivify them fully and relate them satisfactorily to the problems of the

actual life of the present day, they can yet mould the character and give an intellectual background which is the most precious equipment a man can have, what will be the effect when all their treasures are explored and made available, when their philosophy at length receives its due measure of attention, and the secrets which enabled their writers to become such masters in the art of using language are revealed? Then perhaps the true education of the human race will begin, the unfolding of those mighty creative powers which are latent in man, occasionally bursting out in some transcendent genius, but not as yet systematically cultivated and unfolded.

The path to the millennium is through the actualising of the real intellect of man, that spiritual side of his nature which enables him to see things as they are and not as they seem to be. It is the νοῦς of Plato and the Neoplatonists, that pregnant word which in English we translate variously by spirit, intellect, or mind. In this true education the classics are essential, for by them the mind may be led on from poetry to history, from history to philosophy, encountering at every step a model perfect of its kind. Thus the consciousness will not only be introduced stage by stage to ultimate reality and the intellect trained in the methods whereby it may easily investigate or test any concept which is presented to it, but the individual will also and simultaneously acquire the power to express himself with the utmost lucidity and grace. Nor is this but an idle dream; rather it is the direction which education must inevitably follow as soon as its true function of drawing out rather than of cramming in is more generally remembered. The day of the classics is not past—it has hardly dawned. For over 2000 years we have been content to be enthralled by their beauty; very soon we shall realise that they can also illuminate us with their truth.

George H. Bonner

POETRY AND EXAMINATIONS

Some twenty-five years ago at school we were given a card on which was printed Longfellow's *Wreck of the 'Hesperus.'* This was the raw material for our weekly lesson on English poetry for a whole term. For twelve weeks we worked every conceivable exercise the master could devise with that poem; we analysed it, we parsed each word and learned its etymology, and we learned the verses by heart so that some of us could almost repeat them backwards. To this day I find it difficult to keep calm when I hear that first line, 'It was the schooner *Hesperus*.' The sound of those words brings back memories of dull hours spent with that pale green card. It is hardly necessary to say that I have an unyielding prejudice against Longfellow, and it took some years before poetry meant anything to me except complete boredom. It may be said that it was a poor thing we were dissecting; but in a higher form they were carrying out the same thorough operations on *Il Penseroso*.

This inhuman treatment of poetry is no longer tolerated in most schools. Well-printed and tastefully bound anthologies are now used in place of the single poem on a card. The grammatical analysis of fine poetry is generally condemned, for most teachers of English realise now that their business is not to pull masterpieces to bits for study under the microscope, but rather to pass on something of the pleasures of poetry to their pupils. This applies chiefly to the teaching of English in junior forms; as soon as examinations loom ahead methods must change, for examining bodies are the last to recognise sound advances in teaching methods. This is particularly clear in the papers they set on poetry and on the plays of Shakespeare. The questions necessitate a minute study of poems and plays which robs them of their charm and appeal. It is for this reason that some of us have a feeling in the theatre when a Shakespeare play is being performed that we are back at school. Few of us would like to study intensively for a year 'Selections from Shelley,' or to answer at the end of that period such a question as:

Give an account of the two poems *Arethusa* and *The Hymn of Pan*, with some explanation of their mythological allusions.

Yet that was set to boys in a recent first school examination.

Of late years the publication of plain text editions of Shakespeare has increased—this is a good sign—and many schools use these for junior and middle forms. The pity is that when the boys get into the examination form they generally have to use fully annotated editions with long introductions. The possible effects of this may be estimated by a consideration of two such editions, both of which have sales such as any novelist would envy.

The first is an edition of *Julius Cæsar*. There are 253 pages, mostly of small type; of these, 73 make up the introduction, which describes the characters in detail to prevent any misunderstanding in the reader's mind. The opening paragraph is worth quoting:

> Adherence to the fundamental rules of characterisation is of vital importance, and contributes much more to the excellence of a play than do the Unities of Time and Place Hence it is not surprising to find that Shakespeare pays much more regard to the former than to the latter. The principal rules by which a dramatist is guided may be called, respectively, the Laws of *Distinctiveness, Contrast, Consistency* and *Effectiveness.*

After each character has been studied in the light of these amazing laws, a history of Rome is given, followed by an abstract of the play; this is helpful to those who find it difficult to follow the plot! At p 75 the text begins. A running commentary is kept up in the margin; it is explained, for instance, that 'ruddy drops' means 'drops of blood,' and that 'good cheer' means 'be of good cheer.' The text ends at p. 160. But the ingenuity of the editors is by no means exhausted. Twenty-nine pages of supplementary notes follow; amongst other things, for example, we are told that the spleen is 'a spongy viscus near the large extremity of the stomach.'

The next topic considered is the grammar of Shakespeare. Here are to be found examples of the use of the nominative absolute, double superlatives, and the ethic dative. On the whole, Shakespeare comes through the test rather badly. The following reads like a note on a schoolboy's essay:

> 'CAS.: Upon what sickness?
> BRUT.: Impatient of my absence,
> And grief that young Octavius with Mark Antony . . .'
> (Act iv., sc. 3, 152.)
>
> Strictly speaking this should be 'Impatience.' Brutus began as if he were going to say 'She was impatient of my absence and full of grief.' But Shakespeare, writing rather loosely, mixes the two constructions.

'Writing rather loosely' is good—very good.

[illegible] disposing [illegible] the next top [illegible] have thought t[illegible] [illegible] words of the play co[illegible] [illegible] glossary is added; we are giv[illegible]

[illegible] to grind with the teeth; hence to ruminate, ponder up[illegible] [illegible] upon this,' Act I., sc. 2, 171).

The book finishes with ten pages of closely printed examinati[illegible] papers.

An edition of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* is by anoth[illegible] hand. It is equally full of annotations. There are 224 pages i[illegible] the book; of these 52 form the introduction; there are 74 page[illegible] of text; the notes take up another 43; and these are followed b[illegible] a glossary, notes on sources, metre and grammar. Some idea o[illegible] the sale of these school editions may be gathered from the fa[illegible] that between 1893 and 1923 this particular play was reprinte[illegible] sixteen times.

It is important to understand why the teaching of Shakespeare's plays and of English poetry in upper forms has remained so conservative while in junior forms it has become more humane The reason lies in the present examination system There has been certainly some improvement in the type of questions set recently Twenty years ago boys were expected to answer such questions as these on *The Tempest*.

(*a*) Derive *by 'r lakin, 'em, ecstasy*, and trace the Elizabethan sense of the last word from its etymology

(*b*) Point out and explain any grammatical peculiarities in the following

' The broom groves,
Whose shadow the dismissed bachelor loves being lass-lorn.'

(*c*) In what peculiar sense does Shakespeare use the prepositions *for, from, of, to, out*?

An advance has been made on this kind of question; but the following, set last year, is not calculated to inspire any boy with a love of *Twelfth Night*:

Give the context of the following passages and write notes on the words and phrases in italics :—

(*a*) '*Misprision* in the highest degree! Lady *cucullus non facit monachum*; that's as much to say as I wear not *motley* in my brain.'

(*b*) 'The free maids that weave their *thread with bones*
Do use to chant it, it is *silly sooth*.'

Three other extracts were set for similar treatment; but the two given are sufficient to show the type of question still given in public examinations. For a boy to prepare for such detailed questions he must of necessity cram a great deal of useless know-

[illegible] of [illegible]. The examiner's difficulty is to invent questions which will prove that the play has been studied in detail. It is easy to set examination papers on subjects which entail exact information. Language is obviously such a subject, but the appreciation of literature presents a different problem. A knowledge of the anatomy of literature—its history, its forms, and the figures of speech—has interest of a limited kind, and may be a real aid to appreciation ; but under the present system these accidentals tend to become the end of study in themselves, so that in the process of acquiring such knowledge literature is smothered.

The problem is serious for all lovers of our poetry. Every persuasion is now brought to bear on parents to keep their boys at school until they can sit for the first examination. The mischief is done when they begin to grind for that certificate. Up to that time they probably have enjoyed their English work in Shakespeare and in poetry. They have been accustomed to treating a play as a play ; they have taken parts in reading ; perhaps they have performed some scenes before their fellows or in public. The English master has reduced explanation to a minimum, and has quite frankly omitted passages which he felt were beyond the understanding of his pupils. But when the certificate work begins, all this must change. For a year they study a play intensively with the aid of such editions as those described. They have to cope with the ingenuity of an examiner who may not understand what is legitimate to expect from a boy, and who probably has lost touch with boy life and whose standard is rather that of the honours student in English.

In a recent report by the examiners on the papers submitted in a first school examination of 1925 the following passage occurs :

> In some schools candidates had evidently been furnished with dictated analyses of certain poems (especially *Lycidas*), a whole class would sometimes send up almost identical answers obviously learnt by heart—occasionally even in tabulated form.

An examiner of considerable experience has told me that it is often possible to group candidates by schools according to their answers. These two statements show the futility of examining boys in English poetry.

It may be said that the fault lies with the teachers of the subject rather than with the examiners. To this it may be answered with truth that not all English masters have a love for literature. In many schools much of the English teaching is done, and in the nature of things must be done, by men who have no special interest in the subject, but who have to take periods

of English to fill up their time-tables. When a school is large enough to have specialists it quite naturally looks first for a mathematics, a science, or a modern language specialist. Only a very large school can afford to have an English specialist. It may further be pointed out that although payment by results is no longer an officially recognised system, yet any master who has many failures in the first school examination soon finds himself in difficulties, and if the failures are continuous he must give up his position. Schools are now judged efficient, or otherwise, according to their successes in this particular examination. It cannot be wondered, therefore, that many masters use the method of dictated analyses when dealing with poems of difficult subject-matter like *Lycidas*. After all, very few boys and very few grown-ups really enjoy poems of that type—many are incapable of appreciating these things; but if boys are examined in their knowledge of great poems the masters feel that they must somehow or other get them to learn the stock criticisms, for they realise that to many boys the passing of this examination is of great importance to their future careers. It is no good blaming the schoolmaster; the examiners have set the pace, and somehow or other the boys must be got up to standard.

The way out of the problem seems to be to omit appreciation of poetry and drama from public examinations. There would still be ample scope for testing the knowledge and use of English. The study of our own language might very well be made more thorough with benefit to all. It would be useful to include the study of the development of the language on the lines of such books as Bradley's *Making of English*, Wyld's *The Growth of English*, or Jesperson's *Growth and Structure of the English Language*. Such topics as prosody, figures of speech, the forms of literature and the bare facts of the history of English literature—without opinions on actual books—are legitimate subjects of examination. This more detailed knowledge of our language and of the technique of literature is a valuable aid to that appreciation which should be the fine flower of our teaching, unblasted by the dry wind of examinations.

The problem of the examining of literature was considered by the Departmental Committee on English (1919), and in the Report it is stated:

> Sir Stanley Leathes informed us that the Sub-committee—who framed the English regulations in the new Class I. Civil Service Examination had been unanimous as to the difficulty of examining on literature, but they had recommended its inclusion among the options of the examination because they felt that to omit it altogether would react injuriously on the teaching of English literature in Universities and elsewhere.

This merely creates a vicious circle. Surely we have not reached

such a stage of examination frenzy that we only read English literature, and encourage our pupils to do so, because it is an examination subject! No subject is so quickly paralysed by the icy hand of the examiner. The fact that we have forced boys and girls to study poems and plays so intensively may account for the few real readers there are amongst us. There is an interesting passage in Mr. Stanley Unwin's book *The Truth About Publishing* which bears on this point:

> For the fact that more and better books are not read, we are all in a measure responsible. It is not the unwanted books that bar the way. It is the lack of early training and the lack of guidance. It is often a lack of knowledge or an absence of the realization of the joys of reading and the inexhaustible treasures of English literature.

I would rather say that it is misdirected early training, to which we may attribute the undoubted fact that as a people we do not appreciate serious literature. Who, indeed, could be expected to enjoy the poems of Wordsworth if he has had to study a selection from them for three school terms with the prospect of a public examination at the end of that time? And nothing is sacred to the examiner. For 1927 these are some of the prescribed books at which boys and girls of fifteen and sixteen are now working in the hope of 'knowing' them well enough to 'pass': Tennyson's *Arthur*, Arnold's *Sohrab and Rustum*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, and Keats' *Poems*.

Much of our prose literature may profitably be studied intensively; but this cannot be said of our poetry. The love of poetry is too delicate a thing to treat in such a scientific fashion. Young boys naturally enjoy poetry, and teachers of English know how much joy their pupils will get from the reading of poetry provided the pace is not forced. As soon as that is done, no lesson becomes so dull as the poetry hour. The chances are that if a boy leaves school before he gets into the first examination form he will carry away with him pleasant memories of English poetry; but few are able to retain their enjoyment when detailed knowledge is expected, and things of beauty are submitted to hours of wearisome inspection and analysis.

Poetry should be omitted from the examination syllabus. This does not mean that poetry should not be read in schools; rather it implies that our great heritage will come into its own. Each form will have a library of poetry for the boys to read as they feel inclined during the poetry period. The master will not be there to anatomise, but to answer questions and solve difficulties; his chief duty will indeed be to read aloud to his boys those poems and passages which he feels will appeal to them.

The ideal treatment of poetry in school has been described in a fine passage by E. F. Benson in *David Blaize*. It reads as if it must have been a personal experience. The headmaster takes the boys out under the trees one warm summer day and reads to them Keats' *Ode to a Nightingale*. The beauty of the poem comes as a surprise to David; as he listens, 'the magic of the words possesses him.'

> The Head finished the Ode and invited questions. Stone wanted to know what Hippocrene was, thinking this an intelligent question, but Ferrers's inquiry as to what the 'magic casements' were earned stronger approbation from the Head, who mysteriously told him that no one could tell till they looked out on 'perilous seas' It was not like the *Commentaries* of Julius Cæsar, this which he had read them, because it could mean different things to different people. Each sentence of the *Commentaries* meant one thing, and it was the business of the boys to find out, with the aid of a dictionary, what it was. But the music and poetry were altogether different; they meant to you what you were capable of finding in them.

But then, fortunately for David, he hadn't to face an examination on the *Odes* of Keats!

E. E. Reynolds.

MENCKEN AND AMERICA [1]

In all climes and in all ages, according to Anatole France, the opinions of reflective men have been a topic of scandal. For seventeen years H. L. Mencken, America's most acute critic of contemporary life and letters, has given steady and picturesque utterance to ideas and opinions of a quality not only to scandalise, but also to dismay and enrage all standardised, heretic-hating citizens of the Republic. Yet he goes unpunished on his gaily defiant way. Almighty wrath does not smite him. Nor do the police pry into his spread of subversive doctrine. On the contrary, he is permitted to prosper in his iniquity, as certain sinners have a way of doing, to the vast consternation of the pious.

From the obscurity of a Baltimore newspaper office Mencken has been promoted to fame; and the aristocratic insurgency of his magazine, the *American Mercury*, has attracted from the ranks of the intelligentsia a nation-wide and enthusiastic following. He is much quoted and much imitated. Even the universities, where once his name was anathema, are beginning to admit that he exists—a vitally important influence in our recent literary development, an intrepid and devastating crusader against fraud in all its forms, and a vivid symbol of intellectual revolt in a country where free discussion has been too often clumsily penalised.

A critic of literature, if he be equipped with a dynamic and well-furnished mind, inevitably tends to evolve into a critic of civilisation, of man and his inexplicable ways. Lessing, Goethe, Taine, Sainte-Beuve, Matthew Arnold, and in our own day Georg Brandes, have they not all mingled general comment upon the morals, manners and politics of their contemporaries with their appraisals of purely literary values? Like his great predecessors, Mencken passes with facility from letters to life in the raw, and his four volumes of *Prejudices* form a brilliant and stimulating, if often caustic, commentary upon the entire complex American scene.

Prior to Mencken's début, criticism of a pontifical and pedantic

[1] 'The United States as seen by an American Writer,' by G. R. Stirling Taylor, which appeared in the December number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*, will interest the reader of the following article.

kind held virtually undisputed sway in America. Three-quarter of a century ago Edgar Allan Poe, a saliently intelligent figure among our earlier critics, was treated with chilly disdain, while academic nonentities, unanimous in their failure to recognise his genius, were solemnly hymned as the possessors of unerring insight. Within living memory Huneker—who wrote surprisingly little about the native literature—and a few other revolutionary spirits, notably Edgar Saltus and Percival Pollard, did some important pioneering, but they never seriously challenged the prestige of such dubious arbiters of taste as Bliss Perry, Brander Matthews, Hamilton W. Mabie, and other heroes of the *Atlantic Monthly* and the magazines for women.

Always, in America, the route of the literary dissenter has been made hard by the very men who should have battled for the free expression of new ideas and the unhampered testing out of new art forms. Critics of the old school—many of them copiously learned, but all pitiably bereft of intellectual valour—were content to remain mere trumpets of stale formulæ, obtusely and tediously judging literary work, for the most part, upon ethical rather than upon æsthetic grounds. Thus, ridiculous moralists, masquerading as judges and assessors of art values helped to make life hazardous for masters like Poe and Walt Whitman. Intolerance was in the air. Even Emerson was dropped from the Unitarian pulpit for his major heresies. Thoreau was gaoled; and so mild a genius as Hawthorne was commonly slurred in his native Salem as 'Lazy Nat.'

It was against a tradition of formalism, at a time of literary stagnation, that Mencken, emerging in 1908 from the shadows of Maryland's languid metropolis, defiantly threw down the gage To-day, after a career of steady, relentless fighting on many fronts, he has the laurel of victory as a consolation for early rebuffs. The vogue of the Bliss Perrys and Hamilton Mabies has definitely passed, and the newer men of their mental mould—of whom Professor Stuart P. Sherman may be taken as typical—find a sparse following, whereas a vast majority of the young intellectuals, even in remote prairie universities, are eager adherents of Mencken and the *emancipé* novelists and essayists who share his major ideas. Old fetters have fallen away; books now are judged upon a basis of artistic quality alone, and the serious American man of letters, despite Prohibition and the fanaticism behind it, despite the unabated ferocity of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, and the antics of the anti-evolutionists, is breathing freer air. Also, he commands a growing audience.

It was while he was serving on the staff of the *Baltimore Sun* that Mencken, then unknown to any public other than that of

Maryland, was engaged, at Theodore Dreiser's suggestion, to review books for the *Smart Set*, a magazine of dubious respectability and, at the time, of very slight literary pretensions. At first he had a mere handful of readers, but their number steadily multiplied, and his remarkable series of monthly causeries, bold in their sincerity from the very beginning, ultimately brought their author international fame, not only as a keen and witty critic of letters, but also as one of the most eloquent and forceful defenders of personal liberty, of individualism in art and in life, known to our twentieth century world.

To gain a clear comprehension of Mencken's attitude one must understand at the outset that he is a realist and an Epicurean, a believer in the testimony of his five senses as the only clue to ultimate verity he is ever likely to possess. He thinks in terms of the tangible universe, seldom pausing to juggle with insoluble enigmas. All theology, all forms of supernaturalism and vague metaphysical theorising, he lightly sets aside as so much systematised nonsense. He sees no goal beyond the grave. Live to enjoy, he counsels, if he may be said to counsel anything, but be moderate. There is no fixed criterion of happiness or of beauty, no absolute. There is only taste. And in reviewing a book or appraising the ultimate worth of any artist's output he is always an impressionist in method, measuring by no standard more rigid than his own private predilection. With Max Stirner he says, in essence: 'My truth is *the* truth.'

Unencumbered by dogma, free from the mania of certitude, Mencken owes his success to that rarest of human virtues, moral courage; for it is from this fundamental quality that much of the vigour, freshness, and trenchancy of his style derives. Most of us, recognising the falsity of many beliefs that the world at large outwardly accepts as irrefragable, hesitate to give voice to our actual opinions. Our minds are held in check by outmoded thought patterns traced by the Dead Hand; and in every work of genius, as Emerson tells us, we recognise our own rejected thoughts; they 'come back to us with a certain alienated majesty.' We were afraid to communicate them. The genius was not.

It takes courage, hardy self-reliance, to secede openly from the herd; to examine with irreverent eyes the vast amorphous mass of opinion that has been handed down from earlier generations—to scrutinise all accepted values, coldly and with scientific precision testing their cogency. Mencken not only possesses the requisite daring to challenge the most venerable dogmas; he also is equipped with intellectual integrity and the most acute intelligence in America—a mind at once supple and profound, plus an insatiable curiosity and a sturdy faith in his own powers.

There always has been something of the happy warrior about th man. No dyspeptic, cloistered misanthropy embitters his writings. A pessimist he is, in a sense, but an exultant pessimist, one who looks out upon the tragic spectacle of the world without weeping and without rancour, content in his own freedom.

In the preface to *In Defence of Women* he thus epitomises his attitude:

> I am wholly devoid of public spirit or moral purpose. This is incomprehensible to many men, and they seek to remedy the defect by crediting me with purposes of their own The only thing I respect is intellectual honesty, of which, of course, intellectual courage is a necessary part. A Socialist who goes to jail for his opinions seems to me a much finer man than the judge who sends him there, though I disagree with all the ideas of the Socialist and agree with some of those of the judge. But though he is fine, the Socialist is nevertheless foolish, for he suffers for what is untrue. If I knew what *was* true, I'd probably be willing to sweat and strive for it, and maybe even to die for it to the tune of bugle-blasts. But so far I have not found it.

Two major influences, both German, gave direction to Mencken's early thinking—Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. They clarified his point of view. But in neither case did he degenerate into the lowly *rôle* of disciple. In Schopenhauer's long indictment of humanity, so brilliantly conceived and often so violent in its veracity, he found stimulation, but he never surrendered to the arch-pessimist's negative view of life's possibilities. And as for his book on Nietzsche, the clearest and ablest in English, it is far from being a mere prose panegyric of the great philosophic rhapsodist. On every page admiration and agreement are tempered by sane criticism. Indeed, some of Nietzsche's ideas—for example, the theory of eternal recurrence—are dismissed almost roughly as nonsensical, a proceeding fraught with pain for all idolatrous Nietzscheans, by many of whom Mencken has been angrily denounced. Albeit, there is no denying that the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche, more than any other, has coloured Mencken's independent thinking; and often in reading the American's pungent essays we overhear an echo of the voice of the German pastor's son, the mad prophet of Röcken. Mencken completely lacks, however, the Nietzschean faith in the future. Nietzsche, who delighted in picturing himself as 'the philosopher with a hammer,' a great despiser, a destroyer clearing the trail for the Superman, was not only a savage and relentless foe of stale beliefs, but he deliberately exposed the stupidity of current dogmas with a view to enshrining in their niches a few of his own. No religious zealot, no crazed fanatic, ever believed more passionately that he was anointed of God than Nietzsche believed it to be his mission to save the world from the triumph of the

equality myth, the victory of the democratic ideal. He had grandiose and heroic dreams of the future; he preached the Superman, the rule of the mighty, and envisioned a race of masters forever freed from the trammels of slave morality. Mencken is less hopeful. He is a Yea-Sayer to Life, but for the ills that distress humanity he proposes no panaceas. An individualist and an aristocrat, a believer in the utmost personal freedom consonant with a habitable world, he is avowedly innocent of 'messianic passion,' afflicted by no urge to remould the universe. He is chiefly interested in ideas for their own sake, rather than in their application, and of Nietzsche's talent for hatred he shows no trace. He venerates nothing and would not hesitate to laugh in a sanctuary, but he exhibits no lust to destroy those who disagree with him, habitually presenting to his most persistent detractors an attitude of amused tolerance. Never does he lose his temper—never, at least, in print.

Viewing the human scene as he does, steadily and realistically, Mencken remains unshaken by the ebb and flow of transient mass opinion. Socialists, Utopians, sincere 'uplifters' of every description, he regards as figures of pathos, but that does not prevent him from remaining on friendly terms with many of them, including Upton Sinclair. With reality he has established multiple contacts. His comprehension of human activity is many-sided, various. He knows his kind, and for this reason any system of morals, ethics, or government which transcends human nature evokes his irreverent laugh. Of all tasks he seems to find none more agreeable than that of demolishing the pulpy idealism of the 'inspirational' writers who flourish in many of America's popular magazines; and against the organised enemies of enlightenment, who seek by legislation and police power to reduce existence in the Republic to their own squalid, meanly utilitarian level, his scepticism comes as a tonic counterblast. Pitiless in his exposure of mountebanks and mob-masters, he can be, when the occasion arises, a valiant champion of merit in its eternal conflict with smug mediocrity, and he has helped more than one promising talent up the hill to recognition.

There are times, of course, when Mencken, like every professional writer, lands in paradox. Constantly jeering at the grotesque show that American democracy presents, he apparently prefers it to the kind of monarchy Continental Europe tolerated in ante-bellum days, or to the actual democracy with which Russia has been sadly experimenting. He firmly believes politicians, the men who direct our government, to be self-seeking incompetents and scoundrels, and the Teapot Dome oil scandal he treated as a bit of high comedy; nevertheless, he looks upon those who seek to supplant our existing form of government by some

other as being more stupid than the men they oppose. For ma
capitalists—especially for those who purr in gentle phrases of t
identity of their interests with the aspirations of labour—
shows only undisguised contempt; but he applauds capitalis
because it has as its foundation selfishness, the only safe bedro
upon which durable human institutions can be built. Fana
and professional moralists, self-appointed short-cut guides
salvation, he ridicules, pronouncing all of them idiots, a
believing most of them to be frauds; but he never advocates th
suppression as they, at times, so earnestly advocate *his* suppre
sion. *He does not even permit himself to hate them; he fin
them valuable as targets for an aculeate irony.*

Mencken's view of conventional standards of Good and Ev
might be summed up in this aphorism from *Thus Spake Zara
thustra*: 'Since our race appeared on Earth, Man has enjoye
himself too little. That alone, my brother, is our original sin.'

In America it is impossible to practise literary criticism without colliding, sooner or later, with the thing we call Puritanism, the attitude of malevolent suspicion toward ideas and the arts defended by sex-obsessed busybodies, haters of beauty, who have been known to rule out of public libraries as 'obscene' so sincere a work as W. Somerset Maugham's *Of Human Bondage*, and who persecute a novelist of Theodore Dreiser's stature as a cheap and offensive pornographer. Many erudite and fairly competent reviewers, more timorous than Mencken, sidestep the issue and sink into respectable, sluggish obscurity. The man from Baltimore began the battle single-handed. Now, after a decade and a half of unremitting labour, he has attracted a fair company of satellites and supporters, many of them frankly imitative. Even the daily newspaper reviewers are developing a little more stamina, of late, in the face of such pernicious anti-literary activities as are carried on by the Watch and Ward Society of Boston and various kindred organisations.

In the development of American prose fiction to higher levels during the last decade Mencken, it is even admitted by the fairer-minded of his opponents, has played a very important *rôle*. Always he has encouraged writers of integrity, whose aim has been to give artistic form to their impressions of the life about them. He entered the lists for Dreiser when that much-maligned student of humanity was in danger of being driven from the literary profession by prudery in the publishing houses and hypocrisy in judicial robes; and he helped Dreiser to fame.

An ardent and persistent advocate of realism, he has done much to win a wider hearing not only for Dreiser, but also for such native authors as Joesph Hergesheimer, Sinclair Lewis, Willa Cather, James Branch Cabell, and Ruth Suckow. When Stephen

French Whitman's *Predestined*—one of the finest of American novels, and one not nearly so well known as it should be—appeared in 1910, Mencken was among the few to recognise and applaud its worth. Supreme painters of manners are the novelists he most admires.

In his own words:

> As a matter of fact every authentic novel is realistic in its method, however fantastic it may be in its fable. The primary aim of the novel, at all times and everywhere, is the representation of human beings at their follies and villainies, and no other art form clings to that aim so faithfully. It sets forth, not what might be true, or what ought to be true, but what actually is true. . . . Cabell's stories, although they may appear superficially to be excessively romantic, really owe all of their charm to their pungent realism. The pleasure they give is the pleasure of recognition; one somehow delights in seeing a medieval baron acting precisely like a New York stockbroker.

Writing that shows fidelity to observation and a feeling for beauty, writing free from obvious pandering to cheap taste, invariably finds, if not a fugleman, at least a friend in Mencken. Integrity, honest artistic effort, however deficient in talent or training the artist may be, never evokes his derision. It is only for the appraisal of the hypocrite, the fanatic enemy of freedom, or the shrewd merchant of platitudes, that his arsenal of blasting adjectives is drawn upon.

There is, among certain academic critics, who apparently envy the editor of the *American Mercury* his ability to attract readers, a tendency to dismiss Mencken as a mere clown, a comique in the domain of ideas, astonishingly clever, as a juggler is clever, but not to be taken too seriously. No estimate could be more misleading or more unfair. It is true that as a creator of sheer entertainment for civilised folk Mencken has few peers now in practice on our side of the Atlantic. He is never heavy. Vast scholarship gives poise to his judgment, but there is in his style no suggestion of the scholar hopelessly bogged in his own erudition. Believing it to be the first duty of any writer to be interesting, he is not ashamed to treat grave themes lightly, permitting the lambent flame of his irony to play freely over the most abstruse and holy subjects. The manner, as well as the matter, of his discourse invariably compels attention. Sensitive to the inner savour of words, a facile technician, he impresses by his stylistic virility and gusto, his employment of picturesque and surprising similes, his buoyant audacity. Mencken's prose mirrors the man. It is elastic, flexible, alive. It moves; it has rhythmic beauty, though never becoming metrical or sing-song. It lacks, perhaps, the iridescence, the dazzling interplay of light and shade, of

colour and cadence, that distinguishes the finest of Jam Huneker's flights; but Mencken is more logical in deploying h ideas, in giving lucid alignment to his thought, and hence mo readily comprehensible to the casual reader, than is the old critic. Clarity is the cardinal quality of his diction, and h considers Thomas Henry Huxley superior as a stylist to Walte Pater. 'All styles are good except the wearisome style,' Voltair has said. Mencken, whatever else he may be—callous, coarse godless, pitiless, pugnacious—never permits tedium to invade hi pages. As every professional writer in our day must, he know how to 'put on a good show'; and his onslaughts against th embattled legions of Philistia would lose much of their charn if they lacked the gaiety and grace which he always contrives t get into his prose—in brief, if they were soggy, grey and prolix like the productions of so many prodigiously learned professors who express literary judgments in the spirit of a teacher handin out good and bad marks, and in language free from all hint o beauty.

Of intellectual arrogance Mencken has more than a touch In the consciousness of superabundant mental power he takes a exuberant joy, comparable to that of an athlete who revels in hi approach to physical perfection. And there is no denying tha he finds, at all times, an ironic pleasure in analysing the motive of the pompous and disingenuous messiahs who so often, i America, enjoy the confidence of the plain people. Like ever salient man, he is cordially hated—but only by those who hav felt the sting of his incorrigible veracity. More than once, indeec it has been suggested that he be put down by force, althougl so far as I know, there never has been an actual *attentat* upon hi life. George Bernard Shaw has called him 'an amusing dog and good critic, who writes as he feels instead of trying to be a nic gentlemanly person'

Of Mencken's books the most important are *The Philosophy* *Friedrich Nietzsche*, a remarkably lucid and very readable prese tation of the German thinker's point of view; the four volum of *Prejudices*, essays upon virtually every topic that has ev held the author's interest, all excellent; *A Book of Preface* including brilliant studies of Joseph Conrad, Theodore Dreise and James Huneker, and the celebrated essay *Puritanism as Literary Force*; *In Defence of Women*, an amusing but profoun contribution to the literature of feminism; and *The America Language*, in which the critic plays with high skill the *rôle* amateur philologist.

That there is in the man's make-up, despite his realism ar abhorrence of cloying sentimentality, a definite strain of tende ness is evidenced by his partiality for the music of Franz Schube

[a]nd the fact that his own early creative flights were poetic. His [fi]rst book, *Ventures into Verse*, has long been out of print, and he [s]eems determined to have it remain out of print. He has reason. [F]or the slender volume, now highly prized by collectors, contains [p]oems that unmask the Epicurean *désillusionné* of to-day as the [g]ush sentimentalist of yesterday.

EVERHARDT ARMSTRONG.

SOME OLD ADVERTISEMENTS

LORD MACAULAY has said that the only true history of a cour is to be found in its newspapers. This remark is true enou and our politics, the battles and opinions of the day, n be discovered in their unwieldy files. Yet these old ne papers give us something more if we look at the advertisemer for in them we find vivid little pictures of manners and ways life. They should be consulted by the historian, though tl opens out a sufficiently terrifying prospect for the future writ

Having occasion one day to consult an old file of *The Times* the year 1820, I was arrested by an advertisement, and I read until I had a little collection. The year 1820 was at the beginnii of a new era of industrial expansion. It came at the close the canal and dock building period, and immediately preced the era of railways, and in 1821 the first steamer sailed betwee Dover and Calais.

It will be remembered that this year 1820 was the last ye of the reign of King George III. Indeed, on January 31 *Th Times* appeared with all its columns lined heavily in black, mourning for him, and this sign of mourning was continued unt the issue of February 18 of that year.

The Times in 1820 cost 7*d*., and consisted of a single folde sheet—that is to say, of four pages of the size the newspaper now. The paper and printing is very good, though the type small, and the general appearance of the journal is very litt different from what it is to-day. *The Times* began printing b steam in 1814. On January 1 of that year *The Times* was engage in a dispute with an old employee which I cannot do better tha describe in words which are taken from its own leading article:

> Our readers increase, our circulation extends itself. We this da publish upon oath the circulation of *The Times* Journal for the last fo years. In the first of those that honest man who now lives by the ba imitation of our title was in our employment, and, on receiving his dismi sion, modestly fancied that the want of his talents would be injurious to u But we knew him too well as a co-operator to do otherwise than despi him as an enemy, etc.

At the end of this leading article is a table of figures atteste

an accountant to show the circulation, and this seems to have en at this period some 7000 copies a day.

It is not unknown at the present time that some paper or her should triumphantly announce to an astonished world the lume of its sales, and its critics may be heard to say, amongst her things, that this is what newspaper management has me to to-day; but there is nothing new under the sun, and parently this modern practice is no novelty. There is a refresh-g bite about the article which I have quoted, and the matter question seems to be a dispute with the gloves off.

Turning back from this to the front page, which is covered th advertisements, as it is at the present time, we find many tices of schools. For example, two from *The Times* of Janu- 1, 1820, are:

FEMALE EDUCATION—Mrs. VARNHAM, 10, East Place, Walcot e, Lambeth, respectfully solicits the attention of Parents and Guar-s who may be desirous of PLACING their CHILDREN or WARDS SCHOOL; Mrs. Varnham limits her number to 12 young Ladies, to se instruction and domestic comfort she pays the strictest attention, ns 30 guineas per year, and for ladies under 7 years 25 guineas: a ng lady is wanted as half boarder; the most reputable references will iven and required. School will recommence on Monday Jan. 24.

EDUCATION—at Winton near Brough in Westmorland, young NTLEMEN are EDUCATED, furnished with books, boarded and hed, by the Rev. J. Adamthwaite, D.D., and the Rev Wm. A, at guineas a year, and parlour boarders at 40 guineas; there are no tions, and the testimony of many hundred young men, now in the om of society, may be adduced in favour of the school. For further ticulars apply to Mr. W. Coates, 56, St Martin's Lane, Charing Cross, re Dr. A. may be seen during his stay in London.

These notices are merely representative of many others, but y give some feeling of the character of both Mrs. Varnham's l Dr. Adamthwaite's establishments.

We hope that they were kind to the ladies under seven in s. Varnham's seminary, and we feel that Dr. Adamthwaite's ool must indeed have been excellent, since his old boys, firmly ablished in the 'bosom of society,' whatever that may mean, ld continue to praise it in spite of a bitter experience in the tter of vacations.

The name of Adamthwaite, it may be mentioned, appears ch in the educational advertisements of this time. For mple, it was worth while for a school advertiser on January 3, 0, to boast of having been an assistant to the Rev. Jos. mthwaite, of Yorkshire.

An air of 'gentility' is what these advertisers seek to convey, they would have said so, for this word and the word

[illegible] not yet received their ironic meaning. [illegible] at present was the word which we [illegible]

[illegible] are, however, easily se[illegible] announcement on Jan[illegible]

> [illegible]—A married Gentleman [illegible] sufficient standing in the U[illegible] of LL.D., at ease in his circumstan[illegible] Doctors-commons, proposes taki[illegible] PUPILS to EDUCATE; the course of instruction w[illegible] Latin and Mathematics and the French, Italian and [illegible] languages; likewise the various branches of philosophy and th[illegible] Letters and whatever is necessary to qualify a gentleman in the [illegible] department of life; a strict superintendence will be exercised [illegible] morals of the pupils, who in addition to private tuition will h[illegible] advantages of attending the lectures of professors in a public insti[illegible] the whole, it is presumed, affording an excellent system of educatio[illegible] situation is in an airy neighbourhood near the Regent's Park, th[illegible] ences will be of that description to remove the prejudice usually ente[illegible] against an advertisement; terms 260 guineas per annum [illegible] addressed, post paid, to Mr. Kirby, bookseller, Warwick-lane, Pater[illegible] row, will be attended to.

This gentleman's approximation to the degree of LL.D [illegible] in his estimation, have been calculated to fill the public [illegible] enthusiasm; it reminds a more prosaic generation of the I[illegible] qualification 'failed B.A.'

It is, I confess, difficult to understand why the ease o[illegible] advertiser's circumstances should attract parents, but perha[illegible] was hinting that he would feed the boys well, but too delica[illegible] say so. Why, again, should the fact that he intended to pra[illegible] at Doctors' Commons be any recommendation?

A final and important point to notice is that from the [illegible] cluding sentence we are given to understand that, at any [illegible] in scholastic circles, it was not quite 'the thing' to adverti[illegible]

The matter of feeding is loftily alluded to in an adver[illegible] ment on January 3:

> COLLEGE HOUSE BOARDING SCHOOL for young GENTLE[illegible] Hackney Road, about half a mile from Shoreditch Church. The sy[illegible] pursued at this establishment is to BOARD the pupils (who always [illegible] with the family) without limitation.

It will be recollected, however, that there was some [illegible] sternation and alarm when Oliver asked for more. From o[illegible] advertisements it appears that the expression 'diet wit[illegible] limitation' was a *cliché*.

There are more school advertisements in this copy of [illegible]

of January 1, 1820, in which stock phrases 'the French by a native of Paris,' 'Instruction in the Use of the the method of fluxions' are common and 'the mathe- is taught.

educational advertisements inevitably recall to our the Academy carried on by Dr. Blimber in which young y was incarcerated.

t though educational advertisements come nearly first in ewspaper, there are other advertisements which throw light hat happened to young people before they had a chance of ng into the hands of Dr. Adamthwaite or Mrs. Varnham. e is a stark composition (and there are many of the same racter) which refers to a service which is happily extinct:

WET NURSE.—WANTS A SITUATION, a steady woman with a d breast of milk, she has just lost her husband, lain in about a month d can have very respectable references. Address, etc.

merging from the arms of this anonymous lady the child, and en seemingly a royal child, might be faced with the anodyne ecklace—we hope with the consequences so boldly promised in he next advertisement of January 1, 1820:

CHILDREN cutting teeth—At Mr. Burchells sole proprietor and reparer of the Anodyne necklace to the King for the Royal children, Long Acre, and positively by his appointment nowhere else in London, e sold the original ANODYNE NECKLACES for children cutting teeth; *ter wearing which but one night, infants have cut their teeth with rfect safety who were nearly reduced to the grave by fits, fevers, con-* ulsions, etc.; all proceeding from their teeth. Price, etc.

That in those days the dangers which the anodyne necklace mbated were sufficiently real may be seen from a grim table in e *Annual Register* for 1820, which shows that out of 19,098 aths over a certain period and from all the diseases known 9 were due to teething, 798 to whooping-cough, 104 to croup, d 3066 to convulsions.

So much for what came before school, but, after leaving, the ention of Dr. Adamthwaite's pupils would be directed to ngate's 'curiously fine Saxon wool cloths,' in which they could 'blue and black coats at £3.12 to £3.18,' or they might be ed to use our old friend Day and Martin for their boots on the und that it gave 'peculiar nourishment' to the leather. From otice appearing on January 6 it seems that they could buy ters at 6*s*. a barrel, the second quality at 4*s*. 6*d*. They ld buy wine at much the same price as to-day, but spirits were cheap. It was, indeed, a spirit-drinking age—bad enough if measure it by the British import figures, but far worse if the

French export figures are taken as a guide, as they are 1 larger and show that 30 per cent. was smuggled.

It is interesting to read an advertisement of March 3, . in which the prices of wines and spirits offered for sale are gi

T. & R. ABBOTTS, 10 Skinner Street and 340 Oxford Stree
Prices of Wines and Spirits.

	per doz.
Old light bodied port wine	36s.
Full bodied high flavoured, ditto	42s.
Cape white wines	21s.
Old superior Madeira	26s.
Red Pontac, ditto, excellent	26s.
Old Lisbon	36s.
Old Sherry, pale or brown	38s.
Very fine Bucellas	46s.
Rich Mountain	40s.
Old West India Madeira	54s.
Old West India Madeira, direct	48s.
ditto, Vidonia, ditto	46s.
Claret, first growth, Chateau Margott	90s.
ditto, second growth	50s.
	per gallon.
Cordial gin	9 6
Jamaica rum	14 6
Cognac brandy	26 0

But now let me turn from Dr. Adamthwaite's ex-pupils Mrs. Varnham's old girls, who in later life might read :

The BRILLIANCY OF BEAUTY IMPROVED and made PERI NENT.—A lady who is in the possession of a valuable recipe for mal the SICILIAN WASH and POMMADE, which gives the skin a deli white and the luxuriant softness of the females of the East and V Indies, will be happy to wait upon ladies, and convince them of its supe efficacy ; a bloom and white to be added if necessary ; two or three d requested to be named ; secrecy may be depended upon. Address, et

There is no great difference between this announcement and tl of the modern beauty specialist (whose preparations are possi made from the same recipe), except that we no longer possess same admiration for the females of the East and West Ind On the other hand, the world has considerably advanced in t art of making the public buy what it neither wants nor need this art being called salesmanship ; and if I dared I would qu advertisements published to-day which are much more curio If, however, this 'pommade' failed, or if the delicate white a luxuriant softness produced by it blushed unseen, it may be tl the lady would take more active and energetic measures to atta life's problem and, recalling Mrs. Varnham's instruction in lett

l her sensibility, would sit down to compose this ingenious ument published on January 10, 1820:

TO WIDOWERS.—A Lady of liberal and cultivated mind, well uainted with the higher class of elegant writers, also with advantages aving studied with eminent masters, and moved in the best society of land, France and Italy, with a small independence and much leisure er own disposal, would be happy to render herself useful in the family gentleman of respectability and erudition by attending to the TRUCTION of ONE or TWO YOUNG LADIES from 6 to 12 years of ; being bereft by misfortune of these objects of her own solicitude, it ld afford her inexpressible pleasure to watch over, with maternal erness, the growing improvement and infantine graces peculiar to ren; assisted by an able and well informed parent, she would avour to lead their attention to the finest productions of classical ; the advertiser addresses herself to him who may in part have aken of the cup of sorrow, who with manly and generous feeling can eciate female worth and talent; to him she would prove an intelligent greeable companion and a disinterested friend; no salary accepted: social hours occasionally to relieve her important and interesting pation, all that is required. Letters addressed, etc."

last advertisement of January 10, 1820, is written in language most insupportable gentility. It is a mystery who wrote Did the lady herself, or was it written by a mere man his tongue in his cheek? I wonder also what she really ted, or what she got. Did she get what she wanted, or want t she got? The delicate hint with which the lady closes, the widower whom she addresses may *in part* have partaken e cup of sorrow, with its suggestion of something less bitter to drink, earns my whole-hearted admiration. The whole ure which she so elegantly draws, her well-informed mind, her pressible tenderness and her eloquent appeal to her manly jutor (I feel that she would have used this word if she had ght of it), shows the feelings of an age from which we are very emoved. Maybe the advertisement is not *bonâ fide* at all this lady never existed. However this may be, the signifi- e of the production remains.

leans of communication and the roads, judged by Continental dards, were excellent and excited the admiration of foreign ors; a typical advertisement of the departure of a stage-coach be found February 7, 1820:

HREE-CUPS INN, Aldersgate Street. Superior travelling to RPOOL by the Royal Alexander Post Coach every morning at ock through Newport, Northampton, Harbro', Leicester, Ashby-de-la- , Burton-upon-Trent, Uttoxeter, the whole of the Staffordshire ries, Middlewich, Northwich and Warrington,

by W. Smith. B. Brotherton & Co.

And there are also many advertisements of shipping: for example, April 10, 1820, the teak ship *Triumph* was to sail about April 20 for the Isle of France, Madras and Bengal. She was about 506 tons register; she carried a surgeon and had a large poop and had other excellent accommodation for passengers. It should be noted that those ships which carried a surgeon were careful to mention the fact.

There are many advertisements offering to care for the insane, others notifying meetings for cocking; and moneylenders' advertisements are not excluded from the journal. I do not trouble to mention advertisements for the sale of property, or employers and employees, and publishers' announcements, which are very numerous.

Though, in passing, it may be said that the books advertised were of an improving and refreshingly moral character for the most part, the resolution of the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, by which a poem entitled *Don Juan*, 'attributed to a certain noble lord,' was ordered to be removed from the library as an immoral publication, shows the treatment meted out to black sheep.

The modern advertisements of cars are of course replaced by advertisements of harness, gigs, carriage horses, chargers, etc.

Old advertisements often contain information which to-day would be reported in the body of the paper, as, for example, the following notice, which shows that this period of January 1820 and its hard winter[1] weather was full of troubles of the same character as those which beset us to-day.

> 11 Jan. 1820. At a most respectable and numerous MEETING of the BANKERS, MERCHANTS and MANUFACTURERS and other TRADES of BIRMINGHAM convened by the High Bailiff . . .
>
> Joshua Scholefield, Esq., High Bailiff, in the chair. Resolved with one dissentient voice on the motion of Charles Lloyd, Esq., seconded by Richard Spooner, Esq.
>
> (1) That this meeting witnesses with deep concern the deplorable situation of the manufacturing and labouring classes of the community and of this town in particular, and the distressing conditions to which manufacturers and commerce are reduced.
>
> (2) That when this meeting calls to mind the alarming distresses of the country in the year 1816 which were very materially relieved in the years 1817 and 1818, but which have now returned with such great severity, they cannot but be of opinion, that the quick recurrence of such deep distress must be occasioned by some powerful and hitherto unexplained causes; and that it is of the highest importance that the origin of such general and overwhelming misery should be thoroughly investigated and fully ascertained.
>
> (3) That the strange anomaly which presents itself of markets abound-

[1] Twenty-four degrees of frost were registered early in the month. Coal was advertised on January 27, delivered in London, at 50s. a chaldron (*i.e.*, 2l. a ton

ing with food and clothing, and with all the necessaries and comforts of life on the one hand and a population suffering under the severest privations on the other; and amidst the variety of conflicting opinions which divide the minds of men upon this important subject, it appears to this meeting . . .

follows a resolution to petition Parliament.

ı those days, if the meeting at Birmingham is any guide, did not diagnose the cause of their distress with the easy idence of the modern economists; they had, however, a ching faith in the power of Parliament to remedy their ills. re was, indeed, abundant reason for the distress in January). Deflation, the introduction of the gold standard, 1821, is made to allies in the war, failure to extract money from nce, have a familiar ring, and, as now, in the early half of the eteenth century, there were those who advocated inflation I a capital levy. There was also a very definite price fall in 20–21.

A reflection of the unquiet times and their influence on one der at least is shown by an advertisement of distress, which curs on January 25, 1820, on a day when *The Times* was edged h black to mark the death of the Duke of Kent.

25 Jan. 1820 A CASE OF REAL DISTRESS. The Advertiser of ı humbly solicits the kind assistance of those whom Providence has ssed with affluence and a heart to feel for a fellow creature. Your itioner, hitherto a respectable tradesman, with a wife and five children irely depending upon him, is so situated through the want of employ ı losses in trade, that he is rendered totally incapable of providing for family, and the few remaining articles of furniture he has left are ble to be seized for rent due which he is incapable of discharging, ether with some other debts contracted for the maintenance of his nily, that he expects to go to prison (the consequence of which he is pprehensive may be fatal) without some benevolent persons, blessed with fluence, kindly assist him with a few pounds, which will be the means of storing a worthy family to become useful members of society.

t is plain from this and other advertisements that the fear of rison for debt must have been a nightmare. This advertiser s to my mind, however, a little too eloquent. He protests too nuch, and I am somewhat suspicious of his description of his ase as one of *Real* Distress. Why *Real?* That should go ithout saying, as who should say to-day 'Genuine Sale' when e know by experience that this notice often implies a fraud? urthermore, I do not like the way he directs his appeal to the ffluent. What do the circumstances of donors matter to him? e is too keen on the money, and has to underline his own distress ith the word *Real* to make sure it is there.

Perhaps, however, if I had been one of Mr Bish's more fortu-te clients, I should in the excitement of winning 20,000*l*. have

been ready to make a handsome donation without too careful a inquiry. Mr. Bish's business and the opportunities which he ha to offer are indicated by him on January 21, 1820, and th advertisement is typical of many others:

NO STOCK PRIZES: all sterling money to be paid in gold bars bank notes at the option of the holders.—On Saturday the 29th Januar the STATE LOTTERY FINISHES; the wheel contains 2 money prize of £20,000, &c., all of which must be drawn 29th January, only 500 tickets to draw; every ticket or share bought on or before January 12t has been drawn and its fate finally decided; warranted Undrawn Ticket and Shares are selling by T. Bish, Stockbroker, 4, Cornhill and 9, Charin Cross and his agents in the country, in the present lottery Bish has sol 2 capitals in shares; and in the lottery just ended he shared and sold capital prizes; and in all former lotteries his success is so well known tha it would be superfluous to particularize it: the prices of stocks are affixed hourly at Bish's office in Cornhill, by which the public can see the fluctuations, every prize now in the wheel is sterling money and will be paid in gold or bank notes at the option of the holders; lottery finishes January 29th.

I should, by the way, certainly have taken my prize in gold bars, since the *Annual Register* informs me that in 1820 there were no less than 29,083 forged bank notes, while convictions for having these notes in possession were 275.

If, however, I had been unfortunate with Mr. Bish and failed to draw the 20,000*l*., and drawn instead a blank, I should have darkly considered his advertisement and wondered why, if State lotteries were fair and honest enterprises, as doubtless they pretended to be, it was material for Mr. Bish to claim skill in his past conduct of his clients' affairs. Perhaps I should say to myself there may be found a certain occasional crookedness even in so honest a place as the City of London. Indeed, there were those in 1820 who apparently did not hesitate to level charges of corruption at the conduct of the City election itself, and on April 10, 1820, this notice appeared:

CITY ELECTION.—It having been circulated that the Interests of the unsuccessful Candidates of the late City of London were injured by the endeavours of the friends of Mr. Alderman Wood to place him at the head of the Poll.

The sub-committee conducting the election of the Alderman as a decisive answer to such unfounded reports, think it due to the Livery to lay before them the following statement of the Plumper votes for all the Candidates

For Sir William Curtis	168.	For Mr. Ald. Thorp	31
Alderman Waithman	123.	Mr. Wilson	29
The Lord Mayor	52.	Mr. Ald. Wood	9

Signed by order,

JOSEPH YALLOWLEY,
Chairman.

April 8, 1820.

was evidently considered a triumphant vindication of the election, else it would not have been inserted, though I iot myself understand how it proves anything at all. Maybe, ever, it caused Mr. Alderman Wood, when he scanned the res given above, to say, 'Save me from my friends.' Perhaps as a little foolish of the sub-committee to publish this defence. modern practice of meeting accusations of this character a stony silence is far more effective.

Before leaving the subject of elections it is interesting to e that it was common to return thanks by advertisement lection to a public office or a directorship, and that election sses are to be found advertised in the newspaper. After eath of the King the paper was full of them.

I will conclude these notes with the advertisement of an rance company which shows that the inventor was not tive a hundred years ago. On January 3, 1820, the National and Life Insurance Association, with an imposing list of ons, trustees and directors, noble lords and others, in a long rtisement say:

The members of the above Association united for the purpose of ninishing the calamity of fire and reducing the expense of insurance, ve the satisfaction of informing the public that from their exertions eral good inventions have been produced; amongst others is a machine sessing the following properties; in case of fire it instantly awakes the ty in whose sleeping room it is placed, immediately lights a lamp, kes known the hour of the night, and not only that a fire has comnced, but in what room; and so prompt is the information given, that, s presumed, a fire can seldom happen to do much damage where this chine is placed.

is a shame that this amazing invention is now lost in obscurity l it is a pity also that the inventor did not omit some of its nplicated operations and confine it to the single problem and it put the fire out.

CARROL ROMER.

A LETTER TO AN OLD SWEETHEART

'My dear:
It's many years ago
Since you were put to sleep
Where now a steadfast willow stands
So faithfully to weep.

'When you were six and I was seven,
I wore a holland smock,
And you a gingham pinafore
Above a linsey frock.

'There wasn't much of meadow land
Between your house and mine,
And we were always in or out
Together, wet or fine.

'We named each other after flowers;
And I will do it still:
My name for you was, Mary Gold,
And yours for me, Jon Quil.

'Though Dante first loved Beatrice
When he was nine years old,
Time gave me two years start of him,
My little Mary Gold!

'We were the only ones who saw,
In Buncton Chapel Wood,
A vixen playing with her cubs,
Quite near to where we stood.

'We were the only ones who saw,
One day by Thakeham Pound,
A viper swallowing her young,
To keep them safe and sound.

'We were the only ones who saw,
One day while tending sheep,
A grey buck rabbit grinning at
A weasel fast asleep.

10

'We were the only ones who saw,
One day in Adam's Dale,
Hoopoes and golden orioles
Together on a rail.

'My dear, the wonders that we saw
In days so long ago
Would fill a book as large and thick
As any book I know!

'We used to gather orchis blooms
Like butterflies and bees;
And wait for baby owls to peep
From holes in hollow trees.

'We used to have a racing game
With scores of knob-horned snails;
Or climb to where red squirrels skipped
And swished their bushy tails;

'Or stand near stacks at thrashing-time,
On any sort of day,
To see the rats and mice jump out
And scoot to get away;

'Or play "*The British Grenadiers*"
With paper and a comb;
Or sprinkle sherbet on our tongues,
To taste the fizzy foam.

'And after turns at "*horney*," "*touch*,"
"*Leap-frog*," or "*ducks-and-drake*,"
We shared each other's fleedy rolls
Or hunks of raisin cake.

'And when our Sunday pennies came,
We used to take a walk,
With humbugs bulging out our cheeks
And stopping all our talk.

'And then we'd scramble up and chase
Cloud-shadows on the Downs;
Or hunt for chalk-pit fishes; or
For stones called, "*Shepherds' Crowns*";

'Or shout from wind-swept ridges where—
I heard in after-years—
The mighty Sons of Wasa sleep,
With shining shields and spears;

'Or look across the checkered Weald
Where Cissa used to reign—
For Sussex was a Kingdom once,
And shall be so again.

'Hemmed in by English land and sea,
We still believe our star;
And Sussex men, not Englishmen,
Is what we really are!

'We may be killed by kindness, or
Be done to death for love,
But Sussex men, as Sussex men,
Are men who *wunt be druv!*

'My Mary Gold, we use to squat
Near Chanctonbury Ring
To watch the distant ships go by,
And hear the skylarks sing;

'Or throw white flints above the steep,
To see them bouncing through
Where Chaucer's darling "*fresshe pervynkes*'
Are still so "*riche of hewe.*"

'We used to scatter mole-heaps there,
And often used to find
Small bits of glass or crockery
The Romans left behind—

'For when the glory that was Rome
In Sussex had its day,
The Romans built fine villas there
With stones from far away.

'Where you and I have often played,
White pillared houses shone,
With pictured floors that even now
Have not completely gone.

'Where you and I have often sat
To eat our bread-and-cheese,
Proud Roman mothers used to sit
With babies on their knees;

'And Roman maidens sidled there,
Coquetting as they went,
All cunningly attired to suit
Their new environment;

'And Roman youths of prowess there
   Displayed their well-shaped limbs,
And budding Roman poets sung
   Their latest songs and hymns;

'And self-indulgent epicures
   Reclined on silken beds,
In gold-embroidered tunics, and
   With garlands on their heads.

'And happy Roman boys and girls
   Have made themselves at home
All over our green Sussex Downs,
   So far away from Rome!

'But they are lost in silence now;
   And where they used to go,
I often see our friends the sheep
   Come browsing from below.

'Do you remember when we tried
   To make a horse-whip snap—
The day I nearly frightened you
   With effets in your lap?

'Do you remember when I found
   The parson's pocket-knife,
And clicked the blade at sermon-time
   To tease the parson's wife?

'Do you remember when we rode
   To Pulborough in the rain,
And gaped while Queen Victoria
   Rushed past us in a train?

'Do you remember when we went
   To Findon Flower Show,
And saw a real white peacock strut
   So proudly to and fro?

'Do you remember when we called
   At my old granny's house—
The day when we had custard-pie,
   And each a sugar mouse?

'O I can see those two mice still,
   As plain as anything!
Their eyes were coriander seeds,
   Their tails were snips of string!

'I ate mine up at once; but you
Kept yours to play with: you,
My Mary Gold, could always *save*—
Which I could never do.

'Have you forgotten Willy Thorns,
And Tom and Butty Knight,
Nen Sayers, Tom Brace, Tom Timberley,
And Walter Lilywhite?

'And Sonny Butcher, who could make
His scalp move all his hair;
And had a monkey-on-a-stick
That came from Steyning Fair?

'And Harry Tidey—always best
At playing "*hide-and-seek*"—
Who had gold earrings in his ears
Because his eyes were weak?

'And Shepherd Marner, who could sing
The "*Boney Party Song*";
And said he was a smuggler bold
When he was young and strong?

'And Ruffian Jack, who used to sleep
In my Sir Charles's barn;
And, when he caught us truanting,
Said: "*Go to school and larn!*"?

'And Swearing Bob, who used to perch
On Wiston toll-gate bar
And smoke a death's head cutty pipe,
With baccy black as tar?

'And Grocer Cripps, who used to keep
A switch-stick close at hand
For when we told him not to put
Good sugar in his sand?

'And camel-humpy Cobbler Brooks,
Who used to make us squint
For black and white-striped bullseyes that
Were strong with peppermint?

'Have you forgotten Betser's goat;
Squire Gibson's dancing ram,
And Sailor Jerry's cockatoo
That used to squawk: "*O, damn!*"?

'Have you forgotten Anny Dale,
Kate Goatcher, Fanny Slade,
Theresa Charman, Janey Knowles,
Blanche Short, and Margaret Aide?

'Have you forgotten Esther Moon,
Who danced upon her toes;
And Lizzy Shimmel, when she fell
And broke her freckled nose?

'And saucy Patty Hillary,
Who used to carry on
In such a tiny pork-pie hat
With such a big chignon?

'And Florry Standing, who could play
The concertina so,
That pigs forgot to grunt or grub,
And cocks forgot to crow?

'And techy Mother Gobbety,
Who had a shaky head,
Yet always sold, until she died,
Such perfect gingerbread?—

'The lion-and-the-unicorn
Was stamped upon the top;
And how we used to eye it through
The window of her shop!

'I haven't had too good a time
Since you were put to sleep
Where now a steadfast willow stands
So faithfully to weep;

'But when I finish staying here,
That which you knew as me
Will seek and find you, Mary Gold,
Wherever you may be.

'I'll know you by your speedwell eyes,
And springy corkscrew curls—
My dear, I know I'll pick you out
From twice ten thousand girls!

'And we will go off hand-in-hand
To run as once we ran—
For I shall be a child again,
And not a grown-up man

'And you shall show me all around
The New Jerusalem;
Where even cannibals are fit
For us to play with them.

'We'll clatter up the golden streets,
And make no end of noise
With pickaninnies, who are now
Nice coal-black angel boys.

'And you shall tell of all the sights
That you have seen in Heaven
Since you, my dear, were only six
And I was only seven.

'But, first of all, my Mary Gold,
I'd really like to know
If Heaven is half as beautiful
As Sussex long ago.

'So we'll begin—if you agree—
By strolling down a lane
To seek for old-time loveliness
I hope to see again—

'Trim gardens full of gillyflowers,
With peaches at the wall,
And filberts slipping from their shucks,
And mulberries on the fall;

'And orchards where the boughs hang low
With juicy Green-gage plums,
And Blenheim Orange apples, and
The pears called, Bishops' Thumbs;

'And streams where long-legged herons stand,
And blue kingfishers fly,
And rainbows always follow storms
Across the clearing sky;

'And hillside holts like Noddy Nolt,
Where sweetness takes the air
From never-fading violets
And honeysuckle there;

'And grassy slopes, with thyme in flower,
Where lapwings come and go,
And spotted cuckoo-spits abound,
And oxlips always blow;

'And fir-tree woods where pigeons coo,
And yaffles laugh all day,
And foxgloves bloom all up their stems
And never drop away.

'My Mary Gold, it won't be long
Before I come to you;
And we will do, for evermore,
The things we used to do.

'And all shall be the same as when
We romped on Highden Hill:
So keep a sharp look-out, my dear,
For your old mate,
Jon Quil.'

CHARLES DALMON

CORRESPONDENCE

'REVISION OF THE PRAYER-BOOK'

To the Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

DEAR SIR,—While I am grateful for the kind references to my book on *The Thirty-Nine Articles* contained in the paper on Prayer Book Reform by the Rev A. H. T. Clarke in your issue of November, I feel bound to protest that, by the omission of several clauses, he has seriously misrepresented my historical statements. I do not say that Reservation was condemned in the fourth century. The practices that were forbidden were, first, Reservation by private persons, and, secondly, the sending of the Eucharist as a sign of fellowship to distant Churches. I expressly add, in the following sentence, which he has failed to quote, that the practice of Reservation in church continued. This is a question purely of historical fact, whether we approve of the custom or not.

I remain, Sir, Yours faithfully,

E. J. BICKNELL.

Cuddesdon College,
Oxford.

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, 10 *&* 12, *Orange Street, Leicester Square, W.C. 2.*

Letters as well as articles will be considered for publication, but letters should be confined to criticism or amplification of articles which have already appeared in the Review. No anonymous contribution is published.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
BUYER'S GUIDE" SUPPLEMENT
A CLASSIFIED LIST OF ADVERTISEMENTS

[illegible]ICON FOR THE DEAF

[illegible]l Acoustics, Ltd.,
[illegible]Wigmore Street, London, W. 1. (Mayfair [illegible])
[illegible]ders to London Hospital, etc.

[illegible]TISING AGENTS.

Hart & Co.,
[illegible]undel Street, Strand, London, W.C.
[illegible] 2804.)

A RABBIT FARM

[illegible]ady Rachael Byng,
[illegible] Winkfield, Windsor
[illegible]kfield Row [illegible]

[illegible]GITE STOVES AND RANGES

[illegible]ndon Warming Co., Ltd.,
[illegible] Upper Rathbone Place, London, W. 1
[illegible] [illegible].)

[illegible]F CARPETS

[illegible]mi & Son,
[illegible]ewman Street, Oxford Street, London, W. 1
[illegible] 374[illegible].)

[illegible]LERY

[illegible]bey Gallery (W. & R. Deighton & Sons, [illegible]).
[illegible]ria Street, S.W. 1. (Victoria [illegible].) Regis[illegible]
[illegible] Office: [illegible] Grand Hotel Buildings, W.C. 2.

[illegible]ND SHOES

[illegible]n & Co.,
[illegible]hitcomb Street, Leicester Square, London
[illegible] (Gerrard [illegible].)

[illegible] FABRICS

[illegible]t & Co., Ltd.,
[illegible]k Street, London, W.C. 2. (Gerrard [illegible].)
Regent Street, W. 1

[illegible]ARD MEMORIALS AND MEMORIAL [illegible]TS.

& Son, Ltd.,
[illegible]ton Road, London, N.W. 1
[illegible] 2351.)

DETECTIVE AGENCY

Wrights,
63 Moorgate, E.C. (London Wall [illegible].)
31 Newman Street, W. (Museum [illegible].)

EMBROIDERY

The House of Embroideries,
80 Wigmore Street, London, W. 1
(Mayfair 513[illegible].)

MASSAGE AND MEDICAL ELECTRICA[illegible] TREATMENT

Association of Certificated Blind Masseurs,
[illegible] Great Portland Street, London, W. 1
Museum [illegible].

MISSIONS TO SEAMEN

11 Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.
Gerrard [illegible]. Help urgently needed. S[illegible]
advertisement p. [illegible].

OLD ENGLISH POT POURRI AND LAVENDE[illegible]

Thos. Harrison, F.R.H.S.,
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THE BUYER'S GUIDE

AS the Buyer's Guide, which appears overleaf is an innovation, a few words of explanation may not be out of place

Its object is to bring before readers of the Review the names of reputable firms who are able to supply their needs The entries are classified under headings, as it is thought that this method facilitates the use of the Guide This Buyer's Guide will appear every month at the end of the Review, and it is hoped that as time goes on it will grow and eventually cover a field that will make it of great value to every reader

All communications with respect to the Buyer's Guide should be sent to the Advertisement Manager, THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, Maltravers House, 6, Arundel Street, Strand London W C 2

FAMILY PROVISION

H. J. FISHER

FOR which many people fail to realise is that interest earned on moneys
o Insurance Offices as premiums due under life policies does not have
ncluded in the assured's Income Tax returns So that if on maturity
cy shows a return of the premiums and three per cent. compound
st the actual return is three per cent, plus the appropriate rate of tax.
o that the fact that, in terms of a generous arrangement, moneys paid
niums out of income are exempt from tax also, and the assertion that
urance is a good and sound form of investment is backed by at least
od *a priori* reasons Looking ahead in these times of heavy taxation,
t, and future as death duties, such items as those just named arrest
on, so that more than ever was the case is insurance becoming a
ar' form of investment It is now some decades since actuaries
to arrange the cover which they had to sell in increasing variety of
an initial stimulus to ingenuity in this respect arrived when the
States offices first opened branches here—American actuaries had
become ingenious—and a further stimulus was supplied when the
l offices opened branches Both in the States and in the Colonies the
mentality had for *very many* decades been more *self-supporting* than
that a man who had not a father's or grandfather's, uncle's or
banking account to fall back on if an urgent situation eventualised
hand in his pocket and handed some cash to an insurance office in
ation of their agreement to play the *rôle* of useful wealthy aunt in
ircumstances The variety of policy forms began to approximate
umber of sets of circumstances in which a wealthy aunt might be

e to-day one of the most popular forms of policy may be described
which has been adapted to the requirements of the baptismal age.
he importance of the ceremony, that any expenditure in regard to
ecessarily be regarded, not as a duty, but as a way of giving expres-
roper emotion. The tiny, helpless infant will (probably) grow up: if
t will, according to the morphology of human life, reach manhood,
nay therefore have to provide for a wife, become a father; may
have to provide for children; will grow old and therefore require
pon which to live when frail and no longer able to work. Such
s are very appropriate to the period, and a policy which will help

[illegible] is a more appropriate gift th[illegible]
[illegible] it is true that, once paid for
[illegible] and that a policy
[illegible] but against
[illegible] and that as it does
[illegible] one of more utility. Ten p[illegible]
[illegible] on a child's account from the time of
[illegible] when it reaches its majority to maintain, for [illegible]
[illegible] a policy whose face value, compared with the face val[illegible]
purchasable for ten pounds a year as a new transaction at age tw[illegible] is something worth looking into. And the bargain, once effected, [illegible] the child the right, at age twenty-one, to decide whether he wi[illegible] insured under a whole life or endowment table, so that he will b[illegible] select according to his fancy or what he may consider the reasonabl[illegible] ments of his life. Under the scheme a cash sum may at twenty-one age be taken in complete cancellation of the office's obligati[illegible] agreement, and the eventuality of the death of the child before a ma[illegible] has been reached is provided for by a clause under which the offic[illegible] that event return the premiums paid with more or less interest.

Having decided as a result of baptismal-age hyperæsthesia of pa[illegible] emotion to invest ten pounds a year on the infant's behalf in the m[illegible] already described a wise father will turn his thoughts to school fees; [illegible] may be said that no form of policy is more popular than that which pr[illegible] the cash wherewith to give a boy a Public School education. The at[illegible] towards the good-man-creative power of the Public School life has under[illegible] so great a change that whereas Winchester or Charterhouse, Marlbo[illegible] or Harrow, used to be regarded as schools for the sons of the favoured [illegible] they have now come to be regarded as the legitimate training groun[illegible] the boys of the relatively quite poor; in eight, ten, twelve [illegible] time innumerable entrants will arrive at the doors of such schools w[illegible] arrival is due, and is due only, to the fact that parents posse[illegible] six or eight hundred or a thousand a year have foregone present exp[illegible] ture on self in order to purchase educational endowment policies for th[illegible] children.

The contract is based on (*a*) the age of the father or mother, wh[illegible] pays the premiums; (*b*) the age at which the school fees are to comm[illegible] become payable; and (*c*) the number of terms for which they are to b[illegible] In the event of the death of the parent *before* the school age has been r[illegible] the policy becomes fully paid up, just as it does if the parent dies *durin*[illegible] education years of the child's life; and whereas fees due, or to becom[illegible] can in such an event be commuted for a sum down, there is, as in the ca[illegible] the other policy, a return of premiums on an agreed basis if the child d[illegible] before the school-entrance age is reached.

The attention of parents whose foresight did not years ago include th[illegible] purchase of such policies, and who now have children at school, or about [illegible] go to school, may be called to another way of providing for the forthcom[illegible] of fees should death overtake them before the education of their boys a[illegible]

...n completed. This can be arranged at a relatively trifling ...t be supposed that fees and extras—clothing and railway fares ...money—aggregate 100*l.* a term.

...lowing table gives a very good idea of the premium cost, com- ...hen the child *goes* to school, and continuing, in the absence of ...eath, for, in each instance, *one half* the period during which the ...r is to be paid :—

...age	12 terms.	18 terms.	24 terms	30 terms.
	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.
	5 0	6 0	7 10	10 10
	5 0	8 0	11 10	15 0
	7 10	13 0	18 0	25 0

...ng regard to the death risk involved, and to the aggregate of the ...sured, *the arrangement cannot be regarded as costly, and whereas ...able policies have already been effected under it, many claims, ...g not inconsiderable inconvenience to relicts, have fallen in.*

...the assurance of marriage portions to daughters there is nothing ...mproves upon the old-fashioned endowment policy, a form of contract ...having regard to the magnificent profits now being earned and ...uted by *the offices, yields most satisfactory money results.* If such a ...runs to maturity the sum assured, together with profits allocated to ...ivable at the agreed age ; in the event of the assured's earlier death, ...n assured and profits to death date are immediately payable. But ...purpose of reducing premium payments this arrangement can be ...into—that in neither event shall sum assured and additions thereto ...rged by the office until the agreed age has been reached. In that ...e office derives, on the average of a general business, some slight ...advantage, and will make a corresponding reduction in its charge ...over.


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[illegible] CENTURY AND AFTER



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CHINA

I. Paradox and Principle in China

If, as has been said, a paradox is a truth standing on its head to attract attention, as good a way as any of understanding the present situation in China would appear to be to examine the things that are upside down. A discouraging attribute of this method is its suggestion of length, for, as everybody [illegible] many of the most ordinary Chinese things and ways are [illegible] from teacups to the association of smiles with [illegible] family bereavement. Is there really, the reader may [illegible] more direct method of dealing with the subject? A [illegible] topsy-turveydom [illegible] infectious.

That without [illegible] we shall never [illegible] Chinese [illegible] who is [illegible]

that, as he suspects, their process of thought is physiologically different from ours. This article, however, aims not at anything so ambitious as an interpretation of the Chinese, but at a partial explanation of a particular group of their recent activities. The topsy-turvey things selected for examination need not, therefore, be many. They can, indeed, be confined to three—namely, first, the fact that while each of the three constitutions which have been proclaimed since the establishment of the Republic agree that Parliament is the sole law-making body, few of the laws applied in the country's courts were ever enacted or confirmed by Parliament; secondly, the fact that the nationalist movement is being directed by anti-nationalists; and, thirdly, the fact that the 'unequal treaties' which the Chinese wish to abolish include specifically only some of the rights which they are most concerned to recover.

The first of these three facts has recently been dealt with from a legal point of view in the Report of the Commission on Extraterritoriality in China. Dealt with historically it can be shown to hold the key, on the one hand, to the Cantonese movement, on the other to many of the difficulties with which Great Britain is faced.

> The laws which are applied in Chinese courts [the Commission states] have as their basis mandates of the President or orders of the Minister of Justice, neither of whom has, strictly speaking, any legal or constitutional authority to make laws. From the juridical point of view the laws appear to be regulations applied with the force of law by the courts, but subject to change or rescission at any time by their creators, the President and the Minister of Justice.

In the spring of 1913 the late Sun Yat-sen told me that his determination was to create trouble in China until personal rule had been superseded by constitutionalism. Last October Eugene Chen, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Canton, told me that the Cantonese intended to continue their campaign against the North until they had brought the rule of militarists to an end. The similarity between these two statements, the length of time that separates them, and the domestic history of China during the time fully justify the view that fundamentally the present Cantonese movement is not a haphazard addition to fortuitous factional strife, but a constructive movement animated by principles.

It is most important that this should be properly understood and very gratifying to a student of Chinese affairs to find that, generally speaking, it is. On the other hand, it is equally important to realise that the form of government which the Cantonese have established in Canton, and appear to regard as the form most suitable for China in the present stage of her develop-

ment, is not the one which the anti-Manchu revolution sought to substitute for monarchical rule. This fact and its significance do not appear to be generally realised.

The Report of the Extra-territoriality Commission referred to above summarises the constitution adopted after the anti-Manchu revolution by saying that it "provided for the inalienable rights and duties of Chinese citizens, for the enactment of law by Parliament, for the promulgation of laws by the Executive, and, finally, for the independence of the judiciary." The constitution which followed this one—the Constitutional Compact, proclaimed by Yuan Shih-kai in 1914—and the constitution of 1923 both regard Parliament as the source of law. So also does the draft constitution adopted by the National Constitution Drafting Commission on December 11, 1925, under the auspices of the provisional Government which was established in Peking in the autumn of the previous year but disappeared on April 10 last.

A new idea is now being proclaimed by the Cantonese leaders, who state that the future government of the country is to be entrusted to committees. Theoretically, they have not abandoned permanently the idea of parliamentary government. It s, however, significant that, in a three-hour talk which I ad with one of them in Canton in October, Parliament was ever once mentioned. The subject of government by comittee was introduced apropos of personal rule in China, the fficial in question distinguishing between the position of Chiang ai-shek in comparison with that of other militarists. The hers, he said, were responsible to nobody and their power was ependent upon the loyalty of lieutenants, who, in turn, reprented nobody. Chiang, however, was responsible to, and suprted by, a group which was in a position to control, remove, or persede him. The group, in turn, belonged to a party, repreated it and spoke with its authority, namely, the People's Party, the Kuomintang. From this, at first sight, not very conicing definition of Chiang's position—not very convincing cause throughout their history the Chinese have shown a rked predisposition to allow determined and powerful indiuals to control them—he proceeded to illustrate the advantages committee government by reference to other characteristics of people as old and well known as the one just mentioned, nely, their fear of individual responsibility and their prence and capacity for action through societies, the characstics finding their reconciliation in their common origin, the ily, with its age-long respect for, and submission to, the iarchal head, and its manifold and compelling relations. Government by committees representing and supported

by party would, this official thought, fit all three characteristics, and was the most practical method so far devised of making constitutionalism effective in China.

Certainly the system has been working very successfully in Canton, which, as many writers have recently testified, has been modernised almost out of recognition. When I lived in Canton, from the end of 1911 to the beginning of 1913, it was one of the most characteristically mediæval of China's towns. To-day it is in some ways, though not of course in all, as modern as Hongkong or European Shanghai. Much of the work of modernisation had taken place before the plan of committee rule had been adopted, but a great deal has been done since then, including a reorganisation of the city's finances and the establishment of a municipal administration, of which the chief features are a Council of eighteen members appointed by the provisional Government from merchants, peasants, labourers, educationists, professions, and industrialists—three from each class; and five bureaux—namely, of finance, public safety, public works, public health, and education.

The theoretical basis of this system is Sun Yat-sen's will, which declares the necessity for an intermediate stage, termed the stage of tutelage, in the country's progress towards constitutional government. During this stage nomination and direction, not election and representation, are the methods of government to be followed. At what date Sun Yat-sen conceived this idea, whether after or before his conversations in Shanghai at the beginning of 1923 with Joffe, the Russian envoy to China, I am not in a position to determine. On January 26, 1923, however, the two men issued a joint statement, from which the following paragraphs are quoted:

> Dr. Sun Yat-sen holds that the Communistic order or even the Soviet system cannot actually be introduced into China because there do not exist here the conditions for the successful establishment of either Communism or Sovietism. This view is entirely shared by M. Joffe, who is further of the opinion that China's paramount and most pressing problem is to achieve national unification and to attain full national independence, and regarding this great task he has assured Dr. Sun Yat-sen that China has the warmest sympathy of the Russian people and can count on the support of Russia.
>
> M. Joffe has categorically declared to Dr. Sun Yat-sen that the Russian Government is ready and willing to enter into negotiations with China on the basis of the renunciation by Russia of all the treaties and exactions which the Tsardom imposed on China.

The Sino-Russian agreements which gave effect to these declarations were signed by Dr. Wellington Koo and M. Karahan on May 31, 1924; by the beginning of the following year Canton's present rulers and their Russian employees were in control of the

city, and on May ... Sun Yat-sen's message to the Kuomintang enjoined close co-operation with Russia. Accordingly, while the conception of government by committees or commissions—both terms are used in Canton—may not have originated with Joffe, its practical application owes much to Russian advice and technical help.

And when one reviews the history of China's domestic politics since 1911, the year of the anti-Manchu revolution, it is easy to understand the value which the Cantonese set on the new system. Very briefly, the country's governmental history has been as follows.

Yuan Shih-kai, who succeeded Sun Yat-sen as provisional President of the Republic, thought, or affected to think, that the provisional constitution under which he assumed office was a sham and proceeded to treat it as such. After suppressing a rebellion against him in 1913 organised by the Kuomintang, he proscribed the party as a seditious organisation and turned all its members out of Parliament. In January 1914 he dissolved Parliament altogether and created a new advisory body filled with his own nominees. For two years he ruled despotically, and towards the end of the period tried to make himself emperor. The attempt was foiled by a rebellion which broke out in Yunnan, and in June 1916 the would-be monarch died. He was succeeded, in accordance with the terms of the provisional constitution, by Li Yuan-hung, who reconvened the Parliament which Yuan had dissolved. It lasted, however, only till June 1917, when it was again dissolved, principally because the militarists who had surrounded Yuan Shih-kai disliked the constitution, which, in accordance with article 54 of the provisional constitution, it had drafted to serve as a permanent instrument of government. Li was forced to retire from Peking.

In August 1917 an attempt was made to restore the Manchus to the throne, but the prime mover, Chang Hsun, who, had he been successful, would have become the most powerful man in China, was immediately attacked by other aspirants to that position, the chief of them being Tuan Chi-jui, who obtained and held power till the autumn of 1920, when he and his followers, known as the Anfu Party, were ousted from it by another group of militarists known as the Chihli Party—Wu Pei-fu, Tsao Kun, and Chang Tso-lin. In the spring of 1922 Wu and Chang quarrelled and fought. The former was victorious and installed as President Li Yuan-hung, who again reconvened the Parliament which Yuan Shih-kai had dissolved. Li was ousted by the intrigues of Tsao Kun, who remained in power till the autumn of 1924, when, in a struggle between Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin and their respective allies for control of the district of Shanghai, the former was deserted

by the ablest of his lieutenants, Feng Yu-hsiang, the so-called 'Christian General,' to whom the defence of the northern approaches to Peking had been entrusted. On October [illegible] Feng entered Peking, assumed control of the Government, and imprisoned Tsao Kun. For a year power was shared between Feng and Chang, but in October 1925 war broke out between them. It began, like the war of the previous year, in a struggle for the control of Shanghai, which Chang Tso-lin's forces, after Feng's desertion of Wu Pei-fu, had triumphantly regained. It ended, on the one hand, by their being driven out of Shanghai by its present ruler, Sun Chuan-fung, who, in the previous war, from being ruler of Fukien province had become ruler of the province to the north, Chekiang; on the other, by the defeat of Feng through a combination of Chang, Wu Pei-fu, and the ruler of Shantung province, Chang Chung-chang, the three men who control North China at the present time.

This prosaic and necessarily condensed narrative does not do anything like justice to the almost lyrical capacity for intrigue displayed by the individuals concerned and their adherents. And, while it comprises, it makes no mention of two facts essential to an understanding of the Cantonese point of view, and the influence which the Russians have acquired amongst them—namely, the failure of Parliament to make effective use of the opportunities, slender though they were, which were given to it, and the fact that their slenderness was partly due to foreign finance. A third fact which the reader will have inferred for himself, but which requires special mention because it represents the central difficulty in the many problems which have confronted, and still confront, our Government, is the complete disintegration of centralised authority produced by incessant personal rivalry.

In connexion with the first of these facts it may be recalled that Yuan Shih-kai described the transactions of China's first Parliament as 'puerile chatter,' and that most foreigners who were in North China at the time thought his description justified. The same body showed itself inept, to say the least, when reconvened by Li Yuan-hung, and impossibly quarrelsome in its inability to agree even upon the election of a Speaker, when it met again in August 1922, while in the following year members accepted in bribes from Tsao Kun sums said to have been equivalent to more than 2,000,000*l*. Moreover, Yuan's nominated Parliament and the 'Tuchun' Parliament, created by Tuan Chi-jui in August 1918, were bogus assemblies, and even the 'Rump' Parliament, which in Canton, in April 1921, elected Sun Yat-sen President of the Chinese Republic by an insufficient number of votes recorded by members whose term had expired, must have known that it was

acting in complete disregard of the instrument of which during the confused period sketched above it had claimed to be the trustee and exponent. To men as genuine as Eugene Chen and his *confrères* undoubtedly are in their desire to end irresponsible personal rule, and to evolve some form of government capable of meeting the administrative needs of a progressive State, selected committees representing a party must seem much more promising than Parliaments supposed to represent the nation at large.

Their welcome of Russian help in applying the idea becomes still more intelligible when their point of view regarding the Reorganisation and Nishihara Loans is considered. The former loan of 25,000,000*l*., of which 7,416,680*l*. was issued in London, was a mainstay of Yuan Shih-kai's power: the latter, which totalled in all some 200,000,000 yen, were part of the basis of Tuan Chih-jui's and the Anfu Party's. European and Japanese money, in other words, financed the opponents of the Kuomintang. That to the British, French, German, Belgian, and Russian Governments of the day, as to most of their nationals in China, Yuan Shih-kai appeared to be the one man who could rescue the country from a complete *débâcle* is not an argument that appeals to the Cantonese, while on the other hand the association of the Tsarist *régime* with the Reorganisation Loan is a fact of which Soviet Russia can and does make good use; especially as the money required for the service of the loan is collected from import duties under foreign, mainly British, supervision, under a British Inspector-General, whose unimpeachable integrity and honesty of purpose form the keystone of an archway of domestic credit whereon the Peking militarists have marched in safety over quagmires of insolvency, relying on loans secured on the service which he, as the servant of the Chinese Government, administers.

When to these ironical circumstances is added the further one that, before the Russians were made partners of the Cantonese, British authorities were approached by Sun Yat-sen and asked for their co-operation and, for excellent reasons, did not give it, the second of the paradoxes with which the article began—the fact that the nationalist movement is being directed by anti-nationalists—is, for practical purposes, sufficiently explained. Most people will agree that, in view of their major plans in Europe, this is a correct description of the Russians, nor, in face of the evidence already adduced, need space be devoted to proving that they are directing the nationalist movement. Incidentally, however, attention may be drawn to an account given by a special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, written from Moscow and contained in its issue of December 15, of the 'lionising of Mr. Cook,' in which Nicolai Burkharin, who presided at the recent sessions of the enlarged Executive Committee of the International

in Moscow, is reported to have said ' the world ... in China ... marches in three columns, in England, in China ... tinued existence and successful development of the ... Union.'

Before proceeding to examine the third paradox placed at the head of this article, namely, that the 'unequal treaties' which the Chinese wish to abolish include specifically only some of the rights which they are most concerned to recover, it is necessary to bring out a little more fully the significance of a fact already alluded to, the complete disintegration of centralised authority produced by frequent civil wars. The disintegration had already gone far when the Washington Conference met in 1921. Since then it has proceeded apace, and has been accompanied by constant changes in provincial administration, with a result that for a long time past it has been impossible to anticipate, for as much as even six months ahead, where sovereignty, either central or local, would lie. This fact alone did much to immobilise British policy, which was further paralysed by the refusal of the French, for reasons which need not here be explained, to ratify the agreements regarding China reached at the Washington Conference. The nationalist movement was coming to a head then, as the records of the Conference show. The following, for example, are extracts from the statement made by Mr. Alfred Sze on November 16, 1921:

> China is anxious [he said] to play her part not only in maintaining peace, but in promoting the material advancement and the cultural development of all the nations. . . . In order that she may do this it is necessary that she should have every possible opportunity to develop her political institutions in accordance with the genius and needs of her people. . . . So far as circumstances will possibly permit, she [should] be relieved from limitations which now deprive her of autonomous administrative action and prevent her from securing adequate public revenues.

Proceeding, Mr. Sze proposed for the consideration of the Conference ten principles to be applied to China, of which the fifth, sixth, and seventh were as follows:

> Immediately and as soon as circumstances will permit, existing limitations upon China's jurisdictional and administrative freedom of action are to be removed.
>
> Reasonable, definite terms of duration are to be attached to China's present commitments which are without time limits.
>
> In the interpretation of instruments granting special rights and privileges, the well-established principle of construction that such grants shall be strictly construed in favour of the grantors is to be observed.

If these three principles are compared with the Twenty-one Demands made by Japan in 1915, with which Power we were then

[illegible] in alliance, and if they are considered not in [illegible] failures (which were and are lamentable), or even to [illegible], educational and industrial (which, in my opinion, have been exaggerated), but in relation to the immense inflow of disordered thought and undisciplined emotion which poured into the country from post-war Europe, India and Turkey, it will be understood how the failure of the Powers to keep the promises made at Washington exacerbated the feelings of the country as a whole and of South China in particular. And as British interests predominate and Treaty revision affects us more than any other Power, our inactivity in the matter suggested that we, obviously, were the people on whom pressure should be brought. Whether Russians were the first to give expression to this suggestion nobody can be sure. It is established beyond reasonable doubt, however, that they have organised, and continue to organise, the methods by which the pressure has been exercised, in particular those of propaganda and strikes, their objects being quite distinct from, but happening for the time being to coincide with, those of nationalist Chinese.

That some day there might be some such alliance between Russians and Chinese was foreseen by the late Sir Robert Hart in 1900, when he wrote:

> Of all the Powers it is Russia that can best afford to be on good terms with China. Russia is a neighbour and can wait, has no propaganda: her commerce, though considerable in volume, has, so to speak, but one body and rolls along over a recognized and beaten track, and Russia may yet be the first to restore her sovereign rights and so cement for ever the neighbourly friendship that has characterised so much of her action in the past.

Sir Robert Hart did not, of course, foresee all the circumstances in which this 'cementing' is taking place to-day. He did not foresee, for example, the subvention of the nationalist movement through the establishment of a Soviet bank, nor how, prior to its establishment, large sums of Russian money would be distributed though various parts of China through a Chinese bank in bearer cheques. Nor did he foresee the formation in many Chinese schools and colleges—amongst them one of the most influential and best known—of 'cells' wherein students are in regular receipt of Russian money, with the cessation of which would cease also much of the anti-British fervour that has of late years been so marked a characteristic of Chinese student life.

E. M. Gull

(late Secretary to the Associated British Chambers of Commerce in China and Hongkong).

CHINA

II. THE CHINESE PROBLEM THROUGH CHINESE EYES: SUN YAT-SEN AND THE THREE PEOPLE'S PRINCIPLES

THE fifteen years which have passed since the foundation of the Chinese Republic have been as unhappy a period as any similar time in China's history. Instead of the era of progress and development for which all true friends of China fondly hoped, it has been an era of confusion and strife. One army after another has passed across the vast stage. Factions have formed, and striven with other factions, and split up again. One military leader after another has arisen, only to fall before his stronger rivals. Statesmen have held the reins of power and fallen headlong. No wonder the Western spectator, looking with curious eyes upon the scene of China's sufferings, has been bewildered at the spectacle, and is puzzled to know what interests are involved, what principles are at stake, in all this welter and chaos.

Until quite recently it would have been true to assert that no principles are at stake; that the only interests involved have been selfish. Each of the striving war lords, no doubt, has been accustomed to proclaim that his object is to 'save the country,' and to denounce his rivals as hypocrites and national traitors. Some of them have talked largely about 'unifying the country by force,' and others have made play with that magic word 'democracy.' But the conduct of these leaders has shown only too clearly that in making war upon one another the welfare of the people has entered but little into their calculations, and their professed patriotism has been only a disguise for the lust of power.

But the last few months have seen the rise of a party in South China who really are fighting for principles. The Cantonese, who started their northward sweep last summer, have plunged China into the most widespread civil war which she has yet seen. In all the stormy years of the Republic no such nation-wide contest has arisen. It is no longer a contest between war lords. These Southern armies mean to make themselves the masters of the country. If they succeed, there will be a radical change in China's foreign policy, as well as in her internal administration.

It is not quite accurate to call the Cantonese 'Bolshevik,' nor to dub their armies 'Red.' In their political principles, it is true, they have much in common with Bolshevism. Their professed dislike of 'imperialism,' their deadly hatred of Great Britain, and their general attitude of suspicion and distrust towards the foreign Powers are derived from Soviet Russia. But in their social programme they are by no means prepared for a wholesale adoption of the Soviet ideal. They realise that a thorough-going communistic system can never be forced upon the Chinese people. They think that they can work out a social policy more suited to the needs of China than any form of Marxism.

The programme of the Cantonese is really what we may call Sun Yat-senism. Its principles are contained in the series of lectures known as the 'Three People's Principles,' which were delivered in Canton by Sun Yat-sen himself during his last term of governorship in Kwangtung. These lectures form the political text-book of the Cantonese Republic. The book has been studied by thousands of educated Chinese all over China, and it is recognised as the authoritative programme of the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, of which Sun himself was the founder.

A study of this book, then, will reveal the aims and political ideals of the party which is likely before long to have the upper hand in China. In part the book is painful reading, for it displays a pitiful misunderstanding of the attitude of Great Britain towards China, and a regrettable spirit of antagonism towards the Powers which did their best at the Washington Conference to encourage China in the path of internal reformation. These misconceptions undoubtedly have arisen from the sowing of the Bolshevist seed in the minds of young Chinese during recent years. Until these misconceptions can be removed the task of establishing more friendly relations between the Powers and China seems hopeless. Yet not only the welfare of China but the peace of the world may possibly depend upon an improvement of these relations in the near future.

What is needed in China to-day is some form of official propaganda to combat the insidious lies and perversions which the Bolshevist agents have been spreading with such success. The first step towards such a propaganda must be to obtain a clear idea of the nature of the misconceptions from which all the anti-foreign feeling arises. It is in the hope of assisting in such a preparation that the following summary of Dr. Sun's lectures is offered.

The 'San Min Chu I' or 'Three People's Principles,' falls naturally into three divisions. The first part deals with

[illegible] with 'The People's Life,' or Socialism.

PART I.—RACIALISM

In his opening lecture Dr. Sun commences by pointing out the distinction between a race and a nation. A race is a natural division of mankind. The five factors which help to unify a race are: (1) common blood; (2) tribal occupation; (3) common language; (4) religion; (5) customs and habits. He instances the Jews as a race which has been held together by the force of religion. But he makes a bad blunder when he asserts that the binding force which links together the peoples of India is the religion of Buddhism.

A nation, on the other hand, is the artificial product of military conquest. One race, usually against its will, is brought under the military domination of a stronger race. This leads to imperialism, or the oppression of weak races by strong ones, of which the British Empire is an outstanding example. Dr. Sun mentions Hongkong as a case in which a Chinese population has been brought under the usurping government of the British. He entirely ignores the fact that, when Hongkong was ceded to England after the war of 1840–2, it was little more than a barren island. The Chinese population of the Colony, numbering about 100,000, have nearly all settled there since the British occupation. So far from being an oppressed race, they seem to prefer the just laws and protection afforded them by the British Government to the conditions to which they would be subject in their own territory in the province of Kwangtung. But Dr. Sun does not attempt to explain this curious preference. He only deplores the fact of Hongkong being held by the British.

Now Dr. Sun claims that while in the West nationalism and racialism represent different principles, in China they mean practically the same thing. For, apart from the tribes of the Mongols, Manchus, Thibetans, and Mohammedans, who do not amount to more than 10,000,000 altogether, the whole of the 400,000,000 of the Chinese nation belong to one race. They are unified by blood, by language, by religion, and by customs. Unfortunately the Chinese, while they hold strongly to the family system and to the clan system, have not yet developed the racial spirit. Consequently they are looked down upon by foreigners, and are often compared to a 'rope of sand.' The only way to save China from destruction is to develop the racial spirit amongst her people.

Dr. Sun then proceeds to survey the populations of the leading

[illegible]
n[illegible] to [illegible] increase dur[illegible]
the [illegible] shows that during the past centu[illegible]
while [illegible] has remained almost stationary, t[illegible]
other nations have increased enormously. The population [illegible]
England during this period has risen from 12,000,000 to abo[illegible] 38,000,000 of people; that of Japan from (possibly) 20,000,0[illegible] to 56,000,000, Germany from 24,000,000 to 60,000,000, Americ[illegible] from 9,000,000 to almost 100,000,000, and France from 30,000,00[illegible] to 39,000,000. In a brief survey of the internal conditions of these countries the greater part of Sun's space is devoted to Russia, which, from being an imperialistic Power of the most aggressive type, has become a Socialistic State after Sun's own heart. Under her former despotic rulers Russia had succeeded in getting her hold upon both the eastern half of Europe and the western half of Asia. Her eastern advance was a menace to both China and Japan, and she was equally feared by the Western nations because of her territorial ambitions. But since the Russian Revolution she has been feared for another reason by the militaristic nations of Europe; for she has succeeded in unifying the great Slav peoples, and has become the champion and protector of all weak and oppressed races.

The second lecture opens with the story of the wrongs which China has suffered at the hands of the foreign Powers. In the struggle for existence, the competition of race against race, the Chinese are in danger of being wiped out, just as the Red Indians have been wiped out in North America by the advance of the white race. The first stage was the gradual shearing off of China's territory; the final aim was to slice her up like a melon. In the past century Corea has gone to Japan and Annam to France; England has seized Weihaiwei; Germany laid her hands on Tsingtao, and so on. In addition, China has lost her sovereignty over the neighbouring countries which used to own her supremacy. Burma, Indo-China, Thibet, the regions north of Mongolia, Java, Ceylon, Nepaul, Bhutan, and countries in Central Asia as far south as the Himalayas and as far west as the Altai Mountains—all these once paid tribute to China and acknowledged her overlordship. For China herself was once an imperialistic Power, though she has long since given up all depredatory ambitions.

But since the Chinese Revolution of 1911 the Powers have given up their idea of slicing China like a melon. Instead of the method of political aggression they have embarked upon the more insidious and more effective policy of economic oppression. The commercial penetration of China has been going on for more tha[illegible] 100 years. Its results are far more injurious, because less obvi[illegible] than the results of open aggression. The people of China are [illegible] more unhappy condition than the people of other oppre[illegible]

nations, such as Corea and Annam. For Corea and Annam are colonies respectively of Japan and France; their people are the slaves of only one Power. But China is, to coin a word, a 'sub-colony'; her people are the slaves, not of one master, but of several. One symptom of this unhappy condition appears when famines or floods take place in China. In Corea, when a national calamity occurs, it becomes the task of the Japanese Government to devise and carry out measures for relief. For Corea is a Japanese colony, and as such can claim the assistance of Japan as a right in cases of national emergency. But if a famine occurs in China it is the duty of no single Power to relieve the sufferings. Consequently foreigners belonging to various countries who are resident in China join together to form an association for famine relief. This is not their duty, but an act of philanthropy, for which the foreigners gain great credit. The Chinese are thus made to be the recipients of charity, which reduces them to a lower level than the inhabitants of a conquered nation. This disgrace is owing to the fact that China, instead of being a colony of one Power, is a 'sub-colony' lying at the mercy of a number of foreign Powers.

One of the means employed in this policy of economic oppression is the foreign control of the customs. China's maritime customs were first taken over by England in order to recoup herself for a war indemnity which China was unable to pay. (Sun is entirely wrong here.) When the amount of the indemnity had been recovered the Emperor of that time, because of the corruption and dishonesty of the Chinese officials, requested the English to continue in control. (This statement is much nearer to the truth.) In this way the foreign nations have come to have the whole of China's maritime customs within their grasp. No duties can be imposed without their consent upon any goods imported into China. By this means China's markets have been flooded with foreign machine-made articles, which can be sold at a cheaper price than her hand-made home products. Not only has her internal trade been ruined in this manner, but the country is being drained of wealth, because her imports so far exceed her exports in value. Ten years ago this excess of imports over exports amounted to a gross value of $200,000,000. In 1921 it was $500,000,000. In ten more years' time, at the same rate of increase, the excess will be $1,250,000,000.

Another way in which the foreign Powers injure China economically is by the establishment of foreign banks. These banks are considered by the Chinese to be more trustworthy than the Chinese banks. Their paper currency is more acceptable than native coin Their bills of exchange are used by Chinese merchants when they wish to transfer large sums of money from one mart to

another; and wealthy Chinese prefer to deposit their money in the foreign banks, although they receive a much lower rate of interest than they would from the native banks. In these ways the foreign banks are robbing China to the extent of something like $100,000,000 per annum. Dr. Sun does not explain how it is that the foreign banks have attained such a position of supremacy. It is, of course, not his purpose to expose the inefficiency of his own countrymen, but only to show what mean advantage is taken of their weakness by the grasping foreigner.

A third method of economic oppression is found in the overseas shipping charges. China, having no merchant fleet of her own, is forced to rely on the ships of other nations for the carrying on of her external commerce. All the merchandise which enters or leaves her ports is carried in foreign bottoms. Unlike Japan, she can have no reciprocal agreements with other countries in regard to shipping charges. Consequently she has to pay extra high freightage on all her cargoes. Reckoning the cost of transport between England and Shanghai as 10 per cent. of the gross value of goods, Sun estimates that China's annual loss on this count cannot be less than $100,000,000.

Other means employed by the foreign nations to deprive the Chinese nation of its wealth are: the taxes and rents which have to be paid by the Chinese who reside within the boundaries of foreign concessions; the special trading rights granted by treaty to foreign companies or individuals; public lotteries. Dr. Sun estimates that, by all these methods together, the foreign Powers are robbing China by an amount of not less than $1,200,000,000 per annum. In former times, when China was a great empire, she was accustomed to receive tribute from all the neighbouring States. Now, in the days of her weakness, she is compelled to pay this vast annual tribute to the foreign nations. Thus China's national existence is being threatened in three ways: first, by the superior rate of increase in population of the foreign Powers; second, by political aggression; third, by economic oppression. Unless some means can be found of combating the nefarious designs of the other nations against China's sovereignty, she is threatened with national extinction within the space of a century.

In his third lecture Dr. Sun raises the question of when and how the Chinese lost their corporate racial spirit. He decides that it was nearly 300 years ago, when the Mongol emperors of the Ming Dynasty were overthrown by the Manchus, who set up the great Ching Dynasty. He points out how the racial spirit was kept alive during the reigns of several of the Manchu emperors by secret societies, whose object was to overthrow the Manchus and restore the Mings. But these societies found their adherents

[illegible] The scholars and [illegible] the new *régime*. Consequently no books were written to perpetuate patriotic traditions, and the spirit of race was kept alive only amongst the unlettered peasants and the lower ranks of society.

He next discusses the policy of nationalism as against internationalism—the latter doctrine now being advocated by humanitarians in both England and America. He decides that internationalism will not benefit China at present, in face of the imperialistic designs of other nations which are aiming to crush her out of existence. He quotes a saying of his hero Lenin, who prophesied a racial war in which the oppressed races, numbering some 1,250,000,000, will rise up in revolt against the 250,000,000 people of the imperialistic countries. Only after this racial contest has been fought to a finish will some form of internationalism become possible.

In the fourth lecture Dr. Sun comes to the subject of the European War. It was a war between imperialistic nations, and was fought for two reasons. One cause was the rivalry between England and Germany for naval supremacy. The other cause was the general ambition, on the part of all the warring nations, for territorial aggrandisement. But America entered the war not because she desired to acquire territory, but in order to prevent the downfall of the Anglo-Saxon race. President Wilson sounded the hope of all the oppressed races when he declared his aim to be the 'self-determination of small nations.' It was this hope which brought all the small nations into the war. British-governed races like the Indians and Burmese were induced to fight, as they believed, for their own liberty. But when the war was finished and the Powers met at Versailles to settle the peace terms, it was found that Wilson's formula was quite irreconcilable with their imperialistic designs. They therefore talked largely about 'internationalism,' a word which on their lips was only another name for imperialism; and so all the small nations were cheated of their hopes, and the Western Powers are able still to oppress the Asiatic races by their twin methods of political aggression and of economic oppression.

But one phenomenon arose out of the European War which offers some hope for the future. This was the Russian Revolution. During the first two years of the war Russia's assistance had been absolutely indispensable to the Allies, for without her aid England and France alone would have been defeated by Germany. But after that the Russians realised that they had nothing to gain from abetting the imperialistic designs of England and France. They therefore made a separate peace with Germany,

[illegible] they threw in their lot [illegible] races of Asia [illegible] as already quoted, [illegible] the struggle of the future lies between the 1,250,000,000 of the Asiatic races and the 250,000,000 of the *imperialistic nations of Europe and America. It was because of this saying of his that he was attacked by the imperialistic Powers, and as soon as the war was finished England and France* did their best to attack and destroy the new Russian State. But they were not strong enough, and the 150,000,000 people of Russia, representing the great Slav race, still stand as the friends and allies of all the oppressed peoples of Asia.

Now, the heaven-appointed destiny of China's 400,000,000 of people is to abolish racial inequality. The foreign Powers know this, and their talk of internationalism is merely a camouflage to hide their enmity. As a matter of fact, racialism must precede internationalism, for the former is the only road by which the latter ideal can be realised. China was once an imperialistic nation; her political science was at an advanced stage in the Han Dynasty, back in the days of imperial Rome. Even at that early date there was a school of writers who declared against the imperialist policy. One scholar of that time wrote an essay, the *Ch'i Chü Yai I*, to dissuade the emperor from an expedition to acquire new territory in the south. The Sung Dynasty was not imperialistic. It was overthrown by the Mongols, who established the Ming Dynasty in 1368 A.D. The Mings received tribute from countries in the south, not because they exercised a military supremacy, but because China's civilisation commanded respect, and it was counted a privilege to be a tributary State. This condition of affairs forms a contrast to the relations now existing between America and the Philippines, or between England and the Ghurkas. For, so far from receiving tribute, England and America subsidise these dependencies of theirs. Yet even as late as the first year of the Republic the Ghurkas paid tribute to China. (It would be interesting to know what authority Sun has for this statement.)

Dr. Sun proceeds to relate how, only ten years ago, he was discussing the East Asian question with the Vice-President of the Foreign Office of Siam. This official expressed his desire that Siam might come once more under the suzerainty of China, if only the latter country could consummate her revolution and become a strong and wealthy Power. The conversation was official, and took place in the Foreign Office building, so that it no doubt expresses the feeling of the people of Siam. He also refers to an interview which he had during the war with a British Consul in South China. The Consul was urging Dr. Sun that Kwangtung should send troops to assist the Allies against Germany, in order

women, and males only to be taxed, it amounts to a [illegible] *per head. But two-thirds of the male population must be* [illegible] *young children or else old men who are incapable of earning anything. We must therefore reckon the tax as being levied* upon one-third of the men only, and in that case it becomes a poll tax of $45 per head. This is sufficient to show how China can be destroyed in ten years' time. After the European War the foreign Powers were wearied of fighting, and they probably have no design of invading China by force of arms. But there is nothing to prevent their aggression by diplomatic means, and China's very existence is being threatened whilst her people are asleep and dreaming.

(3) The third danger is superior rate of increase of population. During the past 100 years, as we have seen, the population of China has remained almost stationary, while the populations of other countries have enormously increased. The population of America has increased tenfold, that of Russia fourfold, of England and Japan threefold, Germany two and a half times, France by at least one-quarter. If the same rate of increase is kept up for another 100 years, America will have a population of 1,000,000,000, and the other nations in like proportion. The Chinese will be supplanted by mere force of numbers, just as the earliest Chinese supplanted the aboriginal tribes of the Miao, Yao, Liao and T'ung in Central China.

In order to meet this threefold aggression China's population of 400,000,000 people must be educated to realise the danger in which they stand, and must be stirred up to a consciousness of racial unity. This ought not to be difficult, for the people of China have a strong family spirit and a strong clan spirit. These must be used as the foundation upon which to build up the race spirit. In this task China has an advantage over other nations. For in other countries the individual is the unit, and all social legislation deals with personal rights rather than with the family relations. But China's social system is built upon the family relations of father and son, elder brother and younger brother, husband and wife. In the foreign countries there is no intermediate step between the individual citizen and the whole nation. But China's organisation proceeds from the family to the clan and from the clan to the nation.

Now in China there are only about 400 clans, for her 400,000,000 people are all included under about this number of surnames. Consequently the whole nation can be brought to a common feeling by working through these 400 clans. Once these clans are united in a common purpose to resist foreign aggression, China will no longer be 'a rope of sand,' but will present a united and irresistible front to her enemies.

[illegible] about this plan of uniting the nation by [illegible] the clans. A similar scheme has been carried out in India, where Gandhi's policy of non-co-operation did great economic harm to England. But India as a nation is already extinct. If the Indians can carry out such a plan as non-co-operation, surely we Chinese, who are still a national entity, can assert our independence by carrying out a universal boycott of foreigners. This is the negative method by which foreign aggression can be resisted and China may be freed from the domination of imperialistic foreign Powers.

Lecture six shows how the recovery of China's racial consciousness will entitle her to take a high position amongst the nations of the world. In ancient times, before the Western nations had sprung into existence, China was a great Power, and she achieved her position—(1) by military prowess; (2) by her high civilisation; and (3) by the virtues of her people.

As an example of China's ancient prowess in war, the Mongols of the Yuen Dynasty invaded and overran Europe for a short period. It is true the Yuen was not a native dynasty of China, and her emperors of pure Chinese blood never gained such a far-reaching conquest as this. But the victorious Mongols were soon absorbed and assimilated by the larger population of China. So were the Manchus, who overthrew the Ming Dynasty. In both these cases the Chinese, not by warlike means, but by the exercise of their native virtues, preserved their racial spirit and position in spite of the inroads of a foreign race.

China's ancient virtues were filial piety, benevolence, faithfulness, and peacefulness. In spite of conditions of change, China cannot afford to despise these ancient virtues. In many temples now the character for 'loyalty' has been taken away from the tablets, the idea being that when there is no sovereign there is no call for the exercise of this virtue. But this is an entire mistake. Loyalty to nation and to people must still be exercised in the Republic.

The Chinese teaching concerning filial piety excels that of all other nations. Loyalty must also be exercised. Her doctrine of love is quite on a par with Christian teaching; it is only in practice that she falls behind. Foreigners have set up schools and hospitals in order to carry out their doctrine of love. Chinese must do the same. As far as faithfulness is concerned, the Chinese surpass all other nations in commercial honesty; a Chinese merchant does not require a legal witness to his transactions; his word is as good as his bond, and he will suffer loss rather than deliver inferior goods. Japanese merchants are far less trustworthy than Chinese, as can be proved by the testimony of foreign traders who have spent years in the East. China is also

faithful in keeping treaties. In the days of her strength she allowed Corea to keep her national independence. Japan has robbed Corea of her freedom, although it was guaranteed by the Treaty of Ma-Kwan. But, because of her treaty with England, Japan allowed herself to be drawn into the war against Germany. This shows that Japan keeps faith with strong nations but not with weak ones.

As for China's pacifism, it is not a politic pose, but is natural to her people. The peoples of the West have sought to avoid wars by means of conferences. They have tried at the Hague, at Versailles, at Geneva, at Lausanne. But they seek peace only because they fear the mischief resulting from war. The Chinese alone have a natural inclination towards peace. It thus appears that in all virtues—filial loyalty, honesty, benevolence, and especially in peacefulness—the Chinese have surpassed other nations. The pursuit of these virtues characterises her true racial spirit, and by their practice she will recover her high racial position.

China has also excelled other nations in political philosophy The doctrine of the Ta Hsioh, or Great Learning, contains the highest moral and practical wisdom. But China has never succeeded in realising its ideal. The control of the family has, indeed, been well practised. But in personal behaviour there is still something to be desired. For instance, the habit of spitting, vulgarity, long finger-nails, and unclean teeth. These faults often cause Chinese to be despised and disliked when they visit foreign countries. Such bad habits must be rectified, if the political wisdom of China is to win recognition and if her right position in the world is to be realised.

China is behind other nations in science and inventions. But it was not always so. Formerly she was in front of other countries. She discovered the compass, printing, porcelain, tea, silkworms, arched doorways, and suspension bridges. Now, however, she has need to learn from the mechanical progress of the West. Chinese have already learned to fly. She must acquire all Western knowledge, as Japan has done. By her superior numbers and greatness it is China's destiny to surpass all other races and to win the foremost place among the nations of the world. When she has won her rightful place, then she must become the protector of all the weak and oppressed races and the opponent of all the strong and rapacious imperialistic nations.

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CHINA

III. A Retrospect of Anglo-Chinese Relations

Sir George Staunton, in his account of Lord Macartney's embassy to China in 1792, records that Queen Elizabeth sent John Mildenhall to the Court of the Great Mogul at the end of the sixteenth century, but he gives us no details. If his assertion is correct, it merely affords us another example of the political wisdom of Elizabeth. If regular commercial relations with China had been opened up at this period, when the policy of the Chinese emperors was not one of isolation, a good deal of the subsequent difficulty might have been avoided.

Commercial intercourse between Great Britain and China began with Captain Weddell's expedition in 1637. It was not a happy beginning. The Chinese seemed reluctant to open up communication, and at last opened fire upon the English ships from the batteries at the Bogue. The guns were silenced without difficulty, and Captain Weddell proceeded to Canton to load a cargo of sugar and ginger. Between this date and 1689 a number of British expeditions reached China and loaded cargoes, but they were unable to place the trade upon a sound or permanent footing. In 1685, however, an imperial decree threw open all Chinese ports to foreign trade, and the East India Company sent its first ship in 1689 and established a factory at Canton. In 1715 a permanent staff was installed in the factory, and the trade continued to increase in volume throughout the century. Difficulties, however, already existed. The liberal policy of the Chinese Government soon terminated, and before long Canton was the only port open to foreign trade; and even here, life at the factories was hedged about by all manner of irksome restrictions. To row boats on the river for pleasure, for example, was forbidden, and no women were allowed to reside in the factories. Moreover, at the end of each season, the entire foreign community was obliged to withdraw to Macao. Another source of dissatisfaction among the European community was the attitude of the Hoppo (or chief customs official) towards trade. From the official Chinese point of view trade was not a dignified calling, but it was nevertheless

a suitable subject for heavy [illegible]. European [illegible] what were generally regarded as illegal exactions was rarely successful, and the taxes were usually reimposed at the first convenient opportunity afterwards. Lastly, the extra-territoriality issue was already provoking conflict. A homicide case occurred as a result of the appearance of the very first of the Company's ships in 1689. Even at that early date the British refused to surrender their subjects to Chinese jurisdiction, and, in spite of many shifts and expedients on the part of the Chinese to secure a surrender, only one clear case is recorded, that of the gunner of the *Lady Hughes* in 1784, and even in that case the man was only surrendered because the ship's supercargo was in Chinese hands and was believed to be in considerable danger.

In 1792 Lord Macartney was sent to the Chinese Court, partly with the object of improving existing conditions, and partly in the hope of establishing a permanent embassy at Peking. Accounts of the embassy vary somewhat. Sir George Staunton, who was secretary to the ambassador, and who wrote what is practically an official record of the mission, claims that it was successful on the whole, although the Chinese Government absolutely declined to receive a permanent embassy. No doubt with an eye to its possible effect upon the Chinese, Staunton records every incident in most glowing terms; but something of a sensation was caused at the time in England when, in 1794, Æneas Anderson, the ambassador's valet, published a much franker account of the embassy—an account which rapidly ran through several editions and which was eventually purchased and suppressed by the Government at the expense of an annuity and a commission in the army. In this volume Anderson deals fully with what Staunton only mentions briefly and casually—the circumstance that the boats conveying the embassy up the Pei-ho River bore flags, inscribed with the characters 'Ambassador bearing tribute from the country of England.' At Peking Macartney was informed that he would be required to perform the usual prostrations before the emperor. This the ambassador refused to do, and ultimately he was allowed to conduct himself as if he were approaching his own sovereign. The emperor received him kindly, but, beyond agreeing to look into some of the grievances of British merchants at Canton, promised nothing. As Auber's celebrated summary puts it, 'The ambassador was received with the utmost politeness, treated with the utmost hospitality, watched with the utmost vigilance, and dismissed with the utmost civility.'

The next British embassy, that of Lord Amherst in 1816, set out with objects similar to the first, but was treated far differently. The old emperor, who had welcomed Lord Macartney, had

[illegible] now [illegible] Lord Amherst, like those which had [illegible] brought Earl Macartney, displayed flags indicating [illegible]at the ambassador was a tribute bearer. From the time when [illegible] first came in contact with Chinese officials until his arrival at [illegible]king Lord Amherst was involved in an unending argument [illegible]ncerning the *kotow*, which he refused to perform. From Tung[illegible]ow, which he reached on August 28, he was hurried to the [illegible]nperor's palace, where he arrived at five o'clock the following [illegible]orning. Here he found a number of high officials in full court dress, who informed him that he would receive immediate audience. Lord Amherst begged to be excused, partly on account of fatigue, and partly because he lacked both suitable apparel and credentials, for these had not yet arrived. Finding the ambassador refused to change his mind, the officials proceeded to hustle him forward, and Lord Amherst only escaped with difficulty. When it was suggested that he should return at once, he accepted with alacrity.

Thus, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, after more than a century of commercial intercourse and two separate embassies, Anglo-Chinese relations were still on an exceedingly insecure footing. The English had reason to congratulate themselves, however, for they had fared no worse than other Europeans, and, on the other hand, they had preserved their dignity in dealing with the Chinese. Others, and more especially the Dutch, who had sought to obtain commercial concessions by performing the *kotow* and accepting other conditions the Chinese thought fit to impose, had been treated with the utmost contempt. Of one embassy, that of Titsingh and van Braam in 1795, Williams (*The Middle Kingdom*) observes: 'They were brought to the capital like malefactors, treated when they were there like beggars, and then sent back to Canton like mountebanks to perform the three-times-three prostration at all times and before everything their conductors saw fit.'

The fundamental reasons for the failure of all European embassies to China in the eighteenth century were the refusal of the Chinese to negotiate on a basis of equality and the reluctance of the Europeans to back up their pretensions by force. Sooner or later, it was obvious to all Europeans in China, the question would have to be settled by the sword. Great Britain, as usual, was the first to make a definite move. The East India Company's monopoly of the China trade was abolished in 1833, and immediately afterwards Lord Napier was appointed Chief Superintendent of Trade. Lord Napier's instructions entered into great detail concerning his policy, but their general character was pacific. Lord Napier was enjoined to study every available method to arrive at a friendly understanding, and in this way, it

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The great weakness of Lord [illegible]
in the fact that it was necessary for him to play a dual rôle. He was at once a representative of the sovereign and a superintendent of trade. To the Chinese mind this was a most perplexing circumstance. An ambassador was necessarily a royal official of high degree. A superintendent was nothing more or less than the chief of the merchants—persons whose calling, in Chinese eyes was scarcely honourable, and certainly did not rank with that of the lowest imperial servant. Lord Napier's first act on arriving in Canton, July 1834, was to send a letter to the viceroy, as to an equal (since they both possessed royal commissions), requesting an interview. The secretary to the commission, who bore the letter to the viceroy, was treated with much indignity, and ultimately was compelled to return with the letter undelivered. Subsequently Lord Napier refused to alter his communication into a petition, the form usually adopted by European merchants at Canton when addressing the viceroy. The position taken up by the imperial officials was that Lord Napier must conform to the procedure laid down for British merchants. When he refused they attempted to put him off by declaring that it was necessary to send to Peking for instructions. Failing to alter the chief superintendent's attitude, the viceroy ultimately sent three officials to meet him. The conference was fixed for August 23 in the reception-room of the English factory. The Chinese (who at first arranged the proceedings) were responsible for a characteristic act in arranging the chairs so that the three officials would occupy the north side—the side of honour—while the Chinese *hong* merchants would occupy the east, or superior lateral side, Lord Napier and his suite being relegated to the west, or inferior side, with their backs to the king's portrait. Lord Napier, however, rearranged the sitting, introducing a table, and placing himself in the centre of the north side as receiving host, with his private secretary upon his right and Mr. Morrison, the interpreter, upon his left. Two Chinese officials were placed upon the left, or east side, and the third, with Sir G. Robinson, a member of the commission, upon the other side. All four occupied the principal guests' places. Behind the two Chinese officials sat the merchants; the secretary to the commission sat at the foot of the table, and in line with him, on the west (or right side and therefore at right angles to the portrait of the king), sat the other members of Lord Napier's suite. The whole incident summarises the negotiations of the period. Lord Napier had made a very direct assertion of equality, which was, perforce, accepted by the Chinese officials, who were two hours late, having waited for 'the battle of the

[illegible] and the meeting ended. [illegible], refused to be dislodged from the position he had taken up, and ultimately ordered a boycott of British trade. Lord Napier thereupon ordered the two British frigates at the mouth of the river to join him, and this they accomplished, being fired at by the river forts at the Bogue on the way. On their arrival Lord Napier accused the viceroy of false and treacherous conduct, and hinted that they were approaching a state of war—a view that was confirmed by the presence of a naval guard in the factories and of numerous Chinese troops in the vicinity.

At this critical moment Lord Napier sustained a sharp attack of malarial fever, necessitating his withdrawal to Macao, where he died on October 11. It is undeniable that Lord Napier had failed to achieve anything, but his position had been made extremely difficult by the terms of his appointment, making him at once a representative of the British Government and of the British merchants at Canton. Lord Napier had merely carried a stage further than Lord Macartney and Lord Amherst had done the demand for equality; and he, too, had failed. Only one possible course remained. It was necessary to try force.

The first Anglo-Chinese war had many proximate causes. The two most important were the opium question and the extra-territoriality issue, and of these the second was more directly responsible for the conflict. The opium question had arisen as a result of the efforts of the imperial commissioner to stamp out traffic in the drug in Kwangtung. One of the steps he took was to force the surrender of over 20,000 chests of opium from British merchants without compensation by virtually imprisoning them within the factories for a period. In order to free his hands for subsequent negotiations Captain Elliot, Chief Superintendent of Trade, withdrew all British residents to Macao, and thence later to Hongkong, then only sparsely inhabited by a few fishermen. During this period the chief difficulty as far as opium was concerned was that the imperial commissioner wanted all British merchants to sign a bond, declaring that they were in no way concerned with the opium traffic, and agreeing to submit to Chinese jurisdiction if they were detected smuggling. Since the punishment for smuggling was at this time death, signing the bond was therefore practically equivalent to conceding the whole ssue relating to jurisdiction. To this Captain Elliot could not agree, but was prepared to accept all reasonable proposals short of this, even to the extent of co-operating with Chinese officials in the detection of opium. A settlement of this question would have been achieved in the autumn of 1839 had not another intervened. During an affray between some British seamen and

Chinese villagers a Chinese [illegible] Chinese demanded the surrender of the murderer, [illegible] replied that he had held an inquiry, and had convicted [illegible] men of rioting, but that the murderer could not be found. The Chinese refused to accept this explanation, and ultimately sent a fleet of twenty-nine war junks to compel the British to surrender the culprit. The result was the Battle of Chuenpi, which resulted in the total destruction of four war junks and the withdrawal of the others greatly damaged. On the English side not a single life was lost, and very little damage sustained.

The results of the war were of the first importance. The Chinese gladly negotiated on a basis of equality, but still refused to receive a permanent embassy. The condition of British merchants at Canton was nominally improved, and by the cession of Hongkong they were assured of a place to which they could withdraw in times of difficulty. Moreover, the treaty of Nanking guaranteed to British subjects a limited form of extra-territoriality, a privilege which was secured pacifically by the United States and France in 1844, for the sole reason that the Chinese had just been beaten and had no desire to risk another war. The decisiveness of the British victory is proved by the fact that other European Powers (which, with the single exception of Sweden and Norway in 1847, did not obtain treaty rights until 1860) were tacitly allowed by the Chinese the same rights as the British, Americans, and French in China enjoyed.

Although the three leading Powers having commercial intercourse with China now possessed rights guaranteed by treaty, a number of difficulties were still attached to their relations with China. The chief of these was the consistently anti-foreign attitude of the Chinese, due primarily to their utter ignorance of the foreigner's outlook. The notion that the foreigner is a barbarian is not altogether dead yet; in the 'forties it was still very strong. From 1842 to 1856 the condition of foreigners in Canton was far from enviable. They were compelled to endure all kinds of petty annoyances; they were frequently the subject of more or less serious assaults. Often they were the centre of riotous demonstrations; once or twice they were murdered. Since the British had just defeated them, the Chinese felt that the toughest opposition was to be expected from them, and accordingly singled them out for special attack. The position was aggravated by the fact that the imperial officials frequently connived at the anti-foreign demonstrations. It was clear that China had not yet any true conception whatever of her international position. Ultimately the British and French, in 1856, were compelled to take joint action.

It is unnecessary to trace British relations with China from

192[illegible]
1858 to [illegible]
from them. [illegible]
slowly recognised. It is not by any means unusual or unnatural for a nation to seek to rid itself of the burden of an unfavourable treaty at a suitable opportunity. *It was, however, something entirely new in the experience of most European Powers to have to deal with a nation which entered into solemn* engagements and then attempted covertly to undermine the efficacy of every one of them, almost before the ink was dry. This fundamental condition of intercourse was not recognised until comparatively late. When it was, the European Powers hesitated no longer. They invariably backed their demands by armed force. They relied no more on verbal guarantees, but established troops and gunboats at vital spots, and looked around for suitable harbours in the vicinity of which they intended to establish military settlements. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century it was obvious to all observers that the Chinese Empire was on the eve of dissolution. Europe had hitherto known only one course of action in such circumstances. When the Polish State could no longer preserve the fiction of national unity in face of the endless feuds of the nobles it was partitioned. A century earlier the Spanish Empire had been similarly dismembered. In the middle of the eighteenth century Britain and France had fought for the privilege of appointing themselves sole legatees to the incompetent Moguls in India. Even as recently as 1885 Africa had been partitioned. It is true that Africa had no surviving civilisation comparable with that of China, India or Europe, and the grounds for partition were therefore stronger; but that was not the reason for the act. The true reason for a general European policy of annexation was fear—fear that some other Power would annex first. To this policy there seemed no possibility of calling a halt until the whole of the world had been brought under the domination of the white races. Of the portion remaining at the end of the nineteenth century China was by far the most considerable. Her deliberate attitude of exclusiveness seemed to invite aggression, and her lack of control over her subjects, leading to innumerable anti-foreign outrages, offered ample provocation. In the ceded areas along the coast, therefore, the armed forces of the Powers were only waiting for the signal to advance. Definite 'spheres of influence' had already been privately decided upon between their Governments. In a forceful paragraph, which summarises and explains the aggressive policy of the Powers, Dr. Morse observes:

> In the world's history no country, with so vast an extent of territory and so large a population, under one Government, as China—no country with a tithe of its area or population—had ever been subjected to such [illegible]

series of humiliations, or to so many proofs of the low esteem in which it was held, as China had been subjected to in the six months, from November 1897 to May 1898; and, it may be added, no country had so thoroughly deserved its fate; no country had ever shown itself so incapable of correcting admitted abuses in its administration, or of organising the resources of an exceedingly rich territory, inhabited by a sturdy race with many good qualities This was felt by some patriotic Chinese; but, though many realised the facts of the situation, there were few who saw the way out; and those few could exercise no influence on the nation, until it had been subjected to yet deeper humiliation. Foreign Powers were now contemplating with complacency the impending break-up of China; she was yet to reach the stage of abasement so deep that the foreign Powers would fear her break-up and provide against it.[1]

The first hint that a change of international attitude towards China would shortly occur was furnished by Mr. Hay's enunciation of the celebrated 'open door' doctrine in 1899. A good deal has been claimed for this doctrine, but in its initial form it was limited in scope; moreover, it was neither original—for others had wished to see the principle of the 'open door' applied to China; nor were its advocates confined to the United States. There were many in England who held similar views. Again, Mr. Hay's note need not necessarily be ascribed simply to altruistic motives. The United States had just emerged from a war with Spain, and was then engaged in putting down an insurrection in the Philippines. Her traditional policy was also opposed to the acquisition of territory beyond the American continent. Nevertheless, the formulation of the doctrine was an indication that the time had almost arrived for a halt to be called to the process of dismemberment. Unfortunately, in the very next year, the restraint of the Powers was taxed to the utmost by the outbreak of the Boxer rebellion and the secret encouragement which the Court gave to it.

Had China been deliberately planning to destroy herself she could scarcely have chosen a better method than to unite all the foreign Powers with interests in China against her. As it was, the fact that dismemberment did not follow the relief of the Legations is due partly to the restraint of the Powers, partly to their conflicting interests, and partly to the political wisdom of several high Chinese officials in Central and Southern China, who co-operated with the Allied troops in suppressing the rebellion. After due consideration has been given to the second and third of these reasons the fact still remains that a decisive change in the attitude of the Powers was taking place, for in 1902 (only one year after the conclusion of peace) Great Britain voluntarily agreed to renounce her extra-territorial rights as soon as the condition of Chinese legal administration warranted it. In the following year the United States and Japan made similar

[1] *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, vol. iii., p. 127.

promises, and a few years later Sweden agreed to renounce her privileges as soon as the other Powers did.

Coincident with the changed attitude of the Powers was the spread of the reform movement, bringing with it inevitably the fall of the empire. The new national spirit and the determination to learn from the Western Powers was directly due to emancipation and rapid rise to greatness of Japan. Posterity will probably regard this as the greatest fact in modern history. It implied that the future of the world did not necessarily rest with the white races: it rested with all those Powers, irrespective of colour, which were fit to assume leadership. More than that, it implied that the future of Asiatic States was not limited by the condition that they must be, economically or politically, vassals of Europe. Partnership on equal terms was open to each of them, provided that the necessary reorganisation was undertaken. No Power recognised the changed position so early as Great Britain. She concluded an alliance with Japan, and took the lead in holding out a friendly hand to China. In the early years of the present century it seemed probable that still another ' New World '—this time the Far East, with a civilisation older than Europe's—would be called into existence to redress the balance of the Old. The reform movement in China promised to be at least as thorough as that which, half a century earlier, had placed Japan on the high road to power.

The outbreak of the revolution in 1911, however, was an ominous symptom. One cannot imagine the Roman Empire of Diocletian's days being successfully turned into a republic, based upon adult suffrage, by a few strokes of the pen. Similarly, indications were not lacking that China was attempting to proceed too quickly with the task of reform. Of these the most important was the multiplication of military leaders, each of them pursuing a policy of selfish aggrandisement. The Powers, however, had other difficulties nearer home to engage their attention. Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 had alarmed the Triple Entente and filled the Balkans with discontent. The first Balkan War broke out in 1912, and the echoes of the two struggles there had scarcely died away before the Germans were sweeping down upon the French coast ports. Little wonder, therefore, that the movements of China's militarists—who seemed from the distance of over 10,000 miles little more than super-bandits—passed unobserved. But when the occurrences of the first half of the present century are assessed at their final value it will be evident that the pre-occupation of the Powers with European affairs from 1908 onwards was directly responsible for the creation of the greatest problem of the present age—the failure of China's leaders to co-operate in the establishment of a stable Government, together with the perpetuation of disorder and a recrudescence of

anti-foreignism. At the very moment when a [illegible] honest policy was required towards the infant republic it was necessary, first, to permit Japan to make what terms she pleased with China, and, secondly, to cajole a small body of politicians who temporarily held office, with vague promises, to enter the war on the side of the Allies. The first circumstance intensified the anti-foreign attitude; the second, coupled with the abolition of the extra-territorial rights of the defeated Powers and of Russia, supplied a dangerous precedent. Rightly or wrongly, many Chinese now believe that if the Powers could again be placed at loggerheads, or, failing this, if they could be induced to embroil themselves with Russia, another and better opportunity would present itself for the cancellation of the 'unequal treaties' without the necessity for China to furnish proofs of her ability to protect foreigners adequately. For the success of this doctrine it would not be necessary for all the Powers to be at war so long as they were preoccupied with the situation that they would be unable to take effective action in China. It is significant to notice that several of China's leading lawyers have elaborated the doctrine of unilateral cancellation of certain kinds of treaties—including those by virtue of which some Europeans now enjoy special rights in China—in American legal periodicals. In the recent abrogation of the Belgian treaty the Chinese made the first move in a long-prepared policy.

Meanwhile the Washington Conference resolutions supply the basis of Western policy in China. This Conference may be regarded as the direct product of Anglo-American unity as far as China is concerned. As a result of that Conference the Chinese customs tariffs have already been reorganised; the problems of extra-territoriality and of the concessions still remain. On Great Britain, who has hitherto taken the lead in Western relations with China, will no doubt fall the lion's share of responsibility for framing a fresh policy towards China.

One of the chief defects of the Washington Conference was that it failed to give any consideration whatever to the disintegration which was taking place in China. Even in 1922 it seemed possible that the Peking Government would ultimately re-establish its authority over the whole of the country. For that reason the special position of Canton was not discussed at the Conference; but that omission has had serious consequences as far as British trade in South China is concerned, and certainly every succeeding Conference dealing with China will have to allot its due share of importance to the rise of the southern Nationalist Government, which now has a far stronger claim than the Peking Government to speak for the whole of China.

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A CONSERVATIVE'S MISGIVINGS

As one who comes closely in touch most days of his life with Conservative business men's opinions, it may be of advantage to place on record some of the statements which are generally being expressed with great vehemence. There can be no doubt that much of the so-called apathy of Conservative supporters can be traced to one principal cause, and, to sum up the discontent which undoubtedly is deep-seated, the Government is stigmatised by many of its would-be supporters as weak and vacillating. The Government is criticised as being afraid to act with firmness. People complain that this Conservative Government, elected by the largest majority of recent times, has tried the hopeless task of converting Socialists and while doing so has alienated its best friends.

The complaints come under five heads:—First, we are told that the present Government has not fulfilled its main mandate, which was to save our Constitution from the plots and intrigues of the Soviet Republic of Russia. Under the same head we are told that the Government has been weak with Mr. Cook and has given him far too much rope. Similarly, most of our troubles in China and elsewhere can be traced to our public administration and lack of firmness.

Secondly, we hear on almost everyone's lips that if Mr. Baldwin had not made the 'Peace in our time, oh Lord' speech when Mr. Macquisten introduced his Trade Union Bill in 1925 we should have been saved the appalling losses of 1925 and 1926 caused by the coal subsidy and the General Strike and Coal Strike.

Thirdly, Conservatives bitterly complain of the lack of efforts to economise in our public services. They point out that here in 1927, after two years of Conservative government, we are actually spending some 30,000,000*l*. more than the Socialist Government spent when in office.

Fourthly, there are complaints that far too much attention has been paid to Mr. Baldwin's pledge not to impose a general tariff and far too little to the equally strong pledge to apply the machinery of the Safeguarding of Industries Act for the aid of

distressed industries. It is [illegible] industries have succeeded in [illegible] elaborate machinery of the White Paper issued [illegible] Trade. It is equally emphasised that a large number of industries have been refused inquiries by the Board of Trade on the ground that they are not substantial industries, while the iron and steel *industry has actually* been refused an inquiry because, apparently, *it is too substantial.*

Lastly, Conservatives are very much upset that so many war-*time* restrictions still remain with us. *Particularly does this* indignation rise to fever heat when discussing our *licensing* laws and some of the provisions of the Shop Hours Act.

May I discuss this last grievance in a few sentences before proceeding to the others. There can be no doubt that the Licensing Act of 1921 has created grievances of a legitimate kind, and has produced many anomalies. However, no one wants to stir up a stern fight about our licensing laws, which we know always create so much bitterness. Similarly, with regard to the Shop Hours Act, there is no doubt that feeling among shop-keepers is most strong that they must not go back to the bad old days before the Shop Acts were passed. In both these cases I am convinced that the Prime Minister, by following the precedent of 1921, when a conference of the Temperance Party with the leaders of the licensed trade secured a compromise, could remove legitimate grievances and anomalies and arrive at a settlement which would not hurt the susceptibilities of anyone. With the Shop Hours Act matters are different. The Act is only continued on the Statute-book by the Expiring Laws Continuation Act, which has to be passed each year. The Early Closing Association, which is very energetic on this matter, is keen to secure a permanent Act of Parliament, for the obvious reason that a chance majority might delete the Shop Hours Act from the Expiring Laws Continuation Bill in any future year. Could not a bargain be made to give the shopkeepers their permanent Act, with amendments as to chocolates, tobacco, and ice-creams, which are the main causes of public discontent ?

My views on the vexed question of safeguarding are too well known to need repetition. It only remains for me to say that it passes my comprehension why the Government should be so timid with the value of the McKenna duties, silk duties, and the safeguarding duties staring them in the face. We all desire to respect to the letter the pledge given at the last election by Mr. Baldwin as to the general tariff. It does not in the least follow that a little more latitude should not be given. In fact, the Safe-guarding White Paper and its administration by the Board of Trade are of such a nature that the Government seem to be

putting [illegible] industries [illegible] that some [illegible] will be noticeable during the forthcoming session on this important subject.

With regard to trade union reformation, time and history alone can say whether the 'Peace in our time' speech was right or wrong policy. The only thing which we can say now is that it failed to secure peace in 1926, just as the coal subsidy failed to secure peace. Mr. Baldwin himself has said recently that when he made that memorable effort, which thrilled the House of Commons probably more than any other speech I have ever listened to, he knew that every disrupting and revolutionary influence would be stirred up to make his effort a failure. As backers of Mr. Macquisten's Bill, I and another Conservative member were alone in desiring to divide the House in the forlorn hope, after Mr. Baldwin's speech had been made, of obtaining favour for the Bill. Whether the passage of that Bill, or something like it, in 1925 would have stopped the General Strike and the Coal Strike is a question of mere conjecture. In any case, Mr. Macquisten's Bill only touched one side of the problem, though a very important side. There are other aspects which the public demand shall also be included in the Government's new measure. I suppose we must reserve judgment, as we are promised legislation, but the public demand that the new Bill shall be neither half-hearted nor weak-kneed. Particularly do they demand that the all-important matters of the secret ballot and peaceful picketing shall find a place in the measure. It is only by dealing fully with the trade union law that these valuable organisations can give the full protection, security, and benefits to their members which are so much needed.

We now come to the question of economy and our national finances. If there is one question more than any other upon which I personally am profoundly disappointed with the Government's achievements, that subject is economy. Mr. Churchill has not wielded the axe with anything like the vigour he is capable of. There is nothing which has annoyed me more than to hear Minister after Minister say, when defending his department from Socialist attacks, that he is only continuing the policy initiated by them, or that he is spending so many millions more than they spent when in office. It would be much more satisfactory to hear our Ministers say that they have completely reversed the Socialist policy, and that the nation cannot afford to spend so much money as the Socialist Government spent. Further, there are far too many Ministries. I see no reason for the Ministry of Mines, the Ministry of Transport, or the Ministry of Labour, to mention only

a few amongst others, and they should go to secure economy. The necessary services to be performed should only be continued as sections of the existing Ministries. Furthermore, a great deal of public unrest would be dissipated if Ministers and members of Parliament would agree to a reduction of their *salaries. It may be asked why I do not voluntarily refuse my own salary or sacrifice a portion of it. The answer is quite simple.* There would be no economy to the State if I did. The full 400*l.* a year would be voted for me in the Estimates. If, however, all Ministers and members accepted a reduction of 25 per cent. off their salaries, that would mean an economy. Such an economy, of course, would be trivial, and might even be termed pettifogging. The main purpose of such an action would be the example, not merely to the public, but to the departments. Also, in my opinion, the railway fares granted to members should be dispensed with at once. After all, this would produce a saving of 250,000*l*., and even that should receive consideration from the Chancellor. It is at any rate to be hoped that the Estimates for 1927-28, which will shortly be issued, will show that the pruning-knife has been rigorously used to get rid of the briars which have been sapping the strength of our rose trees. Just as we cannot expect beautiful roses from trees with wasteful briars, so we cannot expect prosperity and good trade when our expenditure remains at its present level.

Lastly, we come to the real crux of the matter, namely, the Government's failure to deal adequately with Mr Cook, his allies in the Communist Party, and his allies in the Soviet Republic of Russia. It was undoubtedly to deal with this subject more than any other that the present Government secured its immense majority, and there is widespread disappointment that so little has been done in this direction If we exempt the non-ratification of the treaty made by our Socialist Government with Soviet Russia and the isolated prosecution of a few Communists last year, the Government has done nothing. It has apparently sat idly by while Soviet intrigues have gone on unmolested, while Mr. Cook has openly preached revolution, and while Communist doctrines have been advocated without interference. In fact, the impression left unrefuted and the condemnation left unanswered seem to be that the Government has 'fiddled while Rome has been burning.' Of course there may be a perfectly good reason why the Government have not acted, but frankly I cannot see what that reason is. We have been told, in reply to questions, that the Soviet Republic has broken many times its undertaking in the Trade Agreement of 1921 not to indulge in anti-British propaganda. Yet when the Government is pressed it steadfastly refuses to take any action. I would commend to my readers'

notice a letter which recently appeared in *The Times* from the pen of that very stout soldier-politician General Sir Alfred Knox, the member for Wycombe, who probably knows more about the Russian problem than any other member of Parliament. In that letter he very rightly emphasises that *what I will call our 'trump card' is the severance of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Republic. Therefore we should make it* quite clear that unless *their anti-British* propaganda ceased in China, India, Egypt, and especially within the United Kingdom itself, the whole Russian troupe of pseudo-diplomats would be sent out bag and baggage. The time has passed for mild protestations. The Soviet Republic only laughs at them, and they have absolutely no effect. In fact, I say deliberately, with some knowledge of Russia and Eastern Europe generally, that our secret police are mere children compared with the Russian Soviet police. I doubt if we know one tenth of the plots and intrigues which are really going on. If we study Mr. Cook's speeches in Moscow and Leningrad which have been translated from the *Pravda*, there should be no delusions in the minds of all true Britons as to what our policy should be. Sir Austen Chamberlain is a man for whom I have always had the warmest affection. He, of course, inherited as a legacy from our Socialist Government the recognition of Soviet Russia as a *fait accompli*. I would, however, commend to him the attitude of the United States Government as being the right policy for us. It says to the Soviet, 'We will make no agreement with you, and we will not recognise you, until you learn to respect the common decencies of civilised life and make some attempt to pay the creditors you have robbed.' The irony of this is that the United States, which has consistently snubbed the Soviet Republic, is doing more trade in Russia than we are.

As my last word on this subject may I suggest to Sir Austen Chamberlain and the Government that it is no use trying to foster the Locarno spirit with people who are avowedly trying to cut your throat. I have in the back of my mind a shrewd suspicion that the real reason for Government inaction is their praiseworthy desire for the pacification of Europe in particular and the world in general. While I bow to no one in my anxiety to see a peaceful Europe and a peaceful world, I would in all sincerity say that this desired result will be more quickly achieved by a firm and even stern policy directed against the Soviet Republic. Such a policy would soon see the end of Mr. Cook—for the very good reason that the money would stop. It would soon see the end of revolutionary agitation and threats of general strikes. There are a few sincere and honest Communists, but the vast majority only remain in those ranks because the pay comes in with regularity. In the same way the extreme element of the Socialist Party,

fostered as it is by Ru
'pale pink' variety which
that it is futile.

To sum up this catalogue of the causes of Conservative unre
which I am boldly voicing. I should like to emphasise my person
loyalty to the Conservative Party, and to Mr. Baldwin in pa
ticular. But there is this point of view which should be give
consideration by the Government. We started on a plan
campaign under Mr Bonar Law in 1922 which coined as it
watchword 'Tranquillity.' We have had nearly five years of it,
with the exception of the nine months' Socialist *régime* in 1924.
The Conservative rank and file now want a fighting policy.
They do not want any more of the 'lamb lying down with the
lion.' They realise what an uncomfortable position they will be
in unless we take some strong and forceful steps to cage the wild
beast. We have in this country a solid mass of men and women
mainly Conservative in opinion, but belonging to no definite
political party. I have been told that these people in a fight
between Conservatives and Socialists (with the Liberals in all
industrial areas completely down and out) must vote Conservative
anyway. There never was a more profound mistake. I have it
on the authority of one of the most able Conservative agents in
the North of England that at the recent municipal elections,
where only 47 per cent. of the electorate voted, most of the dis-
gruntled Conservatives would not go to vote. We may have the
strongest Conservative alive complaining and criticising and yet
voting for us, but he does not work for us as he would if our
Government gave satisfaction. And, depend upon it, his conversa-
tion with the non-party men may even result in votes being cast
against our party.

It is because I am very strongly hoping for another triumph
as sweeping as our last that I press these views upon the Govern-
ment. If we are to win, we must deal strongly and quickly with
these various matters. We can win again. The position can be
retrieved. The rank and file of the party can be brought to a
state of enthusiastic support of the Government if a firm and
resolute determination is made to adopt a real Conservative
policy. There have been far too many attempts to convert
enemies.' They will vote against us in any case. Let us during
two years make a determined effort to pay some regard
to the opinion of the Conservative rank and file.

Let us recognise the cruel and callous response to the
time' speech. The Government showed that they
by their actions during the General Strike. Let
that firm and determined line in other spheres
ground, not because of their reactionary policy

but for [illegible]
servative policy [illegible]
was never weak [illegible]
courage when faced with revolutionary threats. [illegible]
Disraeli have done in face of the problems of to-day? I venture to say he would not have stood this nonsense five minutes. The wild men would have had no latitude whatever from him. The foreign intrigues would have been stopped. *We all know the Government are warm supporters of the British Empire. Let them show to the world that they are really ready to defend that Empire from the great conspiracy with which it is confronted.*

J. R. Remer.

GERMAN AVIATION AND ITS LESSONS

COMMERCIAL aviation is the most striking feature of post-war Germany. Europe, as a whole, has only just woken up to this state of affairs, and people are rubbing their eyes in wonder at the amazing efficiency of the German organisation.

Great all-metal aeroplanes with sleeping accommodation, dining saloons and smoking rooms have only just been heard of by the British public. Night flying has been talked about at Croydon, but nobody would ever think of going to our London terminal aerodrome to meet a passenger due on a 1 a.m. night mail from Moscow. No wonder, therefore, that the public is surprised to learn that all these things are not vague prophecies but actual facts in Germany to-day. Credulity is all the more strained when it is remembered that up to a few months ago Germany was tied down and restricted by the Nine Rules drawn up after the Treaty of Versailles to cripple her aviation.

How did it all happen? Only three years ago, in 1924, Germany was exasperated by the restrictions imposed on her by the Allies. The country was divided, and the people were quarrelling about this same question which to-day finds unanimous support from every party. Two companies, Aero-Lloyd and Junkers, were cutting each other's neck fighting for the biggest share in the Government's financial aid. As a matter of fact, Germany had money to spend, and both companies came in for their fair shares.

Meanwhile constructors were desperate because they were not allowed to build the aeroplanes which they knew were most suited for commerce. In many cases they left Germany and started new factories abroad, where they constructed great machines which could not cross the frontier because of the Nine Rules. So these designers kept their brains active and their designs up to date ready to burst into an orgy of construction as soon as the Nine Rules were abolished at home.

Junkers commercial line had been founded with the main view of finding a ready sale for his machines, but Aero-Lloyd was an independent company ready to buy the best aeroplane obtainable at that time from any firm. Both companies wer

hampered in their traffic by the various rules governing international flying and in most cases were unable to cross their frontier. Thus light aeroplanes flew from town to town and from city to city in German territory, spreading the propaganda of the air.

Constructors, however, were not idle. With an eye on the future, they approached the Governments of every distant country and continent, whether South America or Spain, Turkey or Egypt, saying: 'Do you want modern aeroplanes? We will give you as many as you want at half-price. You can settle the debt by allowing us a half-interest in the company you are about to form.'

Now all this is at an end. Last spring, after many months of work and deliberation, these private companies were amalgamated into one vast company known as the Luft Hansa A.G., with a capital of 25,000,000 marks The directors of the company represent an impressive list. You will find Dr. E. G. Von Stauss, the Director of the Deutsche Bank, as president. The other directors include the presidents of almost every other great bank in Germany, the leaders of industry and the chief burgomasters of every great city as well as representatives of all the Governments.

It was greatly owing to the help and courtesy of this great combine that I was able to undertake a few weeks ago a comprehensive tour over all the lines administered by it in Germany and was able to inspect many of the most important aeroplane factories and aerodromes.

The actual administration of the Luft Hansa is kept a fairly well-guarded secret. Many figures have been given, but few of them have been accurate. In the spring of 1926 we knew for certain that the subsidy for international lines was 2 marks per kilometre, but that for this sum the Reich insisted on the free transport of one ton of postal matter. The total credit for the year 1925–26 was 5,000,000 marks, and the vote for 1926–27 was nearly 8,500,000 marks.

This is not all. There is also a vote of 3,050,000 marks for subsidies 'destined to obtain the maximum security in the exploitation of air lines.' This, however, has nothing to do with wireless or meteorological installations, which are voted 1,090,000 marks and 485,000 marks respectively. There is thus a total of 13,000,000 marks voted annually by the Reich for commercial air lines.

Just as important as these figures are the credits voted by dividual towns and cities for aerodromes. In 1925 alone hirty German towns voted 13,000,000 marks for aviation. Of his total nearly 8,000,000 was destined for the fitting up of

aerodromes, nearly 5,000,000 for interests in [illegible] through their territory, and the rest for lines of local [illegible].

A good example of this can be found at Munich to-day, where the city has granted 3,000,000 marks for a new aerodrome and even started a competition for an original design with a prize of 5000 marks for the winner. During my visit there I was shown the exhibition of designs. Most of them were grandiose and showed a lack of knowledge of aviation on the part of the architects, but the whole city was excited over the results, and there were about 100 entrants.

Berlin is naturally the greatest air station in Germany, and it follows that it is also the most important in the world. The port is constructed on the Tempelhofer Feld, where the ex-Kaiser reviewed his famous guards before the war.

The aerodrome itself is considerably larger in area than Croydon, while the whole of one side is devoted to great hangars, sumptuous offices, wireless stations, meteorological bureaus and workshops. Only this week an important hotel and several new offices have been opened behind the observation tower.

Technicians would find the hangars and workshops especially interesting as they are far and away in advance of anything at our terminal station. Night flying is not only a speciality in Germany, but an ordinary occurrence at the Tempelhofer Feld, where many aeroplanes fitted with sleepers leave the aerodrome at all hours of the night and early morning.

The first time I saw the aerodrome was soon after ten o'clock one Friday morning. I made my way through the passengers' waiting-rooms and the postal departments to find fifteen aeroplanes on the concrete floors in front of the hangars. All those aeroplanes left to time within half an hour of my arrival. An all-metal Rohrbach went off to Amsterdam, a Fokker headed for Leipsig, Nurnberg and Munich, an Albatross took its twelve passengers to Malmo, a three-engined Junker roared off in the direction of Danzig and Koenigsberg, another Junker flew off to Essen and Cologne and the passengers for Vienna and Budapest only just had time to jump into their seats.

The Tempelhofer Feld aerodrome must be regarded as a port run on much the same lines as Hamburg shipping port. The aerodrome authorities are quite distinct from Luft Hansa and let out accommodation for the companies' aeroplanes at fixed charges.

Luft Hansa's fleet consists of many different types of machines and although Junkers company as it existed before the fusion is connected with the combine, there is no tendency to favour any special constructor.

The most common machine is possibly the Junkers G. 23

This [illegible] and is all metal. The wings and the fuselage are of dur-aluminium treated in a special way, and steel is used on essential parts. This type may often be seen in London, as it assures the service Amsterdam-London as well as Amsterdam-Bremen-Hamburg. Smoking is allowed in nearly all the German machines now, since their metal construction safeguards them from fire. Machines leave an aerodrome to the minute; and the pilot no more thinks of waiting for a passenger who does not turn up to time than a railway guard would delay an express because a first-class passenger had failed to put in an appearance. Every passenger in buying his ticket with Luft Hansa automatically insures himself to the extent of 25,000 marks in case of death or 25 marks a day in case of accident as long as he remains under medical care. It is not necessary to mention that accidents in Germany during the last year have been practically non-existent.

The Albatross flies between Berlin, Malmo and Copenhagen. The interior of the machine was especially constructed with a view to long distance night flights, and the comfortable armchairs are able to be let down at night to form beds. There is room for eight passengers lying down, and the accommodation is ultra-modern. The machine leaves Berlin late at night and reaches Copenhagen the following morning.

The Rohrbach is a fine new three-engined machine with room for about ten passengers. The chief point about this machine as far as the passenger is concerned is that the engines are practically silent. The machine, like nearly all German commercial machines, is a monoplane and made of dur-aluminium and steel. The three engines are B.M.W.-IV's each of 230 h.p., and the machine requires seven minutes to rise 1,000 metres.

The new Junkers G. 31 is one of the latest machines to be placed in service. This monster of the air has three 280 h.p. engines, and there are three cabins—a sleeper, a smoking-compartment and a dining-room. There is ample accommodation for about twenty-eight passengers.

Luft Hansa has not yet decided what line to choose for this machine, but I was told that there is a possibility of inaugurating a Berlin-Peking service next summer *viâ* Moscow. Powerful machines of this type would be highly suitable for such a scheme, and it is well known what superhuman efforts are being made in Berlin to extend German air influence in Russia. Last summer the Luft Hansa ran the line Berlin-Koenigsberg-Moscow in conjunction with the Russian-German company Deruluft. M. [illegible]ette, the Russian manager of the Deruluft, reached Berlin some days ago to reorganise this service and to buy new German machines to be flown from Koenigsberg to Moscow. He will

aviation of a country, and until the Englishman and the Frenchman can be made to see that air travel is an every-day affair Germany will retain an inestimable advantage.

We must not forget that this year German competition will be double what it was last summer. There is no doubt that 1927 will see the Luft Hansa make a bid for Barcelona-South America, Berlin to Pekin, and Berlin-London-Scapa Flow-Greenland-Canada. The last will certainly not become a commercial proposition for some time to come, but it is quite certain that experimental flights will be made to explore the possibilities of a weekly service. All this may sound over-ambitious, but Germany has aeroplanes and seaplanes of such perfection and so important a subsidy that plans of this magnitude present no insuperable difficulties to the greatest of all commercial air companies.

ROBERT HENREY.

THE PREVENTION OF WAR

General Stone, in his article on 'Locarno, Geneva, and the Empire' in the last number of this Review, has discussed the post-war attempts at re-establishing confidence among the nations of Europe, but doubts whether America would cease trading with a State which the League of Nations condemns for a breach of the Covenant. His conclusion is that the obligations which Britain has assumed under the Locarno Pact necessitate an increase of armaments, and that while the blessings of Geneva and Locarno are debatable, our Empire, with God's help, will go forward from strength to strength to fulfil her destiny.

On reading his article it is suggested to me that there are three bases on which to found a policy of tranquillity—namely, (1) the idea of a Theocracy, (2) Armaments, and (3) Treaties.

Theocracy

It is extraordinary how persistent is the idea of Divine intervention in wars and other catastrophic changes. Not only do the religious soldiers—of whom there are legions—proclaim it, but reckless adventurers reluctantly admit it, weak rulers cling to it, Churches argue about it, and revolutionaries quail before it. Count Tolstoy, in his *Kingdom of God*, has set out in vigorous terms the case for relying entirely on religion as a means of preserving peace, yet to-day it is Tolstoy's own country which challenges religion, tranquillity and peace.

Once more compulsory military service is in force, and even women students must study the theory of war, while only fifty Russian conscientious objectors are proving in prison their devotion to the ideals of Tolstoy. At school our children continue to learn the story of the Mosaic theocracy, the Exodus, the defeat of Sennacherib, the return with Ezra, the triumphs of the early Christians, and how Constantine was assured by the Western Church that Christianity meant the end of war; yet to-day not one single State in the world, whether member of the League of Nations or not, dares to march unarmed through this modern wilderness. Providence, say they, requires at lea[illegible]

ance, otherwise the ten commandments will disappear: first we covet, then bear false witness, then kill, and civilisation, including fine houses, coal fires, easy chairs, warm beds and rich food, will disappear! The theocratic idea persists in spite of the failure of the Crusades; but, as a policy, 'Put up thy sword' has not been practised except by the early Christians, Waldensians, and Quakers.

The nations have turned to other methods of avoiding the futile expedient of war as a means of settling disputes, and in particular there are two ways which now hold the field—namely, Armaments and Treaties.

Armaments

The exponents of this method of keeping the peace urge that wars are inevitable: that it is the navy, army, and air force which lend power to national policies; that the small State cannot exercise influence because it cannot enforce its views by arms; that Geneva cannot prevent aggression unless the Locarno Powers help with armaments; that the sword must hold what the sword has won; and that if we want peace we should remain ready for war. These were the views commonly held before the Great War, and they continue to-day. The war to end war has proved a costly fiasco.

We all want security, or, better still, tranquillity; but are we more secure to-day than in 1913? We are staggering under taxation, two-thirds of which pays for past or future wars. Germany is disarmed, but Europe has more soldiers under arms to-day than in 1913, and tranquillity is absent, even where the Fascists are supreme. Twelve million soldiers have died, yet more must be drilled.

General Stone does not believe that the old Adam has disappeared from either side of the Rhine, and, after visiting the country myself and talking to the inhabitants, I find that German disarmament has left a latent animosity, each side looking for alliances, friendships or pacts, to secure by diplomatic means what war has failed to assure. President Coolidge tells us that armaments cause rather than prevent war, and calls for conferences to reduce or suspend armaments. Meanwhile, European gunmakers are arming the Chinese both in the north and south, thus creating a vast reservoir of soldiers certain to cause our far-flung Empire still further cares.

A distracted world, weary of war and warriors, turns to the lawyers in the hope that by means of covenants, treaties, laws, and conventions peace can be established. It is, so to speak, our innings.

TREATIES

I propose now to consider the events which led up to the Great War, and see how far it can be said that international law failed to maintain peace. Then we can say whether any satisfactory amendments can be evolved which are likely to improve the chances of preventing war by international law another time.

It was the annexation of Bosnia by Austria, in breach of the Treaty of Berlin, which began all our troubles. Germany connived at this misdeed; Russia demanded Constantinople as compensation, and the Balkans blazed. The results of this breach of European law were—(1) a great diplomatic victory for Austria (Kaiser Wilhelm standing by in shining armour); (2) the fall of M. Isvolsky, the Russian Foreign Minister, and the transfer of this unsuccessful politician to Paris; (3) the resentment of the Pan-Slavs against Austria and the counter-plots of the Serbs in Bosnia England spoke out strongly that the Treaty could only be altered by a conference of the signatories. It is comforting to know that Versailles provided something to prevent a repetition of this kind of trouble—namely, Article 19 of the League Covenant, whereby old treaties can be reconsidered at Geneva. This was really a victory for the policy of England as enunciated at the time of Austria's *coup d'état*. It is now possible to propose a revision of a Treaty like that of Berlin under this article. As it was, the broken Treaty hung like a thundercloud over Europe, and Powers began to run risks so as to secure similar diplomatic victories without regard to European law.

The next incident was at Agadir, and here again there was a breach of treaty by a Great Power—namely, France.

The Act of Algeciras was supposed to secure the integrity of Morocco and the international *status quo* in that country, and yet France and Spain were both upsetting the *status quo* by military action at Fez and in the Spanish zone. This time it was Germany who demanded compensation. England had in 1904 agreed to help France in Morocco in exchange for a free hand in Egypt, and therefore now turned a blind eye on the French action and forgot the sanctity of treaties. We, however, begged France to buy Germany off with a piece of African territory, and for some unaccountable reason Mr. Lloyd George broke in with a bellicose speech against Germany, which encouraged France to hope for something more than the mere diplomatic support which we had promised.

Thus, we see, the peace of Europe was twice threatened by a breach of treaty, and each time the trouble was caused, not by

[illegible] by parties who desired [illegible] in the breach of European [illegible] principle.

When the British Ambassador at Berlin discussed Mr. Lloy George's speech at the Wilhelmstrasse, Herr Zimmermann, th German Under-Secretary, himself smiled at his official excuse fo sending the German warship to Agadir, which was to protect th lives and property of employees of Hamburg merchants. It wa the diplomatic victory and the compensation which German was after.

Soon afterwards the late Lord Roberts began his campaign t open the eyes of England to the dangers of a European war. Th *Agadir incident had nearly produced war, and left a strong feelin of resentment among Germans smarting under the vigorous castigation of Mr. Lloyd George ; the Kaiser had been criticised* as weak, and the German elections went against the *militarists.* There followed a feverish quickening of armaments both in Germany and France, and a refusal by Germany to consider the English scheme of a naval holiday or any agreement to reduce the mad pace.

It seemed to me the clear duty of the Liberal Government to act on the assumption that the British electorate could be trusted to take a reasonable view of the difficulties, if they were properly led and all the pros and cons carefully explained. Democracies learn to take care of themselves, but they require the education of responsibility. Accordingly I proposed that a debate should be arranged between Lord Roberts and Colonel (now General) Seely, who was then at the War Office and well able to explain the Government's attitude towards Germany. The Eighty Club agreed with me, so the invitations were despatched, both were accepted, and the debate was accordingly announced in all the London papers. Suddenly someone took fright : there were objections raised, questions were asked in the House of Commons, and the Government repudiated the official publication which I had issued. The club was told that public interest required the debate to be cancelled. Whereupon it fell to my lot, along with a distinguished member of Parliament, to explain the position to Lord Roberts and withdraw our invitation ! No doubt Colonel Seely was stopped from speaking because the Cabinet were keeping secret the Grey-Cambon letters, concerning which so much difference of opinion still exists. If these letters mean that we were bound in honour to support France, there was surely no adequate answer to Lord Roberts' arguments for conscription. If, on the other hand, the letters really left us free from any obligation to support France, then why did we lose the benefits

[illegible]
certainly not efficacious, of doubtful meaning, and without any popular sanction: they begat the Anglo-Russian naval [illegible] of April 1914, which was still more nebulous, more secret, and more unpopular. I have heard that the resolutions of the Russian Board of Admiralty, based on the Anglo-Russian naval conversations, were sold to the Kaiser by a spy, so that this precious Cabinet secret, unknown to Parliament, to the Dominions, and to the British electorate, was known to the Czar and to the Kaiser! Looking back on all these papers, written, I am sure, with the earnest desire of insuring peace, I feel convinced they justify the old saying that there is nothing so likely to be misunderstood as an understanding.

In January 1914 a German general was appointed head of the Turkish army, and the Czar, after protesting in vain, launched his scheme for an Anglo-Russian Alliance. In April 1914 His Majesty the King and Sir Edward (now Viscount) Grey went to Paris to meet MM. Poincaré and Isvolsky, where President Poincaré formally toasted 'The equilibrium of Europe,' and thus launched the Triple Entente as a counterpoise to the Triple Alliance. We in England continued to talk about Ulster and Form IV. until the murder of the Austrian Archduke in Bosnia made us believe that there really was trouble over the breach of the old Berlin Treaty.

Meanwhile, within the Cabinet and the Foreign Office all the paper safeguards were being dusted and examined. The Anglo-French Entente, the Hague Convention of 1907, the Belgian treaties and precedents, the Law of Capture at Sea, the Laws of Neutrality, these all became matters of discussion between non-interventionists and those who said we should stand by the Triple Entente.

The European documents which were most likely to hold up the 1914 War were the Hague Convention, the treaties guaranteeing Luxemburg and Belgium, and many public peace declarations by all the countries involved. The hard facts were that the Austrian Archduke was murdered in Bosnia by Slav conspirators, Austria decided to chastise Serbia because the conspiracy was hatched there; Russia was bound to Serbia by race, religion, and sympathy; and France was bound to Russia by treaty. Germany, on the other hand, was equally bound to Austria by treaty.

The Austrian ultimatum to Serbia and Germany's double ultimatum to Russia and France could only be enforced if Germany secured a passage across Belgium, and this was forbidden

by Germany's own solemn guarantee, by all the laws of neutrality, and by the Hague Convention. How was it that all these failed? Could any kind of international convention have held up such forces? The German view is (1) that England went to war to smash Germany, and Belgian neutrality was only a good excuse; (2) that Germany was surrounded by enemies and was compelled to disregard international law to save her own existence. The recently published Memorandum by the late Sir Eyre Crowe, dated July 31, 1914, the remarkable official French history by M. Renouvin, and the writings of Lord Oxford, Lord Grey, and Mr. Churchill, all sustain the theory that England fought to save France, not Belgium.

But I am convinced that international law very nearly stopped the war, and that Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality not only brought England into war, but was the millstone which drowned the Kaiser.

M. Renouvin publishes the names of the members of the British Cabinet who opposed war in support of France. He says the intervention of the Conservatives overcame the hesitation of Mr. Asquith, but he is mistaken regarding the views of the majority of the British Cabinet and of the Liberal Party. Mr. Charles Masterman has just told us how Mr. John Burns walked out of the Cabinet because he opposed the policy of promising M. Poincaré active support against the German fleet in the English Channel. At that time a majority of the Cabinet, led by Mr. Lloyd George, were for neutrality, and letters of resignation were written out which represented the views not only of a majority of the Cabinet, but also a still greater majority outside. The remnant of the Cabinet who were supporting France would certainly have suffered defeat in the Commons had it not been that the German threat to Belgium and King Albert's request for diplomatic intervention caused Mr. Lloyd George to reconsider his position. Had Parliament understood what King Albert meant by 'diplomatic intervention,' and what America and Italy thought of his request, history may well have been ... differently. As it was, the worst effect of the German ultimatum to Belgium was that England lost confidence in everything Germany proposed or did.

... Parliament was quite cold towards the plea for France, as ... the Grey-Cambon letters, because the House of Commons ... categorically assured only a few weeks before that there ... published documents which would hamper the freedom ... to decide for or against war. It was the breach of ... law which affected Parliament and roused the ... war.

... of peace based on public declarations by

responsible German statesmen and on Germany's signature had been washed away, so the lawyers fell back on another line of defence, namely, the Hague Convention.

King Albert received Germany's request for permission to cross Belgium on August 2. He refused, because it would have been a flagrant violation of international law, but decided, after much deliberation, against making any appeal to the guarantee of the Powers under the 1839 Treaty and sent this decision to the guarantors, namely, France, Germany, England, Austria, and Russia. England was, however, asked specially for diplomatic intervention. On August 4 Germany sent her final ultimatum to Belgium, and still there was no appeal based on the 1839 guarantee. After Belgium had heard of the British ultimatum to Germany of August 4 she directed a letter to all countries announcing Germany's breach of the 1839 Treaty, protesting against an outrage against international law, and appealing to the Hague Convention of 1907—a dispatch which has ruined Germany. Then King Albert accepted help from the other guarantors.

The reason for only asking for diplomatic intervention was the desire to form a League of Neutrals including Italy, England, and the United States, who would each guarantee the other's neutrality. Italy signified some kind of encouragement for this, although she belonged to the Triple Alliance. President Wilson went as far as to offer mediation; but unhappily England had just lost her neutrality by promising France support in the English Channel, so this effort to stop the war in its initial stages by a League of Neutrals failed. At that moment an Anglo-American League of Neutrals could have refused finance and armaments to any Power violating a neutral frontier, and this would have induced all parties to listen to talk of arbitration or mediation.

I was at Antwerp a few weeks afterwards, and feel sure the Kaiser would have recoiled before such a combination. Germany must have abandoned the passage through Belgium and faced the guns of Verdun instead. This would have dislocated her war machine and given President Wilson time to insist on his proposal for mediation with all the parties concerned. The League of Neutrals would probably have attracted Spain, Sweden, Rumania, Japan, Holland and Norway, because it was based on the 1907 Hague Convention respecting rights and duties of neutrals, to which these Powers had all given their adhesion.

According to Chapter I. of Convention V., neutral territory is inviolable and belligerents are forbidden to move troops or munitions across neutral territory. One point may have barred progress along these hopeful lines: it was Article 20 of Chapter V. of Convention V., which said that the provisions regarding neutrality do not apply except when all the belligerents are parties

to this Convention. Now [illegible] gerents, and they had [illegible] This defence of Germany's action was never raised, and later on the English and German courts refused to recognise Serbia's omission as abrogating the Hague Convention. I do not know if it was a consideration of this Article 20 which induced the *British Government to pass over the Hague Convention* and plead the 1839 Treaty, or whether the Kaiser could have induced Germany to accept President Wilson's offer of mediation after the violation of Belgium.

The Treaty guaranteeing Belgian neutrality of 1839 had been discussed in 1870 between England and Russia, and the latter carried the view that there was no obligation on individual Powers to maintain Belgian neutrality by force of arms.

The Grey-Cambon letters and the secret pourparlers for an Anglo-Russian Alliance had entangled England in the network of European cross-currents; but this international law of 1907 rose above them all, and it was to this King Albert appealed, and he nearly succeeded. If England had only remained neutral a little longer we could have promised King Albert the diplomatic support he required, and we could have joined the Anglo-American League of Neutrals. That would have helped France far more than the 100,000 men we sent over so promptly.

From all this I think there are two conclusions to be drawn: first, that the friendly co-operation between the United States and Great Britain, which nearly held up the World War, was an event of epoch-making importance, and is likely to bear much fruit in the future; secondly, that England and America should agree to develop international law as a proper method of preventing war. The time is ripe for considering in detail how England and America could proceed to prevent the recurrence of a disaster caused by such a breach of international law as the violation of Belgian neutrality by Germany in 1914. Modern arbitration treaties are largely based on George Washington's policy, which he initiated after the War of American Independence. The excellent relations at present existing between the United States of America and England and the leisure of peace justify the expectation that the two countries might now agree to abandon war as a means of settling every kind of Anglo-American dispute. The United States Government has already assented to the appointment of an American judge to sit at the Hague Court, and both countries could utilise that Permanent Court as the arbitral tribunal for all Anglo-American disputes. This would only entail a simple amendment in our existing Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty signed by Mr. William Jennings Bryan during the Premiership of the late Sir Henry Campbell-

[illegible] made a [illegible] Root Treaty of [illegible], so the way is open for further development on lines already well tried.

Then we should have to consider the law which would guide the Court in settling all such disputes, and the problem would be to secure an enactment which would have the force of law both at Washington and at Westminster. Such an Act might be drafted by an Anglo-American Commission with the assistance of some of the Hague judges, and this law could be made suitable for all the Dominions as well as for Great Britain. This Commission might properly be asked to consider the constitutional laws of both countries, the general Acts already existing regulating relations between England and America, the decisions of the Hague Court already delivered, and our current Arbitration Treaties. Its object would be to rule out war altogether as a means of settling Anglo-American disputes. When this Anglo-American Commission had completed its great work and an arbitration law had been passed through Congress and all the British Parliaments, it would be necessary to consider the attitude of Great Britain and America towards other Powers. We should try to avoid, as far as possible, special agreements with any nation or group of nations involving military action, and our main purpose should be to help in every way in composing differences and urging peace on all parties by offering arbitration or mediation if favourable opportunity presented itself, but avoiding any commitments which bind us in honour or by special agreement to acquiesce in breaches of international law. This policy will enable us to use our Air Force and Navy for defensive purposes only, a small well-trained Army for occasional service abroad, and Territorial forces to deal with the danger of invasion. Our financial position justifies such a policy of retrenchment.

By submitting the proposed code to all the Parliaments the whole problem would be discussed by the various democracies involved, and the financial side would be appreciated by the taxpayers. There should also be an agreement whereby England and America would act together towards any Power that refused to carry out an arbitration award: such an agreement would not oust the work of Geneva; it would rather strengthen and supplement what is done there, for it would prevent persons playing off England against America, a danger which General Stone seems to have had in mind. England would, in fact, become a link between the United States and the League of Nations, just as Canada to-day represents the European view in the New World. I have no doubt that there are many other countries who would willingly agree to be bound by the same code of law in order to secure admission to the orbit of Anglo-American neutrals.

It will be observed that these suggestions do not include any provision for a military alliance with America. They are based entirely on the desire of both peoples to eliminate war as a means of settling their own disputes. Mr. William Randolph Hearst has just put forward an interesting scheme for an Anglo-American military agreement. He, too, reverts to the 1914 scheme of a League of Neutrals when he urges that the English-speaking peoples might associate themselves with every neutral nation in order to prevent or stop a war or to protect themselves as neutral nations during the progress of the war. That is altogether good and in accordance with the scheme which I have here ventured to outline; but when Mr. Hearst proposes an agreement providing that military, naval, and air forces should be kept up to a definite strength and efficiency in order to make the Anglo-American compact effective, we reach more controversial ground, which can be properly postponed until the other matters more easily agreed have been carried into effect. It is, however, a matter of immense interest that an American in Mr. Hearst's position should now be giving such careful thought to these grave world problems.

It is useless to spend time in denouncing the Kaiser or in blaming Germany for causing the war: let us rather examine how we may avoid the evil next time. I think international law has yet something to teach the world which will be useful in the prevention of future wars.

R. C. HAWKIN.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES

THE policy of the Scottish universities throughout their whole existence has been to keep the academic gates open as wide as possible. By creating no social barriers whatsoever, and by maintaining their fees at the lowest possible figure, they have consistently endeavoured to smooth the way to a university education for every 'lad o' pairts,' whatever his station, and the record of their graduates, up to the beginning of the present century, bears triumphant witness to the wisdom of that policy. Under modern conditions of education, however, the widely opened gate—though it may still be in the best interests of the technical faculties of medicine, science, and the rest—provides a very grave source of danger to the faculties of arts, in which almost the whole cultural functions of the Scottish universities are concentrated.

The danger lies in the fact that at the present time the widely opened gate is attracting to the arts faculties hundreds of students whom it was never meant to admit. Under the educational conditions of an older day anyone who could attain the standard necessary for university entrance had to have a lot more than mere book knowledge: to overcome the defects of the old systems he had to have as well a very pressing desire for a higher education and a really developed intelligence; in short, he had actually to be a fit subject for a university training. Nowadays conditions are quite different. Under the system pursued by modern education authorities, with its highly specialised instruction and its constant forcing effect on the pupil, it is quite possible for a second-rate mind to gain the Scottish Education Department's higher certificate—which is accepted by the universities as an entrance qualification—by mere hard book work alone with an absolutely minimum development of real individual intelligence, and hundreds of pupils do gain the certificate in this manner every year without giving the slightest proof that they are really fit for university training. The forcing policy of the education authorities acting on these large numbers of certificated pupils, coupled with the generosity with which financial help has

been made available, like [illegible] of [illegible] the arts faculties with huge numbers of students [illegible] quite unfitted either by training or by conviction for a university education, and who could derive little benefit from such an education if it were kept on the old lines. By sheer weight of numbers, however, these crowds are diverting the policy of the Scottish universities from its old ideals and are moulding it to suit their own needs. In doing so they are almost completely eliminating the cultural development, in which lies the true value of university education.

The whole aim of university education as it used to be understood, and as it still should be understood outside the technical faculties, is, not to give a certificate of proficiency in certain set subjects, but to train the mind to its highest working pitch, to broaden it and feed it as its horizons widen, and finally to turn it out efficient, absorbent—in a word, 'cultured.' The ideal is no more that the M.A. of to-day should be an expert in history, languages, economics, or any other of the large number of subjects from which he may choose his course, than it was that the M.A. of 300 years ago should be an expert in the logic and metaphysics that formed the whole of his curriculum; in those days, as it should be in ours, the aim was simply to turn out a scholarly, cultivated mind, a mind trained to think, reason, and construct for itself. That cultural ideal, lacking which a university becomes merely a sort of advanced high school, is steadily being lost in the arts faculties of Scotland, which are rapidly becoming as purely technical in their aims and methods as the sister faculties of medicine and science.

The science to which these faculties are being diverted is the science of elementary education, as understood by the modern education authority, and the change is being brought about by the overwhelmingly preponderating number of their students who are bound up in the education authority system, who come from its schools, and who hope to go back to them as teachers. The education authority system must look to its own pupils to satisfy its huge demand for lower-grade teachers, because neither the work nor the emoluments are sufficiently attractive to allow the authorities to recruit from the products of the secondary and public schools. That there is never any difficulty in supplying the demand is due to the fact that comparatively few of the large number of its pupils who gain the higher certificate every year can look forward to a better future, either socially or financially, than a teacher's. For the majority of these it is a distinctly attractive career, and their parents are easily persuaded to make the financial sacrifice necessary to give them the university degree on which the authorities insist. The financial burden—comparatively light in any case, because the fees are kept as low

[illegible] grants from the Carnegie Trustees and by a generous provision of bursaries both by private donors and by the education authorities themselves. The demand for teachers is supplied in this way by the education authorities and the arts faculties of the universities, and accordingly the universities are crowded out with students who seek in the M.A. degree merely a passport to appointment in the schools.

These prospective teachers all go up to the universities with one single, definite purpose in view—to pass examinations. Their school training has taught them that examinations are the beginning and end of education, and their experience of teachers has shown them that the certificates gained by passing examinations form the whole equipment needed by a teacher. For them the three or four years at the university are merely years of advanced school work at the end of which they may gain another certificate of proficiency. They seek nothing but that certificate. The idea that examinations are of very minor importance, and that all the history, languages, and literature that they study are not meant to store their minds with facts, but to give them grounds for theories, to serve as mental food and drink stimulating the growth of the intellect, would be rank heresy to them. And because they are numerically strong enough to stamp their ideals and their needs over the whole arts course the M.A. degree now represents such a certificate of proficiency, and not the sign of a trained and cultured mind.

For years these ideals and needs have been forcing alterations both on the curriculum of the arts course and on the lines on which it is followed out. The aim in its selection and in the manner of its pursuit is no longer to train the mind, more or less irrespective of the subjects chosen, but to pack in a smattering of as many subjects calculated to be useful to the elementary teacher as possible and to lay less emphasis on principles being understood than on facts being learned. In the individual classes the effect of the pressure of numbers is seen at its clearest and worst. Faced with a class of anything from 100 to 300 members, the greater number of whom are capable of appreciating little beyond pure facts, the professor cannot possibly work along the explanatory, discursive, stimulative lines which it is really his function to adopt. He can do little but teach, teach, teach, day in and day out, like a sort of glorified schoolmaster. That is what actually happens; the unfortunate professor, bound by the limitations of his students and by the necessities of the intensified examination system which they have brought with them, must confine his lectures more to solid fact than to useful theory, while his audience sits and scribbles in a state of tense industry worthy of a better cause, trying to take down every

word he utters—the facts to be learned later 'off by heart', the theories to be mainly disregarded." I have vivid recollection of such a scene in an English literature class where a professor, one of the most eminent figures in English literature to-day, was trying to overcome this handicap and discursively, almost conversationally, endeavouring to bring home to his students the beauty of a certain passage in Shakespeare. Three-quarters of his audience sat crouched over their notebooks feverishly striving to get every word down on paper, without the slightest comprehension of what he was driving at. Later on they would read over their confused notes and wonder what on earth it was all about; meanwhile they had blindly passed by something far greater than any facts, a key to the wonder and beauty of great literature. It was pathetic, but absolutely typical of the arts class of to-day.

Throughout the whole course the limitations of the preponderating element tend to turn the classes into mere opportunities for fact-grabbing and to lower the degree to little better than a higher school certificate, but their unfortunate effects do not stop there. A great part of the value of a university training is gained outside the classroom—in the intellectual communion of developing minds in conversation and debate, in the humanising influence of congenial and stimulating companionship, in the forging of sound standards of taste and behaviour, and in the absorbing, through the tradition of hundreds of years, of a spirit of *esprit de corps* higher and finer than can be given by any other fellowship; it is the subtle mental background that is compound of all these that, added to the educational work of the classroom, forms the real gift of a university to her graduates. That cultural element hardly exists in the Scottish universities to-day; it cannot exist where the great majority of the students neither expect, desire, nor even understand it.

Outside the classroom, if undergraduate conversation does chance to veer round from petty gossip to matters academic, all the talk is of facts learned or to be learned, not of theories thought out, of examinations, not of new beauty discovered, of 'marks,' ... aspirations. The limited horizons of the prospective ... whole faculty in like a huge network of weed ... mind-stirring there may be ... of the Scottish universities has ... munal life in which intellectual ... this difficulty used to be largely ... of societies, to at least one of which ... wherein he found the fellowship of ... g together in discussion and debate ... ed his own, that led him to new ... im how his fellows were solving the

That ... tian ... tinctly ... to make ... degree on ... comparatively ... and by ... of the ... taught with ... an to useful ... state of tense ... e down every

problems of ethics, philosophy, politics, and the science of life generally which were confronting him, that exercised his mind in the ever-growing development produced by his classes and, by enlarging its comprehension, enabled him the better to digest the matter he was learning. Some of the finest minds this country has produced owe much of their greatness to the societies of the Scottish universities. To-day the majority of these societies present a pitiful aspect. Their time is taken up with sterile, spiritless debate in which solid masses of facts and statistics interspersed by equally solid quotations from equally solid books are bandied to and fro for a whole evening with hardly one new idea or one original theory emerging from the dust of ages. The whole atmosphere of their meetings is lifeless, the whole product a constant repetition of what dead men have said: the old urge that made men express *themselves* is gone; now they do not even seek to understand themselves and can only express other people by quoting from them *ad nauseam*. The undergraduate intellectual life of Edinburgh University, for instance, has been practically moribund for years, and what few sparks of vitality there still remain are maintained mainly by students of the faculty of law, and not by arts students proper.

The effect of this atmosphere on the now-exceptional student who enters upon his university course, not as three or four years of higher school work, but as a sort of intellectual adventure, is naturally disastrous. His vague aspirations and ideals, capable of bearing such worthy fruit, are soon atrophied by the unsympathetic nature of his environment. The crowded atmosphere of the classes first puzzles, then disgusts him, the school teaching methods irritate, and the constant examination system finally disposes of all hope he has of finding stimulation and guidance in the classroom. Outside the prospect is quite as bad. He will not find much inspiration in his fellows, interested only in their own small future of teaching and their own small present compounded of 'exams' and society 'socials.' He may make the best of a bad job by seeking out one or two other kindred spirits and building up an intellectual companionship without the university, but often, unfortunately, he gives up the struggle and simply concentrates on getting through his examinations and having a good time. Just because they fail to set them on the right path, or even to provide the right path for them, the universities are losing many potentially first-class minds. It is no exaggeration to say that to-day the best elements in the Scottish universities live their lives almost wholly outside the university.

When confronted by the critics of the ordinary M.A. degree the university authorities turn to the honours courses and point out that there is no overcrowding in them. That is true enough,

[illegible]

But the real student [illegible] the honours course, [illegible] principles which they have brought to the [illegible] unfortunately present. The honours courses are in reality [illegible] different from the ordinary course except that they necessitate a extra year's work, confine their attention *to one subject or group* of related subjects instead of *giving* a *smattering of several*, require a higher pass standard in examinations, and, instead of spreading their degree examinations throughout the course, impose one great memory test at its end.

The demand of the education authorities requiring from their higher-grade teachers an honours degree—*i.e.*, a higher standard of actual knowledge in one subject or group of related subjects, but no higher cultural qualification than is indicated by the ordinary degree—force into the honours courses the most efficient members of the same type who crowd out the ordinary course. They bring the same ideals as their fellows—a determination to pass examinations and gain certificates, to acquire as much 'knowledge' as possible by hard book work, and to equip themselves with the stock-in-trade that they will later dispense to their pupils, but little or no desire for mind-training or culture. The honours courses—with the example of the ordinary course behind them—are moulded to suit these students. There are fewer examinations running through the course, it is true, but the class policy is the same one of teach, teach, teach all the time, and when the examinations do come at the end of the four years they put a tremendous premium on memory work and fact acquisition. The fact that the standard of degree given—first, second, or third class—should depend to an infinitely greater extent on the marks gained in these examinations than on the merits of actual constructive work done in essays, etc., throughout the course is at once an index to the weakness of the honours degree as the sign of an exceptionally well-trained mind and to the extent to which the school influence has moulded the policy of the system. The honours courses, in fact, though they do give a better chance to the real seeking mind than the ordinary course, still tend to stifle and retard its growth. They are built, not for its needs, but for the needs of the teacher-to-be; in essence they are instructional, not cultural.

The problem that faces the Scottish universities, whether they acknowledge it or not, is that they are in danger of ceasing to be universities, in the true sense of the word, at all, and are becoming instead glorified technical colleges with their arts faculties forming the technical schools of 'education.' The most obvious remedy would be for the universities to say plainly to the education authorities, 'We cannot undermine the value of our M.A. degree

[illegible] they [illegible] to go in for arts faculties; [illegible] undertake the task yourselves in your own training colleges.' Thereafter they could radically alter their entrance examination so that intelligence instead of memory formed the basis of entrance qualification and adapt their arts curriculum to produce the true M.A.—a cultured, mind-trained scholar, ready to go out and take his place in the professional or business world as a well-educated man, or to go on to one of the technical faculties to build up its specialisation on the basis of a sound preliminary education, or, if an honours graduate, to emerge as a thoroughly trained specialist in his subject. The insuperable difficulties in the way of this course are financial. The Scottish universities are not rich, and with the low fees that are their pride they cannot maintain strong arts faculties without a large number of students. If the teacher element were thus ruthlessly eliminated the number of students in the arts faculties would be so small as to make it almost impossible to maintain the present standard of professorial and lecturing staff. A second expedient might be to maintain the *status quo* as regards the ordinary M.A. degree and to remodel the honours courses so that they fulfilled the cultural rather than the instructional ideal. But this, too, would be unsatisfactory, because it would leave the M.A. degree in the anomalous position of meaning one thing in its ordinary form and quite a different thing in its honours form.

The real solution to the problem would be more easily found if both the universities and the education authorities would face the fact that what the prospective elementary teacher really wants is not an M.A. degree at all, but a degree in elementary education. Such a degree might then be set up under the arts faculty, and the staff of that faculty could undertake both the work of the new educational course—with a curriculum, entrance qualification, and examinations very much on the lines of the present M.A. course—and of the infinitely smaller pure arts course, which would have a different entrance qualification and a intention rather cultural than instructional. The financial difficulty which would be caused by the disappearance of the bulk of the students in the arts faculty would not arise in these circumstances, and the obstacles to the undertaking of two distinct but related courses by one staff should not prove unsuperable. The difficulties of such a far-reaching reorganisation would, of course, be tremendous, but no remedy undertaken to solve a problem of the magnitude this has reached can be easily achieved; and the longer the evil day is put off the more difficult will the solution become.

KENNEDY STEWART.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL BOY[1]

THE secondary school as it stands to-day is an absolutely moder creation. It is still in the experimental stage. Its history is onl just beginning ; it has no traditions, though it is rapidly evolvin them. Its swift and continuous growth, its constantly widenin range, the innumerable changes in detail that have been made i it, the adjustments and temporary measures that these hav rendered necessary, all combine to present a type of school tha carries incredible diversities beneath the surface of its uniformity It has uniformity ; since its inception there has been no definit and fundamental change in direction, but always the track o which it started out has been widening, and within very broa containing bounds there have been and are incessant variations One might say that the strategy has remained constant, but th tactics are ever changing. Quite recently a writer described th secondary school as ' The New Way in Education,' and this vagu title very fairly represents the state of the case. It is a new way it is a *way*, and not a meander : exactly how far that way ha carried it and whither it will carry it in the future can hardly b determined with any exactness. Its possibilities are almost ui limited ; it looks like becoming shortly the dominant force i English education. On the other hand, its defects are obviou and some of them, if uncorrected, may contain the seeds o disaster. Fortunately the secondary school has attracted s attention from both educationists and the general publ are critics innumerable who are only too willing itations and pillory its faults. The work of many een invaluable, and has done much to assist what is, all things considered, one of tl the twentieth century.

by its results. The seconda ys. I leave the girls out personal knowledge of gi onal schools ; what I have se ourably.

Boy ' by S. H Foot, D.S.O., appeared

What can be said of the secondary school boy of to-day? Is it possible, indeed, to offer generalisations about him? He comes from every type of home; we have rich men's sons and paupers' sons, boys who come to us straight from the care of private tutors and of governesses, and boys who come direct from the roughest elementary schools. What does the secondary school make of them? Does it make anything of them at all? I think it does.

The first characteristic of the secondary school boy, to my nind, is his intense vitality. He is thoroughly alive; there is nothing *blasé* or bored about him; he is keenly interested in all hat goes on around him and eager to take his share. Be it school vork, play or hobbies, be it political, social or even economic iffairs, the secondary school boy makes it genuinely his business. Fall into conversation with a secondary school boy of a few years' tanding, and you will find him a lively and intelligent companion; whatsoever your topic, he will enter readily into its liscussion. If by chance you touch upon one of his major nterests (in all probability he has several) you will find his knowedge exact and full. You will not often find him listless; the athetic boy is a rarity. He looks upon life with fresh, keen es, alert for its wonders and eager to grasp its meaning. That is attitude is very largely due to the school I cannot doubt; e character of all too many of the homes from which secondary hool boys come precludes the possibility that there is to be ind the source of inspiration. It is the school, with its superively democratic constitution, its profusion of interests, its ensive and intensive appeal, that draws out and fuses all that ital in the boy.

It is often complained by well-meaning critics that the ndary school is too exclusively literary, that its curriculum is ow and too insistent upon books and book learning. That be true, but the critics ignore (perhaps are not aware of) the mous number and variety of the extra-curricular activities ided by the secondary school, which are as important a part s training as the actual curriculum. There is something to ct every boy. The games are plentiful and well organised; ere are few outstanding performers the general standard is and that is all to the good. The masters take a large part e organisation along with the boys, and frequently play thems; and play not only with the chosen elevens, but also with youngest juniors. In a large secondary school of the best tennis, swimming, boxing, racquets, gardening, as well as nary athletics, can be taken up by the boy not primarily ested in cricket or football. An increasing number of schools their Cadet Corps and their Scout Troops, their organised

selves, who have graduated at a university, who have known the toil of endeavour and realised its value. It is these last who are doing perhaps most to establish secondary school traditions. They are alert in mind (so far as their work goes; otherwise there is a regrettable tendency to inelasticity), enthusiastic and able, and their vigour and their freshness stimulate the boys with whom they come into contact.

As they are workers, so too are the boys. Whatever may be said in detraction of the secondary school boy, it cannot be said that he does not work exceedingly hard. The schoolboy, we are told on high authority, has always been healthily able to protect himself from overwork. True, there are few cases of nervous breakdown due to overwork in secondary schools, but that may be quite as much due to the fact that the vitality and energy of the secondary school boy enable him to tackle huge quantities of serious work without harm to his constitution and health. Complaints are not infrequently heard about the excessive amounts of home-work set in secondary schools. The complaints are not without justification, but, paradoxical though it may sound, the fault is quite often as much the boy's as the master's. He will do so much home-work; rather than abandon unfinished a task that baffles him, he will spend an hour, two hours, three hours even, over it instead of the required half an hour or three-quarters. This happens regularly even with quite young boys. The goods are produced, no matter what the cost, and it is hardly surprising that there is left in the master's mind the impression that still more can be done without strain. It is not unusual, either, for a boy to do much more than what is set, from interest or a desire to excel.

Mention must be made here of the public examinations that every secondary school has to undergo, though this is a subject that has been discussed and rediscussed *ad nauseam*. Why is it that large numbers of secondary school boys, if they are vitally alive, active and hardworking, persist in failing the first school examination? The reason is not far to seek; the first school examination demands an intellectual and academic mind, and the secondary school boy is not primarily intellectual and academic. He is intelligent to quite a remarkable degree, but his special aptitudes do not run along lines coincident with the requirements of the first school examination. For it he is expected to concentrate narrowly on a restricted number of subjects, most of them literary or semi-literary, and he is far too broad-minded to do so. If the first school examination consisted of a really searching test of general knowledge and of ability to do practical work, the whole with a distinctly scientific bias, I am convinced he would pass it yearly with flying colours.

For the secondary school boy is first and foremost a scientist.

(I use the word in its very broadest sense.) He belongs to a scientific age, and he reflects it perfectly. The secondary school has been of the very greatest assistance to him. In no respect does it diverge more clearly or more widely from the public school than in the fundamental bias of its teaching. The public school was built up through long centuries on the rock of a classical training, and though it has responded, somewhat tardily, to the demands of the twentieth century, that rock is still its main support. The secondary schools are building on science. There is no such thing as a classical training, in the accepted and traditional sense of the term, to be obtained in the secondary school. Nor does the secondary school boy require or desire it. The past has for him little glamour; the present has an overwhelming interest, and whenever he looks from it he looks forward and not back. The environment in which he lives is of course largely responsible for this attitude; it is next to impossible for anyone who is of the world to-day to be entirely literary, but it is utterly easy to be entirely scientific in outlook. Books are decidedly among the less important part of a secondary school boy's equipment. (In this connexion it is necessary to point out that the libraries in secondary schools are almost invariably inadequate.) Scientific business methods, scientific engineering, scientific production and marketing and banking, developments and inventions in wireless, in locomotion, in cinematography, the speeding-up of efficiency and elimination of incompetency in material affairs—these are the dominant notes in the world of industry and commerce in which he lives. The secondary school, whether consciously or unconsciously, provided for him from the start, and its teaching of science, its laboratories, and scientific apparatus excel all else that it contains. Even to subjects that are definitely literary, scientific methods have been applied; the modern outlook is obvious throughout. What do the secondary schools teach? Science and mathematics, the English language—and other subjects when they can find time for them. Latin has been retained half-heartedly, as a sop to tradition no doubt, but it is taught despairingly, and every opportunity is afforded for avoiding it. Greek is almost unknown. In its place history and geography, taught as social sciences, are substituted. That this departure has been in the past largely, if not entirely, beneficial to the secondary school boy can hardly be doubted. Whether it will be so beneficial in the future is less certain. The secondary schools, however, have not wilfully neglected literature, art and music. For some years, it is true, this side of training received far too little attention, but to-day the position is much better. In most places the secondary school boy is receiving as much artistic and æsthetic training as he can assimilate. He is not yet

receiving as much scientific [illegible] as he could [illegible]; it is probable that he never will, for his appetite for it is [illegible].

Closely connected with this scientific attitude (though at first the connexion may not seem too obvious) is his sense of responsibility. Training for responsibility has been ever a feature of the public school; it bids fair to become an equally marked feature of the secondary school, though in a subtly different fashion. It was not always so; the first secondary schools undoubtedly concentrated too exclusively on the absorption of knowledge.

The secondary school boy of to-day is an extremely responsible person, as responsible as the public school boy, but not in the same manner. The latter's sense of responsibility is generally inherited and traditional: many of his ancestors have governed; it 'comes natural' to him to assume responsibility, to direct affairs, to control. The secondary school boy accepts responsibility as an arduous honour; there is nothing offhand in the way in which he approaches his task. He is preoccupied with detail and method; these he masters first, and then works his way towards a comprehension of the full scope of his responsibility. He feels his way from the particular to the general. He will seek advice on all sides; he will compile voluminous notebooks; he will schedule and categorise. He does nothing slapdash. Perhaps he does not succeed as yet in achieving the breadth of contemplation that is the innermost secret of responsibility; but that will come.

His attitude is, in short, a scientific one, and is the direct result of his environment and training. The school does its best to help him. In practically all secondary schools there is growing up a very thorough system of centralised control with much delegation of authority and responsibility. From the public school has been borrowed the prefect system, from the elementary school the monitorial, and these two are being combined, with, to my mind, quite happy results. A secondary school now has its school prefects and its house prefects, and games captains and form captains right down to the lowest forms. Its societies, as well as the Cadet Corps and the Scout Troop, afford opportunities for undertaking responsibility. The ingenuity of the form masters provides many others, particularly in junior forms. In a school of 400 boys it is quite possible to have at least 250 in some way or another connected with the responsibilities of routine and administration.

Concerning the morality of the secondary school boy it is less easy to speak with absolute certainty. The fact that he is in the great majority of cases a day boy enables him to hide graver moral faults, if he has them, from the authorities. As far as one can judge, there seems to be no reason to suspect him of them; it is not unreasonable to suppose that such faults or defects,

[illegible] are [illegible] conceal them, would in some way or another influence his conduct at school, and there are practically no signs that would suggest any indication of furtive immorality. He is truthful, honest and open ; his frankness is one of his most pleasing characteristics.

In the same way his religion can hardly be made the subject of over-much discussion. Religion at a public school is a corporate affair ; the school chapel is a perpetual remembrancer. No boy can remain altogether indifferent to its services, which in many cases do have a profound effect on a boy's life. With the secondary school boy religion is an individual and home affair ; he disappears from school on Friday or Saturday and is seen no more until Monday morning. What happens to him in the meantime (provided he behave reasonably in public) is no concern of the school, unless he happen to be a boarder, nor does the school seek in any way to intrude on this part of his life. So long as the great problem of instruction in religious knowledge remains as insoluble as at present, there is no likelihood that the school at any rate will interest itself further in the religion of its boys.

If this should seem to be an all too favourable sketch of the secondary school boy, if it should appear to slur over his faults and to magnify his virtues, if to find him so highly extolled come as a surprise to some people, then my task has not been in vain. The impression here given is entirely honest, and is based on intimate acquaintanceship with some hundreds of secondary school boys in different parts of the country and in very dissimilar areas. I have based my conclusions on what is, as far as I can make it so, an unprejudiced survey. If I have presented my boy almost without faults it is not because he has none, but because to my mind no useful purpose can be served by holding up and analysing minor faults when there are so many major characteristics of a pleasing nature to be considered, and minor faults are all that I can find due reason to reproach him with. Occasionally, I know, a town or a district is much perturbed by reports of vandalism, even of hooliganism, on the part of secondary school boys. I would protest that these are isolated events which are not typical of the vast majority. I have every respect for the secondary school boy ; I believe in him, and have every confidence in his future. If, as a well-known headmaster of a secondary school put it not long ago, every public school in the country were to cease to function, the secondary school would immediately shoulder the responsibility they had laid down, and would not be found wanting in any respect. What I know of the secondary school boy compels me to agree wholeheartedly with that opinion.

H. C. Dent.

THE GRAND CONCERN[1]

There was published in 1673 a pamphlet called 'The Grand Concern of England, Explained in several Proposals, offered to the consideration of Parliament. By a Lover of his Country and Well-Wisher both of the King and Kingdom.'

The Grand Concern was a matter whose interest remains at least as acute at the present time as it was in 1673. For it was none other than 'the Payment of Publick Debts, the Advancement and Encouragement of Trade, and the Raising the Rents of Lands.'

To effect these objects the author proposes thirteen projects of law. Some of these have actually been since carried into effect. Some have a curiously modern ring, dealing as they do with matters of perennial interest. Some present modern problems in a seventeenth-century dress. The author's enthusiasm is apt to lead him very far afield, and in bringing to his aid every argument that occurs to him he is not too particular about his consistency. At times he is the most rigid of Protectionists. At others he bewails the loss of foreign markets, which he quite sees cannot be kept without some reciprocity in trade. And in the course of his digressions he throws all manner of curious sidelights upon the life of his times.

To a modern mind the urgency of the situation does not seem overwhelming, for he says it is important to pay off the public debt, 'else the ruin of thousands of poor families, who advanced the money for His Majesty's service, and it was all employed for bringing him home.' It was still standing at 150,000*l.*! The mere odd figures that no one sees at the end of our rows of millions.

The Dutch wars and other charges had led Parliament to make additional grants to the King, but bad budgeting, the trouble and cost of collection, and the vexatiousness to the people of the new taxes had prevented the end of Parliament being carried out fully. Therefore the debts remained, and they were frequently sold at 60*l.* or 70*l.* per cent. Could any way to pay them off

[1] The pamphlet dealt with in this article is printed in Volume VII of the Harleian Miscellany.

be found more certain than a land tax? It would be objected that land was a drug—it left little or no price to be let or sold; what rent it let for tenants could not pay, and to lay taxes upon it would utterly undo the gentry, who had nothing to live on but their rents.

Nevertheless, in spite of these curiously familiar arguments, the author thinks that his proposals would both enable the debt to be paid, and would bring land back to its former value.

His first proposal is that a stop be put to further buildings in or about London. London and Westminster were, he estimated, one-third bigger than fifty years before, when England was richer and more populous. Thirty thousand new houses had been built, and they were all inhabited, in spite of the plague, foreign wars, and transportation, compulsory or voluntary, to foreign plantations. Therefore the new houses and many of the old ones must be inhabited by families from the country. As a result rents are falling, not so much because land is in any way worse, but because of the want of tenants with good stocks to take and manage the farms, living a laborious and industrious life. As it is, if a man gets 200*l*. or 300*l*. in his pocket up he comes to London, takes a house, pays a fine, lays out the rest of his money in furnishing it for lodgers, thereby promising himself a lazy life free from care, or else sets up an alehouse or brandy-house, both tending to the debauching and destroying of youth.

The gentry are not without blame in the matter, for,

> never thinking their estates would have an end, weary of an honest and commendable country life, they come up to London to see fashions, fall into ill company, learn how to run out of their estates in a short time by extravagant habits, and live idly in London paying more for their lodgings (while their own houses stand empty and go to ruin), than would maintain their families handsomely in the country and increase the consumption of the provisions and manufactures of the kingdom, than which nothing can conduce more to the improvement of land.

His second proposal, that the gentry should be obliged to live some part of the year in the country, is, in the language of musicians, derived from his first subject, but is merely given out, and not developed at any length.

His third proposal is for the establishment of a Land Registry, in which should be recorded all bills of sale, judgments, bonds, mortgages, leases, and conveyances, 'than which nothing can be of greater advantage to gentlemen, security to purchasers, and benefit to the publick.' He anticipates, indeed, no objection, except from the lawyers, as it might save 200,000*l*. to 300,000*l*. spent in law-suits each year, from landowners not sensible of their own interests, from the procurers of loans, whose double-dealing and greed for commissions he exposes at length, and finally from

those who have 'lived [illegible] [illegible] ever. But a couple of [illegible] of years were to pass [illegible] thing like his scheme was put into operation.

His fourth proposal is that 'an Act for Naturalizing all foreign Protestants, and indulging them and His Majesty's Subjects at Home, in Matters of Conscience, may be passed.' The real object of this is one with which we should perhaps have less sympathy, for it aimed at increasing the population. His reasons, including a vigorous attack on birth control, are perhaps best given in his own words:

> There is in England a spirit of madness running abroad and possessing men against marrying, rather choosing to have mistresses by whom very few ever have any children; and many married women by their lewd conversations prevent the bringing forth many children which otherwise they might have had. These humours and practices will prove so mischievous in a few years that unless foreigners come in among us, there will not be people to manure our land, eat our provisions, wear our manufactures, or manufacture the staple commodities that are of the growth of the kingdom.

But such foreigners must be allowed in with only a small fee for naturalisation, and must be given liberty of conscience, the lack of which has been one of the causes of emigration, and consequent loss of population.

Next he wishes the repeal of the Act prohibiting the import of foreign cattle, so far as concerns Ireland—another familiar touch—and, by an odd combination, of Westphalian hams. The prohibition or the very high customs duty had resulted in a loss to the customs, because the importation of hams, unless smuggled, had ceased. Hams came apparently from Norway, Spain (as still come hams *de luxe*), and Westphalia. English breeders could not raise enough cattle for fattening. Not only, therefore, could they get scarcity prices for those they did raise, but the victualling trade was being transferred to Ireland, even for the navy. Ireland, because of its religion and its feeling of being conquered, 'has a natural antipathy to England and sympathy with the foreigner,' and therefore it is natural for the foreigners to victual there. But this means that the Irish trade, worth formerly a million sterling a year, and employing 300 to 400 English ships, now goes in foreign bottoms. One result of this foreign connexion is that Ireland can get salt from France for fish-curing, and 'as they need but one wind to carry them to their markets in France, Italy and Spain, and get the fish six weeks before they come to England, what hinders but that they may supply foreign markets cheaper than we can?'[1]

The author is ready, however, to be fair to Ireland where she does not compete with England. He says her land is naturally

[illegible] cheaper than the other sources of supply.

> What then would there be wanting but a method to manufacture this commodity cheaper? Which done, that place may supply not only England but all Europe with linen-cloth at easier rates than they now pay for the same.

North Ireland has answered his rhetorical question in the affirmative.

One further argument of his not only illustrates the author's determination to wring the last drop out of his subject, but throws an amusing light on some of the tricks of contemporary trade. He argues that because the Irish cannot sell their cattle in England they must have less money to spend.

> Many trades in London, as mercers, milliners, and haberdashers, suffer greatly, for, when fashions were out here, they used to send them into Ireland, and they went off as new there. For want of which utterance, many of these tradesmen, by reason of the often changing of fashions amongst us, have been and are daily undone.

His sixth proposal is the prohibition of brandy, mum (a sort of ale brewed in Brunswick), chocolate, coffee and tea, and the suppression of the coffee-houses. This he would do partly because the consumption of these liquors hinders the consumption of barley, malt and wheat. Moreover, many of His Majesty's subjects, which were used to drink a pot of ale or a flagon of beer morning and evening, have been killed by drinking brandy, 'it not agreeing with their constitutions.'

> And for coffee, tea and chocolate I know not what good they do; only the places where they are sold are convenient for persons to meet in, sit half the day and discourse with all the company that comes in.

Not only may this lead to mischievous talk, but many hopeful young gentlemen and tradesmen who were diligent students and shopkeepers, extraordinary husbands of their time as well as money, now spend hours at a time gossiping in coffee-houses to the neglect of their business, the annoyance of their customers, the demoralisation of their servants and the ruin of their families. The author is nothing if not thorough.

The seventh proposal is that the multitude of stage-coaches and caravans now travelling upon the roads may be suppressed, especially those within forty or fifty miles of London. His reasons are three—the breed of good horses, the strength of the kingdom, is destroyed, the breed of watermen is hindered, who are a nursery for seamen and the bulwark of the kingdom, and the revenue suffers.

[illegible] will ride lolling in one of these coaches, and endure all the inconveniences of that method of travelling rather than ride on horseback. . . . No man, unless some noble soul, now scorns and abhors this ignoble, base and sordid way of travelling.

He admits that it is idle to expect a man to keep a horse for himself and one for his servant, which he may only use once or twice a year, when he can slip to any place where his business lies for two, three, or four shillings if within twenty miles of London, and so proportionately into any part of England. By an elaborate calculation he shows that the traffic on one of the main coach roads worked by forty horses would have required 936 horses if all the passengers had ridden.

The watermen are dismissed summarily. It would appear as though the author were a horse-breeder himself. He only says that some of them below-Bridge *often do not get one fare in the* week and dare not take any apprentices.

The loss to the revenue is supported by some of his most ingenious arguments. Travellers on horseback used always to take a servant with them. Coach passengers go unattended. Coach passengers drink less than riders (' though they pay the same amount, to the tapster's gain and His Majesty's loss '), and it was the servants that always drank the most and so advanced His Majesty's revenue.

Then all manner of other trades suffer, besides the obvious trades, such as the spurriers' and saddlers'. A gentleman riding always carried a spare suit, and even so in two or three journeys his hat and clothes were ruined, and he had to have new, all good for trade. But ' in coaches, a silk suit, and an Indian gown with a sash, silk stockings, and beaver hats men ride in, and carry no other with them.' So with women's things : a side-saddle employed no less than thirty trades in its making. The author does not give the interesting list, but he says that if it were not tedious he could show that hardly a trade in England escaped [illegible]age owing to the coaches.

[illegible] remained.

[illegible]ndon being so easy gentlemen come to London [illegible]d their ladies either with them, or having the [illegible] follow them, and when they are there they [illegible] fashions, buy all their clothes there, [illegible]en they get such a habit of jollity [illegible]y will serve them, if even they should [illegible] but they must have all from London

[illegible]try chapmen, and as the gentry spend

coaches [illegible] oppressed. His reasons [illegible] the kingdom, [illegible] are a nursery [illegible] the revenue [illegible] does

[illegible] they should.

Contrary to our expectation, the inns are said to suffer, for the coachmen will patronise only certain inns, having beaten the innkeeper down till there is no profit left for him. Out of 500 inns on the York road they only use fifteen or sixteen, whereas horsemen spread their patronage over the whole number. Again, London used to take all the 'horse-meat'—by which he means fodder—that could be spared within a radius of twenty-five miles, vast quantities from Henley and other western parts and from below Gravesend, shiploads of beans from Hull, and oats from Lynn and Boston. But now London cannot consume what grows within twenty miles.

Further elaborate calculations, which, however, are not very convincing, follow to show that coaching saves the traveller no money as compared with riding. They are only interesting because of the items of 8s. in tips to the coachmen on a double trip to, say, York, and at least 3s. for 'share of coachmen's drink.'

Moreover, coaches start at fixed times and will not deviate a stone's throw out of their course.

> Is it for advantage of business that a man when he sets out for a journey must come just at their hour or be left behind ; so that often he is forced, when one hour's staying would finish the business, to go out of town, leave it undone, and make a new journey about it ?

People on horseback, on the other hand, can start and stop when they like, and where they like, choose their company, 'keep out of cold, wet or fogs, and take into inns when the weather is not fit to travel in and so preserve their health.' This is rather a different view from the gentleman lolling in a silk gown in his coach, while the noble soul on horseback is wearing out a series of new suits in the rough weather ; but a little inconsistency does not bother our author. But we who are emerging into the motoring age after the tyranny of railways, with their fixed routes and time-tables, have been used to look upon the coaching age as one of independence and elasticity. So it is interesting to see how it struck a supporter of the horseback era.

Let coaches be suppressed except one to each shire town to carry the sick and lame. There would be suffering among the 'Stage Coachmen upon the Grand Roads of England'—apparently a sort of trade union ; but their number was small, say 2000, and their distress the lesser of two evils. After all, the hackney-coaches in London were recently reduced to 400 without any trouble.

His eighth proposal is that the Act allowing unmanufactured

leather to be exported should be repealed. The Act had been passed because of the vast quantity of Irish hides dumped in this country, this bringing down the price of English hides, and because of the diminished demand for saddlery. It used to be felony to export raw leather, and France, Spain, Germany and other parts took vast quantities of boots, shoes, and saddles with their appurtenances, portmanteaus, hat-cases, holsters, and trunks. Leather goods making employed about 100,000 families, who spent five or six good joints of meat in a week in their houses and wore good clothes.' Now the best hides go abroad and come back as manufactured goods, so that where a man used to keep twenty to thirty journeymen he now, though eminent in his trade, cannot keep two. So, many of them have been forced to emigrate and have taught their art to foreigners. This reads like an extract from a debate on a Protection of Industries Bill.

His ninth proposal is to establish, if possible, in every part of the kingdom a court in the nature of the Court of Requests in London. Such courts should determine differences between poor people for small debts not exceeding 40*s.*, and for 'words, trespasses, assaults and batteries.' At present in cases of debt the costs often are five or six times the amount of the debt. Under this scheme the whole cost would be 4*s.* 8*d.* 'Thus a work very pleasant and acceptable to God will be done who hath pronounced a blessing upon all those who consider the poor for whose relief this is proposed.' This was, in fact, the very work that the county courts were set up to perform.

His next proposal is sweeping—namely, that a bound be put to the extravagant habits of all sorts of persons, that servants' and handicraft-tradesmen's expensive ways be reduced, and no foreign manufactures be worn in England.

He gives examples of habits 'more extravagant than were ever known,' though some of it reads rather like the common form of satirists and reformers. Masters of families are not content with themselves following every change of fashion, but they must dress their servants in silk and fine clothes till they become too proud and scornful to perform their duties, slight their superiors, and upon every little reproof go off. Parents encourage their children to go to balls and plays and to keep vain company, which they get such a habit of that they very hardly, if ever, can be broken from it.

Tradesmen's wives must ride in coaches, and often spend more in a week in coach hire than the gains of the shop.

Clothes must be in the mode, and nothing will serve but what is foreign, so that shopkeepers who buy English silk, point-lace, or ribbons are forced to sell them as foreign-made.

He sums up the case in words which, except for their seven-

[illegible] might have been written of our present situation, as follows:

> As for the loss of the foreign trade we had, and the want of the consumption that used to be of our manufactures in foreign parts, no other reason can be given but that the foreigners are able to make their work cheaper than we do, and thereby are able to undersell us, wherever we come, and the reason of this working cheaper is because they live not so high neither are their expenses in wages and working so great as ours.
>
> Therefore there is reason in my poor judgement to endeavour the reducing the wages of our manufacturers; and themselves to a more sober and less expensive way of living, that thereby, if possible, we may regain our trade, which if we do we shall soon set our people at work who now want bread.

His eleventh proposal is to make harder the way of the fraudulent bankrupt, whose devices seem to have been much the same in those days as in our own.

His next proposal is that the Newcastle trade for coal be managed by commissioners for the King, whereby the subjects may be supplied with coals at easy rates, and not exacted upon as they now are, and about 200,000*l.* per annum be coming to the Crown. He says he need not declare how the subjects are abused in the price of coals—how many poor have been starved for want of fuel by reason of the horrid prices put upon them, especially in time of war. Apparently the coal merchant never changes his dusky spots.

His remedy was that the whole trade should be managed by commissioners, who should supply all parts of the country. Coals should be sold all the year long at 22*s.* a chaldron, the 'highest rate that can be imagined.' A Newcastle chaldron contained 53 cwts. and could be bought there for 7*s.* Freight was about 6*s.*; duty to the City of London, 3*s.*; lighterage, wharfage, and cartage, 4*s.*,—so that each Newcastle chaldron would 'lie the Commissioners' 20*s.*, or a profit of 2*s.* per ton. One obvious comment that we, with our recent experience of State trading, would make, quite apart from our other objections to this evergreen scheme, is that he allows nothing at all for commissioners' office expenses, which would be likely to play havoc with the 2*s.* a ton profit and the 200,000*l.* a year to the revenue.

His last proposition is to revive and encourage the fishing trade by setting poor people to work at making fishing-tackle, paying them out of the yearly rates laid upon the subjects for maintaining the poor. But this matter, with its obvious economic difficulties as well as its attractive opportunities for digression, he does not work out in detail.

Thus, sometimes with sound sense, sometimes with fantastic argument, does a lover of his country expound his views how

[illegible] might be advantageous. [illegible] actually in operation, some we can accept in spirit if not in the letter, some we still discuss. But for every well-wisher of the King and kingdom the Grand Concern remains the same—to pay our debts, to advance our trade, and to raise the prosperity of agriculture.

L. Eaton Smith.

ON YOUTH AND OLD AGE

LIVING things grow old and die and life is handed on from genera-ion to generation as a torch from runner to runner in an unending elay. This is the law; yet rebellion against approaching senes-ence, yearning for perpetual youth, are surely as old as mankind tself: the dream of rejuvenation has even haunted the mind of geing man. That this is so is revealed in his religions, myths, nd folk tales, for throughout the ages the common thought of ternal life, of resurrection, of the transmigration of souls, runs hrough them all. Many have been the efforts to capture this lixir of life; but until recently all such attempts, even though hey were not dishonest, must necessarily have been well-nigh opeless, for it is only within recent years that accurate know-edge concerning the nature of youth and of old age has become vailable. Manifestly, there can be no intelligent control of such onditions as these until accurate information concerning them as been gained. This knowledge is as yet by no means complete. ut already there exists an understanding of the principles under-ying the important facts concerning youth and age, and to-day ve can agree in a general way with the illuminating dictum of eneca: '*Senectus ipsa morbus.*' It will be recognised that the ttitude of medicine has ever been based upon this assumption, or it has always striven to avert decay and thereby to pro-ong life.

The individual has its origin in the fertilised egg, a single cell f the simplest organisation formed in the union of ovum and perm. From this single, simple cell there develops the indi-idual, highly complex in its organisation and composed of a great nultitude of cells differing among themselves in form and func-ion. The individual grows; growth being a fundamental roperty of living things and occurring whenever circumstances ermit. It takes the form of an increase in size of the organism s a whole and of an unequal increase in the size of its component egions and parts, this latter leading to the establishment of he form characteristic of the individual and of the group to which it belongs. The increase in the size of the body is due to n increase in the size and in the number of its component cells,

[illegible] and this is the result of [illegible] already existing living cells out of the nutriment [illegible] receive, by the accumulation within the developing body of [illegible] living matter, such as bone, and also by the absorption of water. *Out of a study of the processes of growth there emerges in the clearest fashion one fact : growth occurs only in the case of those* cells which are of relatively simple structure. *The less differentiated* is a cell or an individual, *i.e., the less remote it is in the* matter of organisation from the simple *fertilised ovum, the* greater are its powers of growing and of becoming differentiated. The young individual is less differentiated than the adult ; the former is capable of growth, the latter is not. As organisms grow old there is a general decrease of vital activities, and the onset and progress of senescence is evidenced by widespread loss of functional efficiency and of structural integrity of the tissues and organs of the body. Diminished muscular and mental activity, loss of the power of mental concentration, of memory, a raised blood pressure, diminished sexual desire and potency, these are the more obvious signs of organic degeneration. They are, however, but the secondary effects of much deeper causes, functional and structural changes in the organs and tissues of the body as a whole. The rate of metabolism, of the interplay between constructive and destructive vital processes, estimated by the amount of oxygen consumed by the individual under controlled conditions, is lower in the old, and greater in the embryo than in the infant. As differentiation proceeds to its conclusion, turning simple fertilised egg into a highly complex adult, there is a diminished rate of growth and a decreasing metabolism. Growth ultimately ceases, the individual lives without increase in size, and immediately there follows senescence, then decay and finally death, all stages in this process of progressive diminution in metabolic rate. The constructive processes no longer make good the damage caused by the destructive, and so in the end comes death.

Modern opinion is inclined to the view that ageing of the body is primarily due to the effects of auto-intoxication caused by a progressively increasing failure on the part of the excretory organs of the body—intestines, lungs, kidneys, and skin—to get rid, in an efficient manner, of the harmful waste products of metabolism. The accumulation of inert substances in the cells impedes their rate of metabolism and there is no energy for cell division with its production of new cells, so that worn-out tissues are not replaced.

Senescence is a continuation and a consequence of birth and of development. If it were possible to reverse this process, to cause an adult individual to de-differentiate, then the tissues

[illegible] is possible in certain instances. For example, if the flatworm *Planaria* is starved it will undergo a remarkable diminution in size, shrinking from 25 mm. to about 6 mm., and then it will exhibit the same rate of metabolism as does a young one of equal size. The rejuvenated individual not only looks young but is young, and grows again, when fed, into an adult; moreover, this process can be repeated indefinitely, and it is on record that a *Planaria* has been made to live about twenty times longer than the ordinary length of life of this form. It has been claimed that systematic fasting has accomplished wonders in the case of the human, but certainly it has not brought about rejuvenation in this sense. The human is far more complexly organised than is the flatworm; the greater specialisation in form and function is associated with the existence of delicately adjusted regulatory mechanisms, and intense starvation of the healthy human throws these out of gear. Other methods need to be employed to achieve rejuvenation which can be regarded as the production of an increase in the rate of the processes of metabolism.

Age, which, as is seen, is actually an estimate of the degree of development of an individual, is commonly and conveniently measured in units of time. Manifestly, however, it can only truly be measured in terms of the physiological condition of the individual, and if it is possible to influence the physiological condition of an individual it is possible, theoretically, to invoke rejuvenescence.

The structural integrity and physiological efficiency of a tissue or organ are largely dependent upon the quantity and quality of the blood which passes thereinto. The quantity is regulated by the elasticity and the bore of the local blood-vessels. With increasing age the walls of the blood-vessels lose their elasticity, elastic tissues becoming replaced by inelastic fibrous tissue, and in this calcium salts become deposited. The result is that the blood supply of the tissue or organ is seriously embarrassed. The quality of the blood depends upon the physiological efficiency of all the tissues and organs of the body, especially of those the function of which is to elaborate specific chemical products that are known to be concerned with the nourishmen[t] and activation of tissues generally. Of these the glands o[f] internal secretion would appear to be the most important. These are organs such as the thyroid, parathyroids, and thymus in the neck, the pituitary and the pineal in the brain, the pancreas suprarenals and sex-glands in the abdomen, each of which manufactures out of the material conveyed to it by the circulating blood some specific chemical substance—its own peculiar internal

secretion—which, taken up by the blood-stream, is carried away to be brought into intimate contact with every part of the body and to exercise its influence on every function. In order to demonstrate the existence of these chemical messengers, or hormones, it is necessary to extirpate the ductless glands and to record the effects of such removal; to remove the effects of extirpation by implanting pieces of the same gland; and to restore normality by injecting a prepared extract of the gland into the body of an individual from which this gland has been removed. The technique of such procedures is commonly very difficult, but in the case of certain of these glands of internal secretion the evidence of their function is sufficiently satisfactory. Thyroxine, pituitrin, insulin, and adrenalin are powerful tools in the armamentarium of the modern physician, and several of these can now be made by the synthetical chemist without any recourse to the living animal. The sex-glands—testes in the male, ovaries in the female—are known to possess a double function: they yield living cells, spermatozoa and ova respectively, as one of their products, and in addition they elaborate each a specific internal secretion, the male and female sex-hormone respectively, which is known to play an all-important *rôle* in the development and maintenance of the sex-dimorphic characters—those details of structure and function by which the sexes can be distinguished.

The study of health and of disease has shown quite clearly that the different organs and tissues of the body are mutually interdependent and that a loss of functional efficiency or of structural integrity in any one of them leads rapidly to a disturbance in the rest. It is established also that in this chain of ductless, or endocrine, glands there is revealed a perfect mechanism for the unification of the body, that their hormones, pervading all parts of the body, invoke harmonious functioning and make the community of organs a commonwealth. That these glands are concerned with the stimulation of the organs of excretion is shown clearly by the result of disease or of malfunctioning of any one of them. Moreover, microscopical examination has revealed the fact that senescence is associated with characteristic and significant changes in their organisation. It was inevitable, therefore, that in any attempt at rejuvenation careful consideration would be given to these glands, since it was reasonable to assume that if the signs of age could be successfully combated in one of these essential organs the whole endocrine chain might become readjusted and so the whole body repaired.

About 1889 Brown-Séquard extended the observations of Berthold (1849), who had successfully restored the sex-characters of the castrated cock by implanting testicular material, and of John Hunter (1770), who had transplanted testicular tissue in a

age. Brown-Séquard prepared an extract of animal testis and injected this into his own body. The treatment was followed by an increase in muscular and mental activity, and the publication of his paper in the *Comptes Rendus* aroused a veritable storm of interest. The author was forced to flee to London to avoid the crowd of those who wished to regain their youth. It is accepted now that Brown-Séquard's experimentation cannot be regarded as satisfactory, for the preparation of an active extract of testis is by no means a simple matter, and treatment by injection of this extract, even if it is successful, must be greatly prolonged. However, it is upon Brown-Séquard's work as a foundation that the more recent advances have been built.

During the last twenty years or so the greatest activity has prevailed in the field of sex physiology, and a great deal of most important information has been accumulated. Experimental biologists, not investigating the possibilities of rejuvenation, had disclosed the method by which this could be attained. The effect upon the testis of occlusion of its duct, the *vas deferens*, which conveys the spermatozoa to the exterior, had been studied experimentally, and it had been shown that following such occlusion by section of tying those structures of the testis concerned with the elaboration of spermatozoa underwent degenerative changes, whereas the interstitial tissue, which is commonly regarded as the source of the sex-hormone, was unaffected or, according to some authorities, actually increased in bulk. This being so, it seemed reasonable to postulate that vasectomy or vasoligation was followed by an increased functional activity of this interstitial tissue—the so-called puberty gland of Steinach. It had been shown also that exposure of the ovary to X-rays was followed by similar results, *i.e.*, obliteration of the structures concerned with the elaboration of the ova and a persistence of the interstitial tissue. It had been established, further, that insufficiency of internal secretion on the part of a particular endocrine gland could be overcome by implantation of this gland derived from other sources. Steinach, of Vienna, for example, removed the sex-glands from young rats and guinea-pigs and noted the effects upon the development of the body generally and of the sexual characters in particular. When these effects were well marked, Steinach implanted into the bodies of these individuals reproductive tissue from other rats and guinea-pigs. The implantation of testes into a male which had been deprived of his own testes was followed by the development of the normal male characters. When ovarian tissue was restored to the body of a female, her characterisation became typically female. When testes were implanted into the body of a female from which the ovaries have been removed, she assumed many of the characteristics of the

[illegible] one and the same body resulted in the production of an artificial hermaphrodite, intermediate in its sex-characters. It was noted in these experiments that in the implanted sex-gland the reproductive elements underwent degeneration whilst the interstitial tissue remained unimpaired. It was not long before this implantation technique was extended to the case of man, and in quite a number of instances testes which had been destroyed by gunshot wound during the war were replaced by others. It should perhaps be stated here that such replacement does not in any way mean that spermatozoa from the implanted testis can function in fertilisation. This cannot possibly be so, since the testis that is implanted is not united with the man's own *vas deferens.*

The fact that emerged from these studies was that occlusion of the *vas deferens*, implantation of testis or ovary, and irradiation of the ovary were followed by degeneration of the reproductive elements in the sex-glands and a survival or enlargement of the interstitial tissue, which, as has been said, is regarded as the source of the sex-hormone. If this survival or enlargement of the puberty gland is to be looked upon as an indication of an increased functional activity of this tissue, then it is reasonable to assume that these operative procedures will lead to an increased production of the sex-hormone and that they can be used for the specific purpose of invoking rejuvenescence. Steinach and Voronoff have indeed used these techniques for this very purpose and, it is claimed, with remarkable success.

These two pioneers represent two schools. Steinach has employed vasoligation as the method of rejuvenation, invoking the forces within the individual's own body; Voronoff, on the other hand, employs the method of implanting into the aged ...y testis-tissue obtained from other sources. Theoretically th... ...lt is the same in both cases, since vasoligation induce... ...of the reproductive elements in the individual'... ...st the same changes occur in the implante... ...end-results are the same, then the difficult... ...of material for implantation from oth... ...ly allied to them in respect of the... ...zee, would seem to indica... ...convenient.

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About ... Berthold (184... of the castrate... John Hunter (17... ...was any question of t... ...iques to man extensi... ...on animals. Steinach us... ...kept, and one which attai... ...nd a half years old. Not or... ...years, but they were old also

[illegible] he will not woo, and he cannot climb, even though the bait is the rat's most prized delicacy. The old rat is emaciated, mangy, and verminous. Three weeks after vasoligation on one side these same rats were young and, since the testis on the unoperated side had been stimulated into renewed activity, sexually potent.

In the case of the female the same technique is not available, since, unlike the testis, the ovary does not communicate directly with the tube which conveys its products to the exterior. The sperm pass direct from testes to the exterior along a closed system of ducts ; the ova, on the other hand, escape from the surface of the ovary into the abdominal cavity, there to be directed more or less fortuitously into the open mouth of the tubes along which they pass. Occlusion of these tubes would cause no backward pressure upon the ovaries, and so the essential destruction of the reproductive elements of the ovary has to be brought about by other means. The most satisfactory method of invoking rejuvenation without implantation of foreign material has proved to be, in the hands of Steinach and Holzknecht, irradiation with carefully graded doses of X-rays, but, as will be understood, this method leads to sterility, for both ovaries are necessarily affected.

The most successful method of rejuvenation in the female animal has been that of transplanting into the aged female the ovary from a vigorous young one. This procedure in the hands of Steinach produced complete rejuvenation in which the individual's own ovaries participated. One such female rat had a litter of five at the age of twenty-nine months, having become pregnant after more than twelve months of sterility.

Voronoff as long ago as 1898, from his comparison of normal men and eunuchs in Cairo, was led to the opinion that the function of the sex-gland was to ' stimulate vital energy,' and he therefore set himself the task of inquiring into the working hypothesis that, if it were possible to replace the exhausted testis of the aged by testicular material from the young and healthy, rejuvenation would follow. In 1917 he began his experimental work on sheep and goats, and by the technique of testis transplantation he demonstrated that such rejuvenation could be achieved.

More recently these methods of rejuvenation have been employed in the case of the human by a number of surgeons, and success has been claimed in a considerable number of instances. The Press, knowing the interest of the subject, has devoted a great amount of space to it, and, as was to be expected, commonly obscured the truth with much extravagant and foolish advertisement. There is no doubt that rejuvenation has often been attempted in quite unsuitable cases and in such has not been

The sex-gland has played the most importan[illegible] recent history of rejuvenation for the reason that it is most accessible to surgical interference, and because the effects of its functioning upon the body have long been recognised. But since it is but one member of this endocrine chain, and since for rejuvenation all the members of this chain need to be revivified, there is no reason, theoretically, why some other link, being repaired should not strengthen the whole. It is not surprising, therefore that implantation of thymus as claimed by Buxbaum; of live as claimed by Romeis; that injection of thyroid extract a suggested by Biedl, have produced effects which can equally wel be regarded as true rejuvenescence, or that the same result ha been obtained by a correction of the habits of an ageing man, c by the exposure of the body to certain physiological stimu which provoke cell activity. From many points of view the *can be no doubt that the most convenient method of invokir rejuvenescence would be that in which the prepared extract c one or other gland was injected beneath the skin by means of* hypodermic syringe. It is highly probable that this is indee the method of the future. So far, however, the methods of pre paration of many such extracts are not satisfactory, and we mus wait until the biochemist has refined his techniques.

In the case of the human it is distinctly difficult to estimat the *rôle* that auto-suggestion plays in the treatment. That it i an important factor is unquestionable; and from the point c view of the patient, so long as rejuvenescence is achieved, would not seem to matter whether the effects were the direc result of the operation or whether they were merely indirec In any case, it is not to be thought that the results achieved the case of the domesticated animals are due to suggestion.

Whether or not these methods of artificial rejuvenation a ever employed on a large scale in the case of the human, it m be expected that they will be used upon domesticated animals f the alleviation of the discomforts of senility in pet dogs and su like, and for the prolongation of the sexual life of economica valuable individuals among horses, cattle and sheep.

So much has been made of the effects of rejuvenation upon t sexuality of the patient, both in domesticated animals and in m that it is commonly thought that the exhibition of increa sexual desire and ability is the chief, if not the only, result. T is not so: attention has been drawn to this result because i more easily recognised and measured than are increases in pov of memory and of mental concentration.

operation as unnatural. To the biologist it seems no more unnatural than does conservative dentistry. It is certainly possible to think of the time when any man with work still to do, and finding himself growing old, will at once place himself in the hands of the surgeon for unilateral vasoligation, reporting again after ten years or so for ligation of the other side; from this time onwards he would be sterile, but not impotent. Ten years later he would report for implantation, unless, as has been said, these methods give place to injection of extracts at frequent intervals. This at once raises the question as to whether or not rejuvenation increases the length of life. In the case of the rat the operation postponed death by a period equal to one-fourth of the average length of the life of a rat. In the case of the human no information on this matter is yet available. It is claimed that, though rejuvenation does not make a man immortal, it reduces the phase of senility. The collapse of the rejuvenate, when it occurs, is sudden—senility is acute instead of being long drawn out; one is *not an unconscionable long time a-dying, for death takes the form* of an acute sickness.

F. A. E. Crew

FORDISM: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION

HENRY FORD is one of the most significant figures of our time, for in him both the strength and weakness of the age find expression. His books, *My Life and Work* and *To-day and To-morrow*,[1] gain in importance because they are a record of achievement. What they lack in range they make up in intensity. One would not gather from them that there is any human problem apart from production. Ford's test of a civilisation is not the service it renders to the human spirit, but its capacity to produce motor cars quickly and cheaply.

He is the Walt Whitman of industry, and his books are epic poems of large-scale production. He strikes the lyrical note in the first page:

> On October 1, 1908, we made the first of our present type of small cars. On June 4, 1924, we made the ten millionth. Now, in 1926, we are in our thirteenth million.

We are overwhelmed and stunned by the volume of mass production which pours, like an avalanche, through these pages. The clang of the hammer, the whirr of the machine, form an incessant underlying *motif*. In the glare of the foundry and the heat of the smelting furnaces industrial civilisation is being moulded. It rises like a new Venus of burnished steel out of a flood of molten metal.

A new industrial revolution, that of mass production, has struck America, and Ford is its prophet. Politicians, reformers, financiers, artists, all must bow down before the industrial high-priest, who—if the bull be permitted—alone can milk this golden calf. One of his prose poems concerns the development of the plate-glass industry. At first the glass was melted in clay pots and the clay was kneaded by the bare feet of the workmen until every particle of grit had been removed. Now, by a Ford process, plate-glass flows in a wide ribbon of silver over a revolving iron drum under a roller which gives the required thickness. Gradually, as it moves along, it cools and is cut in exact lengths. No hand

[1] *My Life and Work*, 6s.; *To-day and To-morrow*, 12s. 6d. (Heinemann.) Quotations, unless otherwise specified, are from *To-day and To-morrow*.

[illegible] material is worked on an unprecedented scale; everything is done which earlier experts long declared impossible. It is no wonder that, standing in front of these marvels, listening to the purr of the motors and the everlasting chant of the mighty machines, Ford sees nothing except the grandeur of what he is doing and what may yet be done. For him the crude glory of the factory plant blots out the sun, hides the blade of grass and overshadows the human soul.

In economic thought he has struck out a new way:

> The way to check a threatened depression is to cut the price and increase the wage. . . . Cutting wages is no cure for low consumption; it only makes the consumption still lower by reducing the number of possible customers.

Business, not benevolence, is the basis for this view, and he has demonstrated that it is economically as well as humanly sound.

The Ford system of standardised production requires from its workers rapid systematic work of a repetition character so that the whole concern goes like a watch of which they are parts. The watch—or the works— is wound up and set going. It runs perfectly for five days a week. If any of the human parts become worn they are immediately replaced. A certain number of 'sub-standard' men are employed in the salvage department gathering up and repairing worn mechanical parts. But the possibilities for human salvage are far below those of the other materials used. In the works proper—making and assembling cars—only 'standard' men who can 'hold down' 'standard' jobs have a place.

In *To-day and To-morrow*, Mr. Ford makes the astounding claim that 'Big business . . . permits the coming into production of the aged, the blind and the halt. It takes away the terrors of old age and illness.' I do not know the Ford works from within, but I have worked under the 'premium bonus' system, and it is my experience that modern machine shops are filled with vigorous young men, and that grey-haired skilled workers are walking the streets not because they cannot do the work, but because they cannot stand the pace. The *Industrial Herald* (October 28, 1926) published at Geelong, Australia, where there is a branch of the Ford works, says on this point:

> The pace set in Ford's workshops cannot operate generally. The rates of pay create a competition for jobs with Ford that enables him to have always plenty of workers offering at his factory doors and gives him a chance of sending adrift the workman who is not above the average in the ability to produce.

Ford's reply to this is that his workers do not complain. 'One hears of the workers' exhaustion in books,' he remarks,

[illegible] asks this question he [illegible] which the workers' voice may be heard. As a point [illegible] organised engineering workers of Britain rejected bonus schemes and fought against them as long as they were able. Such schemes presuppose that a man is always at the top of his form which is not humanly possible except for a body of picked strong men who might be called industrial gladiators.

True, the workers' sense of exasperation does not find much expression in print. It is more likely to burst out in a strike which, like a war, arises out of small incidents and great cause Expression in writing demands study, effort, technique, as M *Ford recognised when he asked Mr. Samuel Crowther to collabora with him in writing his book. If the Ford workman cou present his point of view cogently and well, it would be evidenc* of greater initiative and energy than Mr. Ford leaves him a the end of a day's work. Yet, though he may stifle complaint by neglecting to provide for any workshop or trade unic machinery through which they might gain effective expressio he is not thereby entitled to claim that no grounds for di content exist.

The central problem of industry is the correlation betwee workers and management. On this question Mr. Ford writes:

> It is management which has to arrange work so that it can be p ductive of high wages. But the starting point of high wages is willi ness to work. Without that willingness management is powerless.

Here we have the recognition that the mental attitude of t worker is of the highest importance to industry. No practi man suggests that a body of workmen can control a worksh Industrial management is a highly skilled undertaking. Ev in national affairs responsible statesmen have to rely u permanent officials who understand the actual business of gove ment. But the mass of citizens have a voice in national po when the Government is being elected. It is becoming n and more widely held that industrial citizens should also ha voice in workshop matters. Mr. Ford expresses horror at the of a rigid, inhuman bureaucracy regulating our lives. But should a Ford industrial State be better than a national S in this respect? The ordinary man has a small voice in nati affairs, but no provision at all is made for his voice in indu under the Ford management. The Imperial Conference recently faced with a similar problem. During the past years the Dominions have desired an increasing measure of government. An elastic constitution—largely unwritten assured this and preserved Imperial unity. It is necessa

[illegible] this Mr. Ford has [illegible]

'The true end of industry,' he remarks, 'is to liberate mind and body from the drudgery of existence by '—what ?—' filling the world with well-made, low-priced products.' A distinct hiatus is visible here. The sentence begins well, but wanders off the point. Mind and body can only be liberated from industrial drudgery by alterations in industry. It is what happens in the workshop—not outside—that determines whether drudgery for the mass of the industrial population shall end. Filling the world with low-priced products, while it is beneficial, does not touch that problem. It may be argued, of course, that low-priced, well-made goods demand human sacrifice. But if so, it is not the way to industrial peace or happiness.

Ford stands for the industrial view of life. To him the mass of men must be definitely subordinate to things. They are of use only in making things. His own reason for being in the world is to produce cheap motor cars. He does it well; but should that exhaust human possibilities? His limitations are very evident in the chapter headed 'Finding the Balance in Life' (*To-day and To-morrow*). When he deals with production, with, for instance, the production of plate-glass, he is magnificent. One can see that huge sheet of glass coming off the rollers, gliding along like a stream till it is cooled, cut and polished. But when he turns to art and beauty his strength vanishes—he becomes weak and aimless. Not being able to spend his whole life making motor cars, Mr. Ford has to fill in the intervals. So he has purchased two wayside inns, quaint and picturesque, which he keeps in a perfect state of preservation. He grows enthusiastic over repairing an old fireplace in one of them. But when there is no job of that kind to be done, he cannot conceal his boredom. In his scheme of life there is no apparent place for books, music, pictures, art. When Mr. Ford handles cultural problems he is like a naked savage with a pair of trousers—he keeps them folded, creased, brushed, but he is not quite sure where they belong. This art chapter has no essential place in his scheme of life; it is not integrated in the book. It bears the appearance of being thrown in because some people unaccountably like that sort of thing.

He makes no attempt to find out why these beautiful buildings, which he indulgently preserves and tinkers with, were created in bygone years, or whether our present civilisation can create a beauty of its own. Why should the buildings of to-day be ugly? Mr. Ford does not tell us, though he says that our forefathers seem to have had a better sense of beauty and of taste. He maintains that literature, music, architecture, do not matter as compared with cheap mass production.

This is the vital point—that man should find himself again. ... Can man have been destined for any purpose whatever to lose himself ? ' It is the inhuman attempt of our time to force this loss upon him against his own nature. We would turn him into a mere instrument ; he has become the tool of his own work, and he has no more sense, since he serves the machine. It has stolen away from him his soul. And now the soul demands his return. This is the vital point. All that we experience is but the strenuous battle between the soul and the machine for the possession of man. We no longer live, we are lived ; we have no freedom left, we may not decide for ourselves, we are finished, man is unsouled, Nature is unmanned. A moment ago we boasted about being her lords and masters, and now she has opened her wide jaws and swallowed us up. Unless a miracle happens ! That is the vital point—whether a miracle can still rescue this soulless, sunken, buried humanity. Never yet has any period been so shaken by horror, by such fear of death. Never has the world been so silent, silent as the grave. Never has man been more insignificant. Never has he felt so nervous. Never was happiness so unattainable and freedom so dead. Distress cries aloud ; man cries out for his soul ; this whole pregnant time is one great cry of anguish. Art too joins in, into the great darkness she too calls for help, she cries to the spirit.

About this Ford has nothing to say. He goes cheerfully on, ' hunting up objects which our fathers and forefathers used and reconstructing life as they lived it '—as a recreation. He assumes that when a man can buy his own car, his outlook automatically broadens. In his philosophy there is no place fo the inner life.

Curiously, Mr. Ford does not like modern dances. He find them ugly. So he gathers together a number of young peopl and teaches them, in a disciplined way, the dances of his boyhooc Here we see Ford in quest of his youth—one of the things nc to be reached in a Ford car. But why do young people prefe ugly modern dances ? Do the dances express the spirit of ot civilisation ? And why accept the civilisation and reject tl dances ? Can it be that Mr. Ford does not like this spirit whe he sees it too closely ?

William McFee, a ship's engineer, speaking of a fellow techr ian in *An Ocean Tramp*, says :

He is one of those minds which can grasp every detail of a professi and yet remain very ignorant indeed, a mind which travel has ma broader—and shallower ! He believes in impractical things like Mon Success, . . . Football and Wales for Ever. How can a man who p faith in such visionary matters understand one who builds on the eter and immovable bedrock of literature and art ?

How, indeed ? I wonder if Mr. Ford would see the bear

[illegible] sufficiently sensitive to personality, you will [illegible] spiritual bedrock beneath all the super-imposed recencies, and you will know whether he be 'a mere phosphatous prop of flesh' or whether he have in him some genuine rock from which the fabric of the distant world state may be fashioned.

Foolish words, doubtless, as compared with the solid reality of a Ford car. But these words express that view of life which is opposed to the industrial view. One builds on man, his possibilities of growth, of development, of depth; the other on a mountainous accumulation of things. And the great conflict is still undecided. 'Our civilisation,' cries Ford proudly, 'is based on power!' Yes; and it is also based on men. It is not wisdom to forget this. Those of us who have ventured within the iron jaws of the factory and saved our souls alive are not likely to forget it.

We are asked to wonder at the accuracy of the gauges used in the Ford works:

> The ultimate, however, has been reached in a set which differs in steps of a millionth of an inch. This is so delicate that even the heat of the user's body, several feet away, influences the results. It is the only set in the world.

Mr. Ford picks out the man responsible—Carl E. Johansson—for special mention. But not a word is said about the work of the psychological experts who, in the past few years, have been untiring in their study of human adjustments, of nerve, mind and muscle. Industry in the future will need this knowledge quite as much as that of the engineering expert.

Manufactures, we are told, must get rid of the notion of merely working for profit—let them work to produce serviceable goods cheaply. Along with this idea of service Mr. Ford advances the 'wage motive' as being the sole driving force required to make his employees put forward their best efforts. Yet this wage motive is not the idea of service which he holds up for emulation. It is, in fact, much more like the profit motive which he condemns. How can Mr. Ford square this circle? How can it be low and ignoble for him to think only of gain while for his employees it is quite right? His knowledge of human psychology is at fault here. To press a wage button will not call out the finest qualities of service. Something more is needed. You can appeal to men on higher grounds. But you cannot appeal to machines; they can only be used.

Among other enterprises Mr. Ford owns a hospital and, as might be expected, runs it very well:

A room may be entered only by the doctors or nurses in their professional capacities or by such guests as the patient wishes to receive. A patient is a patient, not an exhibit. . . . We take it that self-respect forms a part of the patient's health.

All this is so admirable that I would like to see the same principle extended to the works. Before me, as I write, is an application form for employment in use at Ford's Detroit Works. It is a lengthy document, in four sections, drawn up as if for a private detective agency. Space is provided for answers to nearly a hundred questions and for remarks by the investigator. The questions cover intimate personal details—habits of applicants; number of children, age, sex, earnings; home conditions; particulars of lodgers; rent; hire purchase payments; debts and the reason for them; family doctor, education, and other information of a purely personal and private kind. Self-respect is also part of a workman's health, and this document injures it by making an 'exhibit' of him. It is unfortunate that according to the Ford plan of life one has to enter hospital before being treated as a person.

The most promising part of the whole scheme, as Mr. Ford outlines it, is his idea of decentralisation in industry. Huge factories, besides creating a few 'bosses' and rows of human machines each contributing its millionth part to a million motors, are often cluttered up with expensive overhead charges. For this reason, among others, Mr. Ford has set up smaller establishments in country districts. Conditions have led him to experiment with the idea of letting one man do several kinds of work. He writes:

No man in our employment considers himself fixed in any particular line of work; he is ready, whenever necessity arises, to take on some sort of work he may never have heard of before. It is not good for the country to have men regarding themselves exclusively as miners, engineers, or machinists. Every man is the better for having several strings to his bow. We are planning to locate industries near the mines to have interchangeable employment.

Verily Saul, too, is among the prophets! If the workers are not thrust into ruts early in life and their confidence and initiative destroyed, there are great possibilities here. Ford speaks of men and women who have taken up farming at some of these outlying points. The company allows them several weeks off in the busy season to attend to their farms and crops. The student of economic history will note here a return to that mixed work, on a higher plane, which characterised domestic industry in the early days of the industrial era. It is a healthier, finer, more human system than for men to be penned up all their days doing a tiny, fractional job.

[illegible] But what [illegible] stand for? A life that was [illegible] ous, illimitable, human, uncharted and ungrooved. We cannot imagine the pioneers, moved by the wage motive, standing in the assembly line, fitting up Ford cars. Yet such work has to be done. The task for to-day and to-morrow is to combine variety and responsibility with disciplined work. It is a tremendous task for which there is no easy, ready-made solution.

'Work,' as Mr. Ford says truly, 'does more than get us our living; it gets us our life.' So, if we want a true balance of life, we shall not find it by scraping up *objets d'art* in our spare time, renovating them and poking them into dust-proof museums. We must make industrial life more interesting and worthy. Mr. Ford is a pioneer and is probably building better than he knows. His hint of 'interchangeable occupations' may prove to be the corner-stone of our future industrial order. For though we have industrial chaos and conflict to-day, to-morrow, if I may prophesy, we shall witness the triumph of man.

R. M. Fox.

GENERAL SMUTS' PHILOSOPHY

THE statesman turned philosopher is a familiar figure of history In those hours of enforced leisure or occasional revolt from our ordinary occupation which Heaven grants to the best and the worst of us, the man whose trade it is to tread the shifting sands of politics is often tempted towards the slippery rocks of metaphysics ; and few will deny that the world has sometimes gained by the exchange. Solomon and Marcus Aurelius were probably not less capable administrators because they discussed the problems of the ages in the intervals of daily business. The speeches of More and Bacon are forgotten, but the *Utopia* and *Novum Organum* are still read. Lord Balfour is assuredly not a lesser figure in the eyes of his contemporaries because of the *Philosophic Doubt*, and Lord Haldane's *Pathway of Reality* has been appreciated by many who are not altogether comfortable over his politics.

General Smuts is the latest, but certainly not the least, of those who have given hostages to fortune by writing a book. It is not indeed likely that *Holism and Evolution*[1] will ever supersede his popular fame as a statesman and soldier, and it is on the whole improbable that General Hertzog will find it necessary to issue a counterblast for the benefit of the backveldt burgher. But the evidence which this work provides of a singularly subtle as well as a powerfully active mind will certainly not diminish the reputation of its author in more academic circles.

A politician who engages in these grave studies in his leisure hours is commonly supposed to compete against the professors at some considerable disadvantage. In actual fact the handicap is often more apparent than real. The amateur may well be ignorant of the latest philosophic fashion of the schools. But th practical habit of the statesman's life and his constant contac with men of affairs give him a direct insight into human natur which the more secluded student can never obtain ; and th necessity he is under of making his meaning plain to supporte and subordinates in his daily occupation will probably be of ve real assistance in the composition of his treatise. He may la

[1] *Holism and Evolution*, published by Allen & Unwin.

some of the more elaborate tools which the professional philosopher uses or misuses. But he will at least be clear where the professor is too often confusing and confused. He may not cover quite so much ground, but he is unlikely to get lost in a fog of his own making.

In one respect, it is true, this accidental advantage of occupation may turn against him. By the very condition of his trade the politician is particularly concerned with human beings, and his necessary knowledge of their motives and limitations will be evident on every page of his work. But human beings are, after all, a very small part of the universe, and the politician who concerns himself with ultimate problems will probably be liable to exaggerate the part played by humanity in the general scheme of things. We shall find that the philosophy of General Smuts is not exempt from this defect.

The Holistic hypothesis, as the title of the book implies, is based primarily on evolution. The universe, according to General Smuts, is a process; and this process, in his opinion, shows a tendency everywhere to create larger and more perfect wholes, from the smallest whole—the atom—to the greatest, which he regards as human personality. But he is emphatic that the wholes in this scheme are not the mere sum of their individual parts; the whole is—or at least becomes—in some sort a superior and independent entity, which in turn influences and may control the parts.

Moreover, the Smuts philosophy insists that the evolution theory is unintelligible unless we assume that every organism has a persistent small credit or overbalance in the direction of development; for mere casual variations do not, it holds, explain the existence of the world as it is. There will be more to say on this point later on; for the moment it is sufficient to note that this principle necessarily implies the idea of progress, and direction or design. But, oddly enough, it does not lead General Smuts, as it has led so many of his predecessors, to the idea of a superintending design, or Will of God. He can conceive of a design, but not of a designer. He can admit a series of more or less perfect units in the universe, some at least of which control their own parts; but he cannot admit that the universe itself may be a perfect and all-inclusive unit, with a superior and independent entity of its own, which influences and may control the parts.

So much by way of a bare summary of the basis of the Holistic hypothesis; the superstructure raised by General Smuts now follows. The greatest whole that has so far appeared in the world, he maintains, is human personality; and in his opinion the most

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[illegible] fossil deposit of fame. Not all lives, however, would be of equal value in this connexion, and he rather unkindly suggests that the new science will have very little use for the business man or organiser or civil servant. (Let us hope that it will have more use for the statesman, and so do something to justify the monumental biographies which the patriotism or piety of publishers inflicts upon the world.) But in General Smuts' opinion, personology will find the bulk of its material in the lives of saints and artists—in other words, it will study genius as the supreme type of humanity, rather than humanity as the supreme type or whole which the Holistic process has produced.

The suggestion is an interesting one—always subject to the proviso that we can believe the biographer, who is usually inclined to make a mountain of virtue out of what may have been a molehill of genius. But it is at once obvious that the first part of General Smuts' philosophy stands on a firmer basis than the second.

Organic entities do certainly derive from inorganic elements; this is, so far as we know, a general process, and it may therefore reasonably be regarded as a probable proof of general progress. But it does not necessarily follow that the whole cosmic process has begun, continued, and culminated in order to produce humanity as its end and purpose; nor does it even seem inherently probable that we are the final link in the long chain of universal causation.

It would be pleasant to think so; and from our egocentric point of view we are naturally inclined to think so, both because we are more concerned with our own continuance as an entity than with anything else, and because the things that make life worth living—home and family, the intimate sweet contacts of friendship, ambition and achievement and love, and the thousand and one human interests that attract us—are nearly all definable in personal terms. But a moment's consideration shows that from anything but the local standpoint of the individual the egocentric attitude is not justified.

It was natural for early man to hold that his flat earth was the centre of the universe, and himself as its consciously dominant figure was necessarily the summit-level of this primitive philosophy. But the psalmist—' What is man, that Thou art mindful of him ? '—had some intuitive doubts of the soundness of that conclusion, which were fully confirmed by the intellect of Copernicus 2000 years later. The universe known to man has expanded since the seventeenth century, and the relative importance of

[illegible] standard in these matters—always, however, with disastrous results.

The attitude which General Smuts has adopted practically compels him to accept Bosanquet's implied position that the final purpose of the universe is to be a factory of souls. Now I hope that I am ready to admit this proposition, or any other proposition, however improbable it may sound, on tolerably satisfactory evidence being produced. But the truth is that no definite evidence has yet been produced in favour of this belief, while there is a great deal of very definite evidence which at least seems *to tell against it. And in spite of the great name of Bosanquet, in spite too of a laboured but forgotten treatise to the same effect* by Alfred Russel Wallace, and (I regret to add) in spite of the persuasiveness of General Smuts, the odds still seem decisively in favour of the Copernican rather than the Ptolemaic view of man's position in the universe.

Knowledge of the world in which we live no longer permits these excessively exalted assumptions. They may be the mean-ng which the universe normally has for us. But they can hardly the real meaning of the universe; nor, if it has a purpose, does seem likely that we are entitled to assume that we are ourselves t particular purpose—the one chosen people neatly tucked ay in one little corner of one little solar system.

If the aim and end of the universe is to be a factory of souls, appears to be an extraordinarily large and astonishingly steful factory to produce so small an output. Individuality d personality obviously have their place in the world in which live, and that place—as General Smuts has successfully shown s essential to the constitution of things as they are, and the mic process as it exists. But the consideration cannot be ssed too far, for the process as we see it is not altogether in one ection. Water exists as rivers and oceans as well as raindrops, the individual raindrop is a very small and transitory pro-tion of the mass of water in the world. From that mass it ives, and to that mass it returns. Can it be maintained that individual human being, whose fugitive and transitory life is le to be ended at any moment by any one of a hundred petty idents, is ultimately a much more significant factor in the mos?

The bulk and element of the universe is impersonal, and shows particular concern with you or me—as much, in fact, and as tle, as you or I would show over the fate of one individual agocyte. The humbler view, then, seems more probable—that e life of the individual is a mere by-product of the whole cosmic

process, and that human consciousness may be no more than mere spume and spindrift thrown up by some great sea of universal reality whose depth and current is beyond our understanding. This may seem to us the low road of disillusion, but perhaps it is as likely to lead us towards the truth as the high road which ignores every shred of physical evidence we possess.

Admittedly the universe is a unit, and therefore a whole. But whether that inclusive unit is sufficiently described as a process, and a progressive process which consists entirely of an endless series of minor ascending wholes, is a more doubtful matter.

A whole in the Smuts definition is a material fragment which is self-determined or self-contained, or at least approximates to that condition of independent completeness. The universe, of course, contains many such wholes—stars, planets, and solar systems innumerable, all composed of more or less coherent material substance. But material substance is as small an element compared with the totality of space as life is compared to the total mass of the globe—an occasional kink or knot in the great fabric of the cosmos, but manifestly the exception rather than the rule of things. It is, I think, a pertinent criticism that the Smuts philosophy deals entirely with these tangible material exceptions, but ignores the significance of the general rule. In other words, it discusses the process, but omits to discuss the medium in which the process takes place.

Moreover, its doctrine of a progress upward of increasingly perfect wholes from the atom to the pebble, and from amœba to man, obviously has a vulnerable heel. A man is certainly a more complex organism than an atom or amœba, and on any theory but one he is a higher organism than a pebble. Unfortunately the one theory ... necessarily regard General Smuts ... e pebble which he carelessly kicks ... ory which he has adopted.

... tity, it neither receives nor gives ... nd self-sufficient and therefore ... n rather than a mechanism in ... General Smuts, on the contrary ... illustration to criticise his own ... ds a party, forms a Cabinet, ... Government, delivers a speech ... es on the ultimate nature of ... re all part of the life-work of ... e individual, and the pebble

... y life is ... usion, ... ed petty ... 2000 years ... tor in the ... the seventeenth ... al, and shows ... in fact, and as ... one individual ... re probable—that ... of the whole cosmic ... e things.

But it cannot do them because it is so nearly as possible a perfect whole, and as nearly as possible static and self-sufficing. Every one of these actions and achievements of General Smuts proves, on the contrary, that this particular and personal Whole is highly dynamic: he absorbs and expresses energy continually. He acts and reacts to external stimulus as the pebble does not. But without the capacity for absorbing and expressing stimulus the pebble is still recognisably a pebble, whereas General Smuts would no longer be a living conscious individual at all. In a word, the pebble is a static organism rather than a mechanism constructed for the receipt and expenditure of energy; General Smuts is a mechanism in action rather than an organism at rest. It is true, as we shall see later, that he is something more than a mechanism, but that is by the way, so far as this particular argument is concerned.

Inanimate and animate organisms are both wholes, according to the Smuts philosophy; but the latter is a more perfect whole than the former. In one sense of the word the definition is so obviously justified as almost to be a truism. But truisms may be ultimately misleading, and closer examination has shown that this statement, apparently so innocent and conclusive, is superficial and incomplete.

An inanimate organism is a whole that remains recognisably the same over long periods of time; a stone does not, for example, suddenly change into a brick. It remains recognisably the same because it is complete in itself; its nature is essentially static, because it absorbs very little from the external world, and also gives out very little.

An animate organism, on the other hand, is essentially dynamic. It lives only by absorbing energy in the shape of light, food, air, and water; and it acts only by expressing that energy, which it generally uses in order to obtain more energy. It may remain recognisably the same, but for a far shorter period of time than the inanimate organism; and it only remains recognisably the same in virtue of its absorption and conversion of other materials. In that sense a man is a whole in a very different fashion from a stone, and the analogy between inanimate and animate wholes is in some respects misleading.

Personality, in short, is not a complete and self-satisfying whole, far less a permanent or perfect whole. Human personality is from its very nature a split unit, as its division into sex attests; an unstable unit dependent on its contacts and absorptions of external energy for its continuance from minute to minute; and finally a dissatisfied unit whose every desire and purpose betrays its own incompleteness—for the existence of desire is itself a tacit admission of insufficiency in the organism that desires.

It is at first sight [illegible]
less static and self-supporting [illegible]
of mechanism, the more does it draw from without, and the more does it depend on environment for continuity of personal identity. But the fact itself is incontestable. Its high position is due, not to self-sufficiency, but to the selection, absorption, and conversion of energy from the external world to its own purposes. But that very faculty of selection and absorption shows that it is not a perfect whole, in General Smuts' acceptance of the term.

These considerations in turn throw some light on a problem which General Smuts examines, but does not explain. He remarks that life, unlike matter, shows a persistent overplus or extra-content, which he regards as the source of that direction or overriding general will that he describes, in Bergsonian phrase, as creative evolution. The observation, of course, is true—it is this very overplus that enables life to rise above the determinist line of least resistance which characterises inanimate matter; but General Smuts has not pushed his analysis far enough.

This overplus indicates the existence of a superfluity of energy within the living individual which it has absorbed from without for the purpose of going on living, but which it does not immediately require in order to maintain continuity. It is this surplus which distinguishes it from the non-living, and it is precisely in virtue of this extra-content of energy within the organism that life rises above matter, and it is by reason of this small credit-balance that life possesses freedom—the very small amount of freedom that life actually possesses.

So far as the living organism possesses this surplus energy it can use it, within the limits of its physical and mental competence, as it desires; but action draws steadily on this reservoir of free energy, and continued action will in time exhaust it. Once exhausted, the organism is reduced to the normal material law of least resistance or determinism until the reservoir is restocked by the absorption of energy from without.

Human liberty exists, but manifestly it does not extend very far. We have no choice of sex, of place or time of birth, and for the great majority there is no effective choice of environment through life. Most of us do in fact remain, whether contentedly or not, in 'that state of life into which it shall please God to call us,' although whether we do our duty in that state of life, as the catechism further requires, is within our own competence to decide: in that particular moral province the will at least appears to be free.

But this surplus of power which constitutes the freedom of the individual is not very great at any given moment. Judged by muscular capacity, a man can jump his own height, and three

[illegible] space he can [illegible] as far as he can walk, but beyond that distance his physical liberty is very soon circumscribed by exhaustion.

But although freedom is limited by the capacity of the individual it is actual and real. From the existence of this small individual surplus of energy arises the free movement which distinguishes the animal from the vegetable; from this derives also all mental as well as physical achievement, for the surplus which gives us freedom is the foundation of intellectual purpose as well as moral liberty.

The origin of freedom is thus this stock of surplus energy within the organism, which it has previously absorbed from without, and which is constantly being expended in action and as constantly replenished. The Smuts philosophy has not seen this, and consequently its analysis of freedom appears to be defective.

Here it should be said, however, that General Smuts has introduced a novel and important point into the concept of the whole. It is not sufficient, he says, to regard the visible or apparent unit as the complete whole, and if we do so we ignore something of its totality. He insists that the visible unit is surrounded by an invisible 'field' in which its influence is felt—that influence, of course, diminishing as it travels from the centre of the circle to its circumference. (He might profitably have illustrated his principle by the example of the sun, whose 'field' includes the sunlight which reaches to the end of the solar system, and far beyond it; and this large-scale illustration would in the long run have carried his argument successfully past the point at which he has prematurely abandoned it, to the detriment and limitation of his philosophic system.)

This concept of a hinterland or sphere of influence surrounding the whole is suggestive and fruitful, and it could have been wished that General Smuts had found time to develop it at more length. As it stands, indeed, it demands further definition and qualification than it receives in his book before it can play its full part, for the contemplative field of the living organism is apparently—but only apparently—larger than its field of action. Human consciousness, for example, is aware of the stars thousands of millions of miles away, whereas human action is confined to this planet, and to a very small portion of this planet. But our consciousness is only aware of the stars because their light flows inward to the senses—it is not to be suggested that our 'field' reaches outwards to the limits of the spheres. The human will, on the other hand, is impotent on things beyond its reach; and not merely inoperative beyond this globe, but inoperative more than a few miles beneath or a few miles above its surface.

Psychically, therefore, the contemplative 'field' of the human organism appears (but only appears) to be far larger than its actual and effective field of action; physically its normal radius is small. And this is so because our senses receive stimulus from near and far, whereas our powers of movement, which are very sharply limited, are practically confined to things in our immediate neighbourhood. The 'field' or radius of the unit varies, in fact, very much according to its size. The radius of a star reaches across the heavens. But the human will operates only within its own small local limits of power; its individual overplus of energy permits it to go so far, but no farther, in influencing the field of its environment.

This small but persistent overplus of energy within the living organism is the simple yet sufficient basis on which General Smuts, like Bergson, has erected his theory of creative evolution. He dissociates himself, indeed, from a great deal of Bergson's famous doctrine by a penetrating exposure of the difficulties which that particular theory of Time and Intuition involves; General Smuts wears his philosophic suit with a difference. The cloth is very much the same, but the cut has considerably changed the appearance.

The Smuts philosophy, like all theories of emergent evolution, necessarily believes in progress. The author is always an optimist; there is nothing of the pessimism of Schopenhauer and Hardy in this voice from the veldt. And it is a pleasant thought that, after many years in the field and council chamber, the hero of the most romantic career in modern times still retains his faith in progress. The struggles of politics and war are for him always a struggle of humanity towards the good, or of the good towards the better. Somehow and somewhere, for him at least, the whole creative process makes for progress, and moves definitely towards some far-off (but not divine) event in a great friendly universe.

It was the more surprising to find the deliberate declaration later in the book that General Smuts is an atheist. There is, in his opinion, neither necessity nor room for God in the Holistic universe.

Now the atheistic standpoint has always seemed to me an extremely difficult one; for, even on Pascal's theory of probability, it appears more likely that there is a God than that there is not. And this assumption, for what it is worth, is supported by the cumulative evidence of religious experience through the ages—also for what it is worth. I have always recognised, of course, that my failure to appreciate the atheistic position as an intellectual concept may be due to some mental defect in my own equipment—a blind spot similar to that which makes me confess with shame and mortification a preference for any page of Brad-

shaw's Time Tables to any page of Walter Pater. But that General Smuts, of all people in the world, should adopt this attitude, and that he should adopt it as a logical outcome of his Holistic philosophy, does, I admit, astonish me.

It requires, in fact, some considerable agility of argument to affirm the existence of a progressive and therefore intelligent design, and to deny the existence of a progressive and therefore intelligent designer. And, if I may borrow for a moment a weapon from his own well-stocked armoury, it strikes me rather as though the author of the Holistic philosophy were prepared to admit the physical facts, but were content in this one instance to ignore the 'field' of psychic meaning which these facts suggest.

But a brief reference to the rival schools of creative or emergent evolution shows that, in spite of first appearances, on this one point they mostly face in very much the same direction. It is true that Bergson holds that it is 'in the Absolute we live and move and have our being,' but as to the nature of that Absolute his doctrine of Time allows him very little to say. God for him 'has nothing of the already made; He is unceasing life, action, freedom.' Bergson, in fact, pictures a God slowly emergent in matter, a dualistic deity in a difficulty, who attacks—*solvitur ambulando*—the problems of the universe as best He may. And while Bergson permits us an increasing God who somehow struggles through, Professor Alexander rather suggests a puzzled God who somehow muddles through—in a word, the English political model rather than the French Napoleonic tradition.

After these unsatisfactory compromises or reminiscences of a shrunken Jehovah, these attenuated hire-purchase divinities who are small enough to fit into a modern flat but may be expanded by instalments as time and opportunity permit, it is perhaps not entirely surprising that General Smuts should show himself impatient with such shadowy supremacies. Imitating the practice of some modern theatres where the entertainment does not really matter, he proposes to omit the author's name from the playbills altogether. The creative evolutionists, in fact, have unconsciously followed a mental process which history has made sufficiently familiar. Now, as in the old days, man makes God in his own image—this is the Bergson deity struggling with Nature. Man then decides there shall be no other gods but this one—this is the anæmic Alexandrian deity who is to supersede the old magnificent dreams of religion and philosophy. Man then discovers that this procedure is unsatisfactory, and abandons the mirror-god of his invention—this is the atheism of General Smuts.

For him, then, this interminable drama which is played on the vast stage of space and time, this stupendous motion-picture of which we perceive at best so minute and baffling a fragment,

just happens to be there; the brief moments of beauty, the occasional brief exaltations of achievement, the poignant passages of tragedy—these, alone of all created things, have no 'field' of unseen significance. The play in which we all are petty actors performs itself steadily and unceasingly, scene after scene and act after act, before the winking footlights of the stars; but this tremendous plot was never planned, and the sequence and the setting simply follow in due order but without ordering. For General Smuts, despite his confessed belief in progress, the curtain of the cosmic process rang up without direction, and will eventually ring down on the inevitable happy ending of an increasing tendency towards improvement without design.

Thus does the emergent deity of creative evolution become small by degrees and beautifully less until, like an incompetent actor, it finally vanishes superfluous from a stage too large for it to occupy. There is no God, and man is become the prophet of his own perfection. I must confess that these seem to me extraordinarily difficult propositions, which suggest some omission from the philosophy more readily than some omission from the universe.

The world, say the creative evolutionists soundly, is a process and a becoming. The evidence of process and progress is admittedly there; biology does show the emergence of successively higher types. But a process must proceed, a progress must start somewhere and go somewhere; both must have a beginning and eventually an end. And, moreover, a process is not a thing that exists of itself; process and progress must both take place in a continent medium which surrounds them. In other words, the whole long sequence of events, like every individual event in this tangible and visible universe, must have a hinterland, a sphere of influence, a 'field' in which it exists and works. There must be a source of the process and a terminus of the progress—for streams do not simply start out of nothing and empty themselves into the void.

It is here, if I may say so with respect, that General Smuts [illegible] have been too hasty in his conclusions—possibly because [illegible]ed too much on the authority of a famous argument of [illegible] too little on his own mystical perceptions. He trusts [illegible]ecause it is an intellectual statement, and distrusts [illegible]ause it is an emotional experience. But experience [illegible] reason, and in this instance at least he has allowed [illegible]e experience; perhaps even to negative his own [illegible]stract thought.

[illegible]osophy betrays no tendency towards dualism.

It must, therefore, be taken—at least until the author explicitly denies it, or postulates Dualism—to regard the universe as ultimately a unit and a whole—a diversified but inclusive whole, possibly the only complete and entirely self-sufficient whole that exists. Now either it is a spiritual whole with a tangible and visible material fragment, or a material whole (or series of material wholes) with an attendant series of partial and emergent spiritual fragments. General Smuts adopts the latter view. Matter, not spirit, is in his opinion the sufficient basis of the Holistic scheme and the foundation of 'this great friendly universe' without a soul, and all consciousness on this assumption derives from matter.

But this choice involves certain consequences. If the universe is fundamentally material, then all consciousness—and not merely the limited and perhaps derivative consciousness of the individual—is a mere casual intruder on an unconscious world. In that event the universe is ultimately inexplicable and presumably irrational; since matter cannot account for its own origin, the river for its source, or the process for the medium in which it proceeds.

It may, of course, be so. But if the universe is ultimately inexplicable and irrational, then we are merely wasting time in discussing it. Yet every shred of evidence that we possess shows a rational order of things, and this rational order suggests that those things, and the universe which contains them, are ultimately explicable, although perhaps not by our limited understanding. But in that event we live in an intelligible world; and if in an intelligible world, then in a world in which consciousness is the prior and original element. In that case the universe is ultimately spiritual, and matter is a mere casual intruder on consciousness, a slow-motion picture which shows itself in part before this local cinema of life. And in that case, again, consciousness can ultimately account for matter, the source for the river, the medium for the process.

It seems, on the whole, likely that the latter is, on balance, the more tenable hypothesis; not because the scheme of things which it suggests is easier to grasp than its materialist rival—the reverse is the case—but because it is ultimately capable of explaining more, and explaining it more satisfactorily. Life as we know it is nearer the material than the spiritual level, and most men therefore start with a materialist bias of thought. But, unlike other animals, men usually become conscious that it is a sectional world which we thus envisage, and therefore that materialism, which is so satisfactory and conclusive in the ordinary affairs of life, is incomplete and consequently incompetent to deal with the ultimate problems of existence. Materialism accounts for much, but it cannot account for everything, or even for itself.

For that reason, and in spite of superficial appearance and the attractive sharpness and clearness of the materialist scheme, men are inclined in the end to adopt the spiritual hypothesis as more inclusive than the material. The former contains the elements of a possible solution of the problem, the latter does not and from its nature cannot. But to admit this practically means to admit the existence of God.

It is true that the popular ideas of God will have to be drastically revised; neither the hanging judge or atoning scapegoat of the past, nor the benevolent despot of the present, will survive constructive criticism in the new world of thought towards which we move. On this matter it is probable that we do not even begin to know the difficulty of the problem which faces religion and philosophy; perhaps man is incapable of ever solving these stupendous enigmas—for until we understand more of the universe in which we live we cannot expect to understand more of the God whom we ignorantly worship. But as regards the fundamental fact of the existence or non-existence of God, the purely negative position becomes, I think, increasingly difficult to maintain.

It is for this reason, and in spite of the pleasurable provocation which the book affords, that one could have wished General Smuts had delayed the publication of his work until he had thought out his principles to their logical end. This is in fact one of the few books that would have been better had it been longer. It is a courageous attempt to elucidate the universe, but it still remains—if I may borrow the author's own terminology—an incomplete whole.

A. Wyatt Tilby.

THE UNREST IN SHAKESPEAREAN STUDIES

Every age will inevitably refashion the interpretative criticism of Shakespeare to its own mood. But, so far as the bare marshalling of facts is concerned, it must often have seemed, during the long process of the years, as if finality had been reached. Perhaps even Heminges and Condell thought that they had achieved it, when they painfully exhumed from the tiring-house coffers eighteen plays, hitherto unprinted, and furnished authoritative texts to replace the 'stolne and surreptitious copies'—not, indeed, so many as their preface suggested—of others. Here at last were the works of their beloved fellow, 'absolute in their numbers, as he conceived them.' Perhaps the preface might have been longer, if Heminges and Condell had known how many questions about the origin and stage history and chronology of those works the twentieth century researcher would have liked to put to them. And perhaps it is as well that they did not know, since in that event much of the researcher's entrancing occupation would have been gone. They did not even furnish a biography. Possibly one was written or planned by Thomas Heywood, although no 'fellow' of Shakespeare, among those unfinished and lost *Lives of All the Poets*, for which we would so gladly barter, many times over, his *Gunaikeion* and his *Hierarchy of the Angels*. It is to the piety of a later actor, Thomas Betterton, that we owe most of the facts put together by Nicholas Rowe in the first formal biography of 1709. Presumably Rowe also envisaged finality, although we smile when he says that 'tho' the works of Mr. Shakespear may seem to many not to want a comment, yet I fancy some little account of the man himself may not be thought improper to go along with them'; and Malone pathetically points out how many contemporaries of Shakespeare, still alive in the days of Betterton and Rowe, might have been, but were not, questioned. It is likely that little was garnered by the antiquary William Oldys, sitting there in his room at the Heralds' Office, with sheaves of Shakespearean notes hung in bags around the walls. These notes have vanished. The unreliable George Steevens printed some items of gossip, which may have drifted to Oldys through

Pope at the Earl of [illegible] the originals of these are extant in some [illegible] now in the British Museum'. But I have searched for them there in vain. It is ironical that Oldys did not even discover the record of the Shakespeare arms, which lay at the Heralds' Office all the time.

Then at the end of the century came Malone himself, a very competent scholar for his time, unwearied both in archival research and in personal inquiries up and down Warwickshire. He opened up the documents at Stratford and Dulwich College and the Record Office, trounced the Ireland forgeries, and made a big contribution both to the chronological and textual history of the plays and to the biography of the playwright. We must always remain grateful to Malone. His results, taking their latest posthumous form in the *Third Variorum Shakespeare* of 1821, once more looked like finality, and his authority remained great during the first half of the nineteenth century. Something was added by Collier, while darkening counsel with new forgeries, by Joseph Hunter, by George Russell French, and much by J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps. These in their turn led up in the later Victorian days to a vast outburst of concurrent activities; the textual work of Clark and Wright, the spiritual biography of Edward Dowden, the *Quellenforschung* of the Germans, the stimulating but airy speculations of F. G. Fleay, the corporate studies of F. J. Furnivall and his colleagues of the New Shakespeare Society, culminating in the great series of Quarto Facsimiles. A new synthesis was required, and has been provided by Clark and Wright's Cambridge text, by Sir Sidney Lee's *Life*, gradually developing from 1898 to 1925 out of an article for the *Dictionary of National Biography*, by the recently completed [illegible] learning of *Shakespeare's* [illegible]

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[illegible] papers belonging [illegible] have been taken by his granddaughter into the household of the Barnards of Abington and dispersed at the break-up of that household. The chances are that any such papers have long ago fed the flames. No doubt some mouldering garret in some English manor-house might still yield up a treasure, but such things lie on the knees of the gods, and are hardly to be obtained by prayer, sacrifice, or research. The wooden frame of a horn-book has just been found in Anne Hathaway's cottage at Shottery. On it are roughly cut the initials W.S., or perhaps W.B. If it is S, it is not much like the S of Shakespeare's script. And although Shakespeare married young, he was not quite young enough to take his horn-book with him when he went a-wooing to Anne Hathaway (if it was Anne Hathaway) at Shottery (if it was at Shottery). In any event, the *trouvaille* is for sentiment, rather than for erudition. The most it could tell us is that Shakespeare once used a horn-book, and that we could have taken for granted. Perhaps there might be something to be learnt from a more systematic examination than has yet been undertaken of the parochial documents of St. Saviour's, Southwark, and other London churches, or of the registers of the ecclesiastical jurisdictions. And one has a haunting feeling that the well-preserved Corporation archives of London ought to contain some more continuous records of the civic licensing of playing companies and playhouses, comparable to those of the Mayor's Court at Norwich, than have yet come to light through the repertories and journals and collections of correspondence. Anything from these sources, no doubt, might be expected to bear rather upon the theatrical environment than upon the personality of Shakespeare. There are also unexplored recesses of the Record Office, and in particular the uncalendared pleadings, depositions and judgments arising out of law-suits in the High Courts. Here the industrious researcher, at the expense of many unproductive days and with no Ariadne's clue except a handful of likely names to guide him, might hope to come upon something new, since Elizabethan actors were always a litigious [illegible]k. It was, indeed, from judicial records and by some such [illegible]hod that the latest biographical contributions of importance [illegible]e made by Professor Wallace, of Nebraska. A group of [illegible]suits yielded valuable information on the nature of Shake[illegible]are's financial interests in the Globe and Blackfriars Theatres, [illegible] another disclosed the poet as a lodger in a family of Huguenot [illegible]-makers, where he helped the course of true love to run smooth [illegible] a daughter of the household and her father's apprentice.

The plays, however, rather than the biography, are the main occupation of the twentieth-century researcher, who approaches

them with an open mind and a laudable determination not to take for granted the conclusions of his predecessors. It is only reasonable to expect that, in any age in which minute critical attention is paid to a body of bygone literature, theories will emerge which a conservative instinct is tempted promptly to brand as heresies. Any such summary formula of dismissal runs a risk of proving unjust. Heresy and the reaction against heresy and the search for a reconciliation have always been the dialectical process by which knowledge has advanced its frontiers and consolidated its territory. Certainly there are revolutionary notions abroad about the authenticity and homogeneity of the Shakespearean canon, as handed down in the First Folio and the independent Quartos. Against its authenticity it is claimed that to a large extent the plays, or many of them, are not Shakespeare's handiwork at all; against its homogeneity that, in so far as they are Shakespeare's, they often represent, in the form in which we have them, his later recensions of his original compositions. The more perturbing scepticism, to the conservative instinct, is naturally that which challenges authenticity. I do not suppose that many students go all the way with Mr. Oliphant, who finds Shakespeare's matter much overlaid by Massinger's in *The Tempest* and in *Cymbeline*, or with Mr. Robertson, who substantially transfers *Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard II.*, *Henry V.*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *The Comedy of Errors* to Christopher Marlowe, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* to Robert Greene, and *Troilus and Cressida*, *All's Well That Ends Well* and *Measure for Measure* to George Chapman But these are only extreme examples of a very general hesitation to accept as equally Shakespeare's all the different manners of writing verse or prose and all the different degrees of poetic merit which the plays of the canon exhibit

The sceptics start, as a rule, from subjective judgments of style. And these, although one may sometimes suspect them to be based on too exclusive an attention to the best work of an unequal writer, are fundamental and hardly to be affected by argument. One can only plead for caution, in view of the very considerable difficulties which beset the discrimination of styles, especially where one hand is supposed to have overwritten the lines of another. The development of Shakespeare's maturing style, in its most characteristic manifestations, has been traced with some success. It is not so easy to establish a criterion which will distinguish its less characteristic manifestations from the maturing styles of his contemporaries. And it is still less easy to disentangle his immature style from that of the school of poets which made an environment for his novitiate. It is, I think, justifiable to speak of these poets—Marlowe, Peele, Greene,

Lodge, Nashe, Kyd, and others more dimly discerned—as a school. They worked in collaboration and interchanged their praises. They have a common bond in classical knowledge and the attempt to conquer the popular stage for literature. They owe a common debt to Seneca and his English court imitators. And they largely share a common style, which derives its stores of diction, phrasing and imagery from the Senecans, from Spenser, and from the Elizabethan translators of Latin poets. Marlowe dominates, with a genius and a feeling for beauty beyond that of his fellows. Kyd, the 'grammarian,' stands a little aloof, but the influence of his rhetoric is pervasive. I do not suggest that they all handled the common style in exactly the same fashion. No doubt each man wore his rue with a difference. And if we had a sufficient body of undisputed dramatic work from each, we might determine the various ways in which the common elements were combined and modified, and get a clear conception of dramatic personalities, which in its turn would enable us to estimate the affinities of the young Shakespeare, and to watch his emancipation from the bonds of the school. Unfortunately the available material is extremely scanty. The number of plays which there is external evidence for assigning to any one writer only ranges from two to seven, and the evidential value of some of these is small, because they are only preserved in hopelessly corrupt texts or are complicated by an indefinite amount of collaboration. The style of non-dramatic work can be compared; the translations of Marlowe, the pamphlets of Greene, the ceremonial poems of Peele. But these only give limited help in judging the handling of dialogued verse. Probably each writer is further represented by some of the many anonymous plays of the period, although there were other prolific dramatists, such as Thomas Watson, whose work is unknown ...d who may be responsible for some of these. It is only through accidental allusions of contemporaries that we can ascribe anonymous *Tamburlaine* to Marlowe and the anonymous ...*nish Tragedy* to Kyd. Many attempts have been made to ... out other masterless plays and to claim them on internal ...lence for this or that known writer. Parallels of vocabulary, ...yntax, of the collocation of words, of metaphor and simile, ...lramatic motive, are carefully collected. Enthusiasm for a ...overy sometimes tends to outrun caution. Points of similarity ... stressed. Others, no less important, of difference are often ...egarded. Then the play so appropriated is made itself to ...tribute to a further induction, designed to cast the net wider ... to bring in yet other plays or parts of plays. Kyd and Peele ...e been the chief beneficiaries of this reasoning. Obviously ...rows weaker as it extends its scope. In its earlier stages it

is seductive, but, like other ... of agreement, far ... been preceded by a comprehensive preliminary ... directed to showing what stylistic features belong to the common stock and what may properly be regarded as characteristic of an individual. And parallels, even if well established, are double-edged weapons. No doubt constant writers tend to echo themselves. But so, too, do the members of a school tend to echo each other; and in particular, as a school acquires disciples, these tend to echo their masters. It is often more a matter of subconscious reminiscence than of purposed imitation. 'Half echoes' was a happy term coined by Rupert Brooke for such a literary give and take. Perhaps it is not a paradox to say that, the more obvious a parallel is, the less testimony it bears to identity of authorship. Little habitual mannerisms of phrase, which might readily pass unnoticed, are safer guides than reproductions of impressive thoughts or images. Mere words pass like coins from hand to hand. And where, as is rarely the case, an actual borrowing of one or more complete lines seems unmistakable, it surely points to anything rather than a single author. It may be deliberate plagiarism, since discipleship is not always either discreet or honest. It may be the trick of a reporter's memory, bringing alien matter into a speech which he is trying to reproduce. It may be burlesque. Thus in *The Spanish Tragedy* Kyd writes:

> And if the world like not this tragedy,
> Hard is the hap of old Hieronimo.

And after the play-scene, Hamlet exclaims ...

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[illegible] STUDIES [illegible]

[illegible] professedly profess. But at least [illegible] their problem from the bibliographical angle, beginning with a close investigation of the typographical features of the old prints and an attempt to deduce from these the way in which the plays were composed and the nature of the 'copy' furnished to the printers. The method has been hailed as a revolution through which for the first time 'the door of Shakespeare's workshop stands ajar.' A modest qualification is necessary. Scholarship has its continuity and leaves little room for revolutionaries. Many of the typographical peculiarities, which are now much under discussion, were noted, if not always rightly interpreted, by the versatile Mr. Fleay; and, although some editors have erroneously supposed that the First Folio represents the final form in which Shakespeare desired his plays to stand, the superior authority of many of the Quartos, which is a cardinal principle of the bibliographers, has always been proclaimed by the soundest students, from Malone to Mr. P. A. Daniel and his fellow workers on the Quarto facsimiles. But certainly the new school comes to its task with a better equipment than its predecessors. It is familiar with the history of printing, with the organisation of Elizabethan printing-houses, and with the operations of the Stationers' Company and the press censors. It has studied the technical processes of the printer's workshop and the psychology of the compositor. It is accustomed to think in terms of type and paper, and can distinguish between textual errors which may reasonably be attributed to the craftsmen and those for which some other explanation *must be found.*

Its first scientific achievement was the detection of a group of Quartos, bearing various dates, but all in fact printed in 1619, and apparently representing an abortive attempt at a collected edition of Shakespearean plays, some years in advance of the First Folio. Incidentally, questions of priority between the Quartos both of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and of *The Merchant* [illegible] *Venice* were finally settled. This was bibliography pure and [illegible]ple. The lead in the enterprise was taken by Mr. A. W. [illegible]lard, of the British Museum, although much was also done by [illegible] W. W. Greg, and the clinching stroke was reserved for a [illegible]nsatlantic scholar. It is to Mr. Pollard that the school [illegible]s as its founder. He is not only one of the most accom[illegible]hed of living bibliographers, but also a critic, an acknowledged [illegible]ucerian expert, an editor of Sidney and Herrick and much [illegible]. Of all men he is the least entitled to waive his claim to a [illegible]rary as well as a bibliographical judgment. His optimism [illegible] accessibility to new ideas have struck the temperamental [illegible]es for the whole movement. He is even an optimist about

the honesty of Elizabethan publishers and the desire and ability of Elizabethan printers, at any rate in their more sober moments, to give a faithful rendering of the copy set before them. Naturally, therefore, he has a good opinion of the soundness of the extant Shakespearean texts, and this he has done much to justify by establishing from the condition of surviving dramatic manuscripts the use of author's copy as prompt copy for the actors, thus countering the older notion of the constant intervention of playhouse transcribers, and giving plausibility to the conclusion that some at least of the Quartos may have been set up direct from Shakespeare's own papers. His *Shakespeare's Folios and Quartos* and his *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*, both full of reasonableness and learning, are fundamental treatises for the modern researcher. Optimism perhaps confers the faculty of seeing rather more in a dark room than is apparent to the ordinary eye. Mr. Pollard, while maintaining the authority of the 'Good' Quartos and limiting the applicability of Heminges and Condell's derogatory epithet 'surreptitious' to the half-dozen admittedly corrupt texts which he calls the 'Bad' Quartos, at least shares the responsibility for a highly speculative theory as to the origin of the latter. This conceives them to be based upon versions of pre-Shakespearean plays, partly revised by Shakespeare, then shortened for provincial performance, and finally contaminated by additions taken from more fully revised Shakespearean versions, which had supplanted them on the London stage. It is a highly ingenious conjecture, but it raises considerable difficulties and entails several assumptions on points of provincial theatrical practice about which our ignorance is profound.

In handling another problem, palæography has come to the aid of bibliography. If learning can ever be sensational, it was sensational in the revival by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson of the suggestion, tentatively put forward many years ago, that certain leaves in the manuscript of *Sir Thomas More*, which contain a scene of London riot and a long speech of Sir Thomas to the rioters, may be written in Shakespeare's hand, and the lines, therefore, presumably of his composition. Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's authority as a veteran student of penmanship is unrivalled, and the pages in his *Shakespeare's Handwriting* and in *Shakespeare's Hand in Sir Thomas More*, which, with the aid of numerous facsimiles, expound his theory, make fascinating reading. Here the formation and linking of the letters in the fragment, each in its turn, is compared in minute detail with those in the half-dozen indubitable specimens of Shakespeare's script which have come down to us. Admittedly the basis for an induction is slight. With the exception of the

words ('By me,' which preface one of them), the indubitable scripts are limited to signatures, and it is the unfortunate habit of mankind to frame its signatures somewhat differently from its straightforward texts. On these and other grounds Sir Edward's findings have had to face searching criticisms from fellow-palæographers, notably from Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum, of New York, which seem to a layman to require more answer than they have yet received. The date of the fragment and the literary quality of the lines have also been matter for much controversy; and critics remain divided as to whether the composition is likely to be Shakespeare's. It will not be inconsistent with what has been said as to the difficulty of style-discrimination, where work not the most characteristic is concerned, if I venture to express the personal opinion that it may be, rather than must be, his. If Sir Edward's belief is accepted, some rather interesting inferences follow. Shakespeare would appear to have written rapidly and with many contractions, to have corrected himself more frequently than we should gather from what Heminges and Condell say about the absence of 'blots' from his papers, and to have been very summary in his indication of the names of speakers. The passage also shows certain abnormalities of spelling, analogies to which have been traced in some of the Quartos, and have confirmed the impression that Shakespearean manuscripts may underlie these. No doubt, if we could be sure that we knew how Shakespeare formed his letters and knew what his habits of spelling were, the knowledge would be a valuable instrument for the solution of textual *cruces*.

The validity of Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's contention is assumed for all practical purposes by Professor Dover Wilson, the textual editor who co-operates with Sir Arthur Quiller Couch in the new Cambridge series of the plays. This edition has now reached its tenth volume, and each so far has been full of freshness and stimulus, however much one may dissent from its concrete conclusions. Here is no hidebound or sterile scholarship; no mere restating of well-worn themes. Professor Wilson is the romantic of the bibliographical movement. Research is for him a delightful and inexhaustible adventure of the mind. His acute observation revels in the detection of irregular stage-ections, speech-prefixes and catchwords, in the evidence for ts' and interpolations to be drawn from broken or misdivided s, and from other disturbances of the text. His vivid imagina- leaps ahead to the most ingenious of explanatory hypotheses. metimes, I fear, it plays fantastic tricks before high heaven. the outcome we are furnished with elaborate reconstructions the textual history of play after play, often involving the uilding up of copy for the printers from actors' 'parts,' often

the rehandling by [illegible] of [illegible] work, or the in-corporation of pre-[illegible] or post-[illegible] matter. Herein Professor Wilson, from a different angle, approaches the standpoint of Mr. Robertson. No doubt they would generally repudiate each other's specific interpretations. But at least they share the dominating conception of a standing stage text, preserved as a valuable possession in the tiring-room, transferred, it may be, from company to company, remodelled and written up to date, in accordance with shifting standards of taste, by dramatist after dramatist, but preserving some kind of continuous life and bearing to the end some traces of its successive reincarnations. The manuscript may undergo transcription, if the interests of legibility make transcription imperative; or it may remain as a conglomerate in which the original text shows dimly, through a mass of deletions and interlineations and marginal insertions and bits of new dialogue written on attached slips of paper. It is easy to see how such a conception is derived, on the one hand from Mr. Pollard's doctrine of the use of author's manuscript as stage copy, and on the other from the actual condition of the *Sir Thomas More* text. But it is certainly perturbing to the literary mind; for who can be said to be the author of such a play, and how is such a genesis reconcilable with the internal evidence which Shakespeare's plays at least seem to carry, for all their offhandedness and inconsequences, of a ruling idea or sentiment in each, due to the unifying power of a shaping spirit of imagination? The Hebrew Scriptures, and possibly, if Professor Gilbert Murray is right, even the Greek epics, may have come into existence through some such process of secular accretion. But surely the Elizabethan poets had the tradition of conscious artists before them. I do not think that either Mr. Robertson or Professor Wilson has ever quite fairly faced this problem. Mr. Robertson, at least, seems contemptuous of any notion of dramatic art which makes it more than the writing of dull or [illegible]spired sections of dialogue.

[illegible] easy to exaggerate the evidence for a prevalent practice [illegible] Elizabethan playhouses. Certainly the actors [illegible] author's texts. They put in bits of [illegible] for the clowns. There was [illegible] and court or other private [illegible]me shortening, for reasons [illegible]bly the use of daylight theatres [illegible] the winter than in the summer. [illegible] play was altered to give it a new [illegible]ses this was a matter of putting [illegible]n of complete stylistic revision. [illegible] *of Salerne* and Jonson's of *Every* [illegible]

stage [illegible] in [illegible] sence for with [illegible] is divided speare's [illegible] d imagina- basis for an [illegible] hypotheses, high heaven. econstructions involving the s, parts, often

[illegible] which prove the rule, or they may be [illegible], the first with certainty and the second with probability, to literary and not theatrical motives. When a play was dead, its plot might become the basis for a new play. *The Taming of the Shrew, King John,* and *King Lear* had such an origin. They may be none the better for it, but they are substantially new plays, and not revisions of old plays. *Lear* at least Shakespeare fashioned to his own dramatic purposes, as he chose. He turned it from a tragicomedy into a tragedy. Beyond this use of old plots there is not much evidence, other than such as Professor Wilson can get out of textual disturbances or Mr. Robertson out of variations in style, for Shakespeare as a reviser either of Shakespeare or of anyone else. Several of the plays exist in longer and shorter versions. As a rule it is demonstrable that the longer version was the original, and that it was afterwards shortened. Shakespeare's pen flowed freely, and the ctors had to reduce him within time-limits, at a sacrifice somenes of dramatic values and often of excellent poetry. The ctrine, repeated from text-book to text-book, of his apprenticep spent in patching the plays of other men is based partly on venscroft's late seventeenth-century tradition of the 'master iches' he gave to *Titus Andronicus*, partly on Greene's notous attack on 'Shake-scene,' which does not really require any ch explanation, but mainly on the long-held belief that the cond and third parts of *Henry VI.* represent a stylistic revision *The Contention of York and Lancaster*. It is much more ely that *The Contention* is a corrupt and reported version of a ortened *Henry VI.*

This leads up to the work of yet another representative of e modern spirit, the penetrating and cautious Dr. Greg. Palæoapher as well as bibliographer, Dr. Greg has done yeoman's rvice to dramatic history by his editions of the Dulwich papers d the Malone Society reprints. It was his masterly transcript *Sir Thomas More* for the Malone series which focussed attention on that debatable document. His broad grasp of complicated cts and power of remorseless analysis are useful correctives to ne of the extravagances of current theorising. But Dr. Greg, , is among the pioneers. He has given special attention to problem of corrupt and shortened texts. In an edition of 'Bad' Quarto of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* he came to conclusion that the copy was supplied to the printers by a avish actor, who had taken the part of the Host, was able to roduce his own lines with fair accuracy, and had obtained fficient knowledge of the rest of the play to 'report' it in a ngled form and with many mutilations and lapses of memory. a more recent treatise on *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements*

Dr. Greg takes the similarly garbled print of Greene's *Orlando Furioso* as the occasion for a luminous survey of the whole theory of reporting as the origin of surreptitious texts. Earlier speculations had generally postulated the use of some primitive system of shorthand, and there is evidence for the employment of such a method about 1605. But it is doubtful whether any adequate system was available in the sixteenth century, and Dr. Greg has been successful in demonstrating that a far from word-perfect and often roughly summarised memorisation by actors is sufficient to explain most of the pecularities which surreptitious prints exhibit. He has been led, he tells us, 'to doubt whether any limit can be set to the possible perversion which a text may suffer at the hands of a reporter.' To him must be credited one of the most solid results of the renewed activity in Shakespearean research. And with him this survey may fitly end.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

'THE CONSTANT NYMPH' AND THE MUSICAL NOVEL

'he *Constant Nymph*, when it took the town by storm, was regarded ›y a good many people as one of those miracles which occasionally appen in the publishing business. No one could have foreseen rom *The Ladies of Lyndon* that Miss Margaret Kennedy was to roduce as her second novel a book in which vice and virtue, runkenness, lechery, and female constancy (with its counterpart, alousy) parade themselves in such brilliant colours. But then *e Ladies of Lyndon* was pitched in a quiet key, whilst in *The nstant Nymph* there surges the storm and stress one expects in se novels in which music is the hero and suffering the heroine the story. For to anyone who looks back over the history of glish fiction during the last three-quarters of a century *The stant Nymph* is no isolated phenomenon; on the contrary, it nerely the latest of a long and glorious line of 'best-sellers' etching back at least as far as *Charles Auchester*, a book which ited the admiration of Disraeli when he read it in manuscript d was one of the literary sensations of the 'fifties.

It is not difficult to understand why music, of all the arts, ould be that most beloved of the novelist, for music is popularly pposed to deal more directly than the others with the raw aterial of emotion. It comes nearer to our hearts and homes an painting, or even poetry, yet it remains mysteriously usceptible to verbal explanation. Something of primitive gic still surrounds it. We can analyse, and possibly understand, feelings which are stirred in us by the beauty of line and colour. ture follows docilely enough in the train of our artists; what y see to-day she shows us to-morrow. And poetry deals with rds and summons up all sorts of images, relevant and irrelevant, help us. But we have no such props to understandings in isic, and it is not easy to find any least common multiple for e various psychological states which it excites. Our reactions an elaborate work of art like *Macbeth* or *St. Joan* are simple mpared with those which we experience from a Bach fugue or ozart's *G Minor Symphony*. Not only that; being mysterious, ey are suspect to the moralist. Music may be the art of the

[illegible]
angels. But who can [illegible]
have been given to us by [illegible]
'Let her be deaf to instruments of music; let her be ignorant of the very use of the flute and the harp'; thus wrote St. Jerom of a young lady in whose education he was interested. Th father of the Church understood the dangers of those compl *emotional states of sorrow—the Elizabethan melancholy*—ar *ove* which the imaginative *insight* of the poets has commonl associated with music. 'Music is a strange thing,' says one o Tolstoy's characters who is developing theories peculiarly con genial to his creator; 'I cannot comprehend it. They say i acts on one by elevating the soul. That is absurd. It acts upo us, it is true, with terrible effect, but is far from elevating the soul It neither elevates nor depresses the soul, but irritates it. . . . I is indeed a terrible weapon in the hands of those who know how to employ it.'

Whether bad or good (and the musical novel gives us plenty o instances both ways), it is undoubtedly a strange and potent forc in the shifting currents of life. And if the feelings which musi excites in us are mysterious, how much more so the springs which actuate creative musical genius. Surely, we argue, a man who delves into recesses of the human heart which words are unable to reach, who makes our flesh tingle with the *frisson* at once sensual and spiritual, stands apart from his fellows. He is not like other men, and it is only natural that he should reflect the aloofness and daring which are the nature of his art. Passion is his by necessity and right, and whether or not he respects the ordinary conventions of morality, he stands above, or outside, them. He may be a Chevalier Seraphael; he may, on the other hand, be a Lewis Dodd; but in either case beauty is his handmaid and feminine devotion his birthright. What, therefore, can promise a richer field than music, and who can make a better hero for our novelist than the composer, or even the pianist or singer, of genius? I said hero; but musical heroines, as is only to be expected in an art where women have long won their freedom, lie thick across the path of those who venture into the well-trodden byway of the musical novel. If women composers are rare, girl singers and girl players uniting beauty, youth and eminent talent are as common as in any Academy of Music. Their sex and the gallantry of male novelists preserve, as a rule, that halo of purity round them to which composers in fiction, alas, can no longer lay claim—did not Huxley once say that the belief in female virtue was the finest product of the male imagination?—and men, acknowledged lords of music, fall in love with them as easily and naturally as they themselves interpret, or create, the masterpieces of their art.

[illegible] of musical novels were more [illegible] only followed the general fashion in [illegible] the great composers. The heavenly beauties of ozart, the soaring music of Beethoven, our grandfathers lieved, could only have sprung from a moral nature—passionate, deed, but disciplined and pure, undefiled by the grossness of the sh. Under the influence of such ideas Jahn gave us his portrait Mozart, only slyly hinting in an occasional aside that there is some tarnish on the aureole; and Sir George Grove popu-ised his notion of the mid-Victorian Beethoven, a Beethoven th the idiosyncrasies of genius, often ill-tempered and sometimes washed, an absent-minded tornado, but yet a tornado which s the very soul of honour. There was Mendelssohn, too, who d managed to shear genius of its oddities and crudities—in elf a tribute to the progress of the age—who was always sweet-npered and had private means, a man whose personal beauty pressed his contemporaries by its resemblance to that of Christ. e composer of the *Songs without Words* was a living example the world of the uplifting power of music. Idealisation could no further than his portrait as the Chevalier Seraphael in *rles Auchester*. Many have remarked on the spiritual exalta-n of that extraordinary book, an exaltation more intense than *thing* of the kind achieved by the Brontës; as the work of a of sixteen it remains one of the supreme examples of pre-ious genius in English literature. It is, I suppose, little read lay, and it must be admitted that its awkward and stilted e makes demands on our forbearance. But it well repays e trouble; one forgets its quaintness, even its absurdities—s Benette, for instance, practises singing nine hours a day!—he passionate sincerity which burns on every page.

It has, indeed, two themes, music and the glory of Israel, and ay be this which gives it its almost religious fervour. Certainly h Seraphael and Maria are chosen of the Lord, besides possessing t aloofness which, at any rate to the novelist, is an essential lity of musical genius. Seraphael comes and goes like some ng from another world. He is the very spirit of music, only f-embodied. His mere physical presence acts as a spell on the ng Charles, fills him with feelings so strong that they may even rive him of the use of his limbs.

The magnetic power was so appalling that as I reached the threshold hat other room a dark shock came over my eyes, and partly from my te, in part from that dazzling blindness, I staggered and fell across the rway, and could not try to rise. But his arm was around me—before ll I felt it, and as I lay I was crushed, abandoned in very worship, ne worship as the child enthusiast, save the enthusiast who worshipped n as a child. I scarcely tried to rise, but he lifted me with that [illegible]

and slender arm, and set me upon my feet. Before he spoke I spoke, I gasped so wildly that my words are not in my power to recall.'

What had happened to bring about this crisis of emotior Nothing except that Seraphael had come on a sudden visit Charles Auchester at the German town where he was studying t violin. This is sensibility indeed, and seems absurd enough wh detached from its context. But in its place it comes not u naturally. In any case, Elizabeth Sheppard can be acquitted the sentimentality from which few early Victorian novelists a free. She sails near the wind. But being a girl herself, she fair to her sex, and her young women, though excessively virtuoı are neither priggish nor insipid.

Maria, that phœnix who holds the proud position of being t only female composer in fiction (I speak under correction), is very remarkable and gifted girl. Her symphony, the performan of which forms the climax of the book, comes on the wings inspiration. Music to her has the privilege of expressing 'wha was forbidden to pronounce or articulate otherwise,' and relates to Charles how the idea of a musical poem has be revealed in a dream. That dream she is determined to transla into musical notation. And she tells Charles of her intentio But he, though thrilled, is masculinely incredulous.

'Maria! have you actually been writing?' I sprang from the s quite wild, though I merely foresaw some touching memento of a wordl *lied*, or *scherzo* for one-voiced instrument; of a one-hearted theme.

'I have not written a note, Carl—that remains to be done, and that why I come back so soon; to be undisturbed, and to learn of you, for y know more of such things than I do, for instance, how to arrange score.'

'Maria, you are ... ng to write in score?—if so, pray wait until t Chevalier come...

'The C... should ever plague him about my writir Beside... anxious to finish it before anyone knows is ...

... ! I never heard of a woman writı ... w will you be pleased to hear it nev

... it is written.'

... an elf, but you are pale enou

with that strong the worship very me—before the as across the from my threshold

the... ...d subtlety, and Charles did n... that our ethereal girl authoress had some doub e fines... the devil did not inspire the best tunes. Maria persiste ledged lords ...ony was written. The Chevalier at once recognised y as they thems... genius, and it was performed under the composeı art. ... Charles was playing in the orchestra. But th ...nd the first movement. For Maria, who had lo

n ill, was destined to perish in giving birth to this immortal
d :

At the close of the movement a rushing cadence of ultimate rapidity
re from the stringed force, but the wind flowed in upon the final chords ;
r waned, they expanded, and, at the simultaneous pause, she also
sed. Then strangely, suddenly, her arm fell powerless—her paleness
kened to crimson—her brow grew warm with a bursting, blood-red
h—she sank to the floor upon her side, silently as in the south wind a
just flutters and is at rest ; nor was there a sound through the stricken
iestra as Florimond raised her, and carried her from us in his arms.

n so did Martin Schuler, that composer of a later and laxer , realise at the performance of his last opera that 'all the eliness of his life was there.' 'As the last chord sounded . . . tin had risen . . . seemed about to speak . . . sank again vily . . . dead.'

If *Charles Auchester* was the first musical novel—by which I n that music was more than a decoration, or a background, t it was indeed an essential part of the lives of its characters— *First Violin* was the second. This achieved in the 'seventies iccess not incommensurate with its qualities. It moves on a er plane than *Charles Auchester ;* its people lack the moral ideur with which Elizabeth Sheppard's are so naturally owed, and it is over-preoccupied with the desire to be sensa- ial. Still, it stands high in a list that is adorned by many iterpieces, and for mere readableness, which is a not un- ortant virtue in a novel, it easily surpasses its predecessor. her before *The First Violin* George Macdonald had shown in *ert Falconer* how music might be conventionally used to give osphere to a hero of fiction. This novel enjoyed an enormous ularity in the mid-Victorian era, and no doubt many middle- l people will remember it as one of the books of their youth. donald finds a place in dictionaries of English literature which enied to the authors of *Charles Auchester* and *The First Violin.* to me *Robert Falconer* is a tiresome book, with all the faults of Scotch temperament written across it, and I am unimpressed the fact that the hero in his spiritual struggles 'looks to the ic of his violin for aid.' There is something of the same harine flavour about Falconer and his fiddle which Dickens llibly produces whenever he attempts to exploit music for his purpose. Who has not shuddered over Tom Pinch's exploits he organ, that Tom Pinch who showed his genius by practising violin under the bedclothes ? And the terrible Edith Granger, se touch upon the keys was 'brilliant' and whose voice was ep and rich' ? And Florence Dombey, who used to go on ing when 'her sweet voice was hushed in tears' ? I need however, pursue such animosities, for few of our major

novelists, including ... and Mr. H. G. Wells, fail to make themselves ... allow themselves to be drawn along the trail of music. They are, as a rule, sufficiently aware both of their own limitation and of those of the *genre* to leave the comparatively narrow field that the musical novel affords to be cultivated by writers whose sales, if not whose genius, are more modest. An exception was George Meredith. Yet *Sandra Belloni* and *Vittoria*, though in a sense musical novels, vibrate to other strains than those of harmonical sound. Their real theme is politics and the rebirth of a nation, and Vittoria's voice, though 'one in a generation,' hardly colours our recollections of that book. 'Out in the world there, on the skirts of the woodland, a sheep-boy pipes to meditative eve on a penny whistle.' In that well-known chapter of *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* music reflects the imagination of love in sound, which a contemporary critic has defined as its function in reality, and in this respect it stands in lonely splendour, with only *The Marble Faun* to keep it company.

The early-Victorian conception of the composer as saint could not, of course, endure indefinitely. He had had his day when the gilt finish had worn off Mendelssohn, when instead of his 'Christ-like face' Samuel Butler and other irreverent people joked about his legs. But it still persisted for the novel-reading public in the 'seventies. If the ecstasy of *Charles Auchester* has given way to more prosaic feelings, *The First Violin* does not descend from the uplands of moral endeavour, and its musicians are all very earnest persons. The heroine, May Wedderburn, is a young girl from an English vicarage; the hero a German count, who has chosen quixotically to hide his identity and to earn his living by leading an orchestra. She is blessed with a voice, and a spinster lady takes her to Germany so that she may cultivate her talents whilst acting as companion. The moment comes, so important in the musical novel where the heroine is a budding *diva*, when May sings to the German *maestro*. He is not unimpressed, and

she might take a place on the stage.
immoral word frightens May and
She observes frigidly that Miss
ot an actress. The German, who
to his name, is politely sarcastic.
n artist. The *gnädiges Fraulein*
er of mere songs. She required
powers, 'a little passion, a little

ith a vengeance, and the heroine
at the German said, but lest his
e prim Miss Hallam as a display

indecent levity and Bohemianism.' But we English in the eventies had a Roman pride, and Miss Hallam was content to nlighten his ignorance. After all he was a foreigner, and could ot be expected to realise the function of music with the comprehension that came natural to one who had been born in the nore southerly part of Great Britain.

'Passion—*abandon!* I think you *cannot* understand what you are alking about!' said she. 'My dear sir, you must understand that this ind of thing may be all very well for one set of people, but not for that lass to which Miss Wedderburn belongs. Her father is a clergyman'—'on Francius bowed, as if he did not quite see what that had to do with it—in short, *that* idea is impossible. I tell you plainly. She may learn as nuch as she likes, but she will never be allowed to go on the stage.'

And when he turned to the heroine, she poor girl was 'all of a lither':

'I—no. I agree with Miss Hallam,' I murmured, not really having ound myself able to think about it at all, but conscious that opposition vas useless. And, besides, I did shrink away from the ideas conjured up by that word 'the stage.'

When we remember the scruples felt by Jenny Lind, scruples which caused her to retire from opera and confine her activities o oratorio, we sympathise with May. But her creator has his ongue in his cheek. We are on the verge of a new era. 'Passion —*abandon*': in view of the subsequent development of the nusical novel through *Evelyn Innes* to *Maurice Guest*, *Martin Schuler* and *The Constant Nymph*, the observation of the German nusician is full of significance.

The novel-reading public, however, was not to be hurried. In *A Roman Singer*, one of the best-sellers of the early 'eighties, nusic still shone with the effulgence of moral principle. It had ot yet become a mere Force, an extension of the Ego, urging hose in whom it has chosen to dwell to create in spite of themelves, and certainly with no thought of giving pleasure to their ess gifted fellow-men. 'Music,' says Benoni in that easily vritten novel, 'is real, true and enduring; medicine in sickness nd food in famine; wings to the feet of youth and a staff for the teps of age.' And Nino, whilst admitting that few artists are ood—the age of musical innocence is already behind us—affirms hat they are all children of art, that they all, sheep and goats ogether, possess the same great and kindly mother. But the Force' theory was in the air, and the young Bernard Shaw, vith that flair for other people's ideas and that style which makes im the greatest journalist since Defoe, seized upon it in *Love Among the Artists*. If the Chevalier Seraphael was a portrait of Mendelssohn, Owen Jack is a sort of composite photograph of Beethoven and Mr. Shaw himself. He is a physical Beethoven,

[illegible] curly black hair, and short, stumpy fingers (all Beethoven touches), of which the nails were 'bitten to the quick.' [illegible] resembled Beethoven, too, in disliking to take money from [illegible] pupils, and—since Beethoven was careless of his linen—when [illegible] wore a clean shirt his creator duly records it.

If Owen Jack hardly carries the unmistakable aura of geniu[s] about him, it is not Mr. Shaw's fault. In manner he is a ver[y] Beethoven *furioso;* one of the few points in which he differ[s] from his great original is in his attitude towards the other sex. Mr. Jack would not dream of ogling women who pass him in the street; indeed, women meant, very little to him. His predecessors in fiction have been surrounded by the pure ether of love; too many of those who follow him take the view of Martin Schuler that 'the beauty and the voluptuousness of women are necessary' to them. Not that Jack is unattractive. Women admire his strength and outspokenness, and one self-reliant young person, whom he has helped to become a great actress, actually asks him to marry her—a compliment which, happily for them, few men except musical geniuses of fiction receive.

Love Among the Artists is, in fact, a misnomer. For the only two real artists in the book, Owen Jack and Mlle. Szczympliça, the brilliant young Polish pianist, treat the Love God with considerable negligence. Of course Jack refuses the actress. Once before he had come nearer being caught, when he had proposed to Mary in Hyde Park. She, poor girl, was about to accept him—not the first woman by any means to sacrifice herself to genius—when Jack, seeing the expression on her face, exclaimed: 'I have committed my last folly. Henceforth I shall devote myself to the only mistress I am fitted for—Music. She has not many such masters.' On this Mary had burst into tears (one would have respected her more if in Tessa-ish fashion she had slapped his face), and Jack had put her into a cab and sent her home. Thereafter Jack realises that it would be as reasonable to expect a woman to live happily with him as with the Aurora Borealis. For the future, music alone must be, in Beethoven's words, his mediator between the intellectual and the sensuous life. Not that he philosophises—he is too much the creative artist for that; even his knowledge of his own craft is instinctive, for though an 'adept in the use of chords,' he could not 'name or classify them.' Mr. Shaw, we must remember, was at one time a musical critic, and so writes with authority on these technical questions. How brilliant a musician Jack was we are shown at the musical *soirée* of

[illegible] play the piano [illegible] with one finger a [illegible] symphony by one of the pillars [illegible] organisation—'a laborious, conscientious, arid symphony, of unconscious pickings and stealings from Mendelssohn, his ɔurite master, scrupulously worked up into the strictest demic form.'

It wasn't exactly a nice thing to do, and even Mlle. Szczymta thinks it in bad taste, though she remarks that 'all must be iven to Monsieur Jacques.' Genius is genius, and if it does break out one way, it will another. In any case, Owen Jack a brilliant improvisation. He turned the theme inside out, esqued his own style as well as that of this academic fustian, became so serious that its composer thought of rewriting, e light of Jack's hints, the middle section of the movement which the subject was taken, and finally Mr. Shaw's *enfant ble* dazzled the audience by ending with 'a commonplace of variation in which he made a prodigious noise with his hand, embroidered by showers of arpeggios with his right.' was, of course, only a *jeu d'esprit.* Owen Jack, the musical eer—who was to create the crowning musical masterpiece of century, and in those days Wagner was still with us—worked big canvas. His *Prometheus Unbound,* with its four choral nes, its dialogues of Prometheus with the Earth, its antiphons the Earth and Moon, its Overture and its Race of the Hours, unds rather Max Regerish. But Mr. Shaw could hardly have een expected to foresee that the Owen Jack who was then aining his 'prentice hand in Paris and Rome would lead his art ack to quieter, less grandiose, spheres.

A year or two after *Love Among the Artists* was written ebussy in *Le Printemps* foreshadowed a new world of music. t seemed all right then, just as the public to-day is impressed ith the originality of Lewis Dodd's *Symphony in Three Keys*—a iece of clap-trap meant to impress what Mozart called 'the long ars.' Not that this novel of Mr. Shaw's, with its Tolstoyan istrust of sexual passion, had in it the stuff of a 'best-seller.' he characters are too consistent with themselves, they heed too arefully the whip of their author's theories, really to live—Owen ack most of all. It is well enough to argue that music is a orce, that it is a sort of apotheosis of the will to live; but if it cts as a conductor to the emotions of those in whom it dwells, e musical novelist has to fight without his heavy artillery.

The many novelists who since then have been drawn to exploit e same theme have avoided Mr. Shaw's wilfulness. They have ept behind their emotional barrage; *l'art ne vit que de passion; on ne peut pas se passioner pour rien*—this familiar *cliché* might

stand for nearly all the musical [illegible] That was the heyday of the [illegible] of fiction, [illegible] the distinguished Evelyn Innes. Evelyn, true to the [illegible] spirit, attempted to secure a synthesis between music and love; she would have succeeded—indeed she did succeed, only to find that the religious influences of Catholicism in which her youth had been spent made her success as dust and ashes. She was at once a voluptuary and a mystic; she thrilled to the life of the senses whilst she trembled for the salvation of her soul. Music and love won the first round; she left her father's roof and ran away to Paris with the rich amateur, Sir Owen Asher. He, archetype of the 'protector' without whom no female singer, so they say, can arrive, took her to the renowned Madame Savelli, who no sooner heard her voice than she detected a star of the first magnitude. But even on that occasion Evelyn's dual nature is made evident. The unsubtle Margaret Donne in *Soprano* when undergoing a similar ordeal which was to be crowned with similar success, sang the Waltz Song from *Romeo and Juliet.* Spiritual Evelyn chose an air from *The Indian Queen*, pouring 'all her soul and all the pure melody of her voice in this music at once religious and voluptuous, seemingly the rapture of a nun that remembrance has overtaken and for the moment overpowered.' Mr. George Moore's characterisation pursues itself inexorably. The operatic stage is Evelyn's natural medium of expression; she has that passion and abandon which one feels that May Wedderburn would never have acquired by any amount of training. But Evelyn realises by degrees that she cannot set out on that Wagnerian sea of emotion, which her interpretation of Isolde and the other great *rôles* entails, without imperilling her soul. She has already taken a second lover; if she continues her career she foresees a 'succession' of them. In the end the world, the flesh and the devil, thanks to a worldly-wise monsignor, are worsted, and virtue wins rather a Pyrrhic victory with Evelyn's entry into a nunnery. We have swung far from the selfless passion of *Charles Auchester*, if we have not yet reached the morass of incontinence in which we are soon to wander.

Of all musical novels, *Evelyn Innes* is the most careful in its *décor*. Mr. George Moore, determined to be in the movement, divides the musical interest between Church and Stage, between Wagner and the composers of the polyphonic school, who were then beginning to interest a few elect souls. Behind the mask of Mr. Innes one detects the eyes (and the beard) of Mr. Arnold Dolmetsch, who then, like Mr. Innes, lived at Dulwich. In this music Mr. George Moore makes us feel that soul and sense, matter and spirit, are reconciled. There we escape from the perils of romanticism, which, stripped of the sentiment that a

[illegible] compensate
[illegible] by [illegible] the freedom, and so
feelings of the individual artist.

In *Trilby*, that 'best-seller' of the 'nineties, which also, like
e *Constant Nymph*, enjoyed a phenomenal success as a play, the
licate reactions of a finely tempered woman to her creative
pulses and her inhibitions are exchanged for a story where vice
d virtue clinch with the monotony of two heavy-weight boxers
the prize-ring. That such a novel as *Trilby* should have been
e most popular book of a decade which we distinguish for its
er-refined literary taste throws an interesting light on the
ublishing business. *It is only interesting in the history of the*
usical novel because with Svengali we meet at last the man who
both a marvellous musician and a thorough blackguard.
engali 'was as bad as they make 'em'; 'whatever of heart or
nscience, pity, love, tenderness, courage, reverence, charity,
dowed him at his birth had been swallowed up by his one
culty' of music. Little Billee wept when he piped on his
lexible flageolet'; and Svengali had only to sit down at the
ano and play Chopin—a composer who thirty years ago was
ought, in Liszt's phrase, to distil a subtle aroma of love—to be
e of the heavenly host.' No generous novel-reader can really
like a man, however great a villain, with such a gift. Even so,
en Lewis Dodd played the *Kreutzer* sonata (that King Charles's
ad of musical novels, for few reach their disastrous end without
agging it in) his long-suffering wife was ready to relent.

> There was a peculiar passion and sadness in it which plucked at her
> ry heart strings, as though she were herself an instrument for his cruel,
> ever fingers. And he gave her besides a conviction of restrained power,
> e felt that he had mastered all emotion and turned it to his own ends.
> e knew him to be hard, lustful and unstable; he had no business to
> mmand so much effortless beauty. Playing like this required noble
> oughts and unflinching aims. But then this was real life.

it surprising that writers of fiction are tempted to exploit the
t of music for *their* own ends when it enables them in this way
make the best of both worlds, when they can paint their
aracters in attractively wicked colours, and then by a revealing
ht, a sudden phrase, show that after all it is these black sheep
ao are the children of grace, they who have passed through the
enomenal to the Real that lies beyond?

But Lewis Dodd is only the most recent manifestation of the
eative musical mind in English fiction. Many choice specimens
eceded him. Schilsky in *Maurice Guest*, a genius who frizzled
s hair, would lament in his cups to his fellow-students how he
as pursued by temptation. It was true he did not resist;

Indeed, he was sometimes [illegible] him from talking like this:

> 'By Hell, I wish a plague would sweep every woman off the earth!'
>
> 'The deuce, why don't you keep clear of them?'
>
> Schilsky laughed without raising his heavy eyes. 'If they'd only giv[e] me a chance. Damn them all—old and young—I say. If it weren't fo[r] them a man could lead a quiet life.'

—which was a little unfair, seeing that one of them—'an old scarecrow'—had paid him 3000 marks. Mr. Henry Handel Richardson does not avoid the error, common to novelists in our *genre*, of over-emphasising the egotism of genius. Happily for the balance of the story, Schilsky is not the principal character. The theme of the book is the gradual deterioration of Maurice Guest, a conscientious young English provincial who is studying music at Leipzig, under the influence of his passion for a woman student. This is told with a rare beauty. Indeed, for sheer power of narrative and for bleak realism *Maurice Guest* is unapproached by any other musical novel in the language. But, though all the characters are musicians in some shape or form, and though the author, too, is perfectly at home in his *milieu*, he does not succeed in weaving music into the very stuff of his people, in making it a *basso ostinato* of the passionate intensity that we find in *Charles Auchester* or in *Evelyn Innes*.

A slighter book, in which the author also contemplates musical genius in moral fragments at the foot of its plinth, is *Martin Schuler*. Martin was the usual reprobate, who asserted that he could not become the father of a masterpiece without a woman to assist in its procreation, a man of moods, over whom used to come 'the sick illness of violent temper.' Once he believed that he 'could clap Nature into music' by letting himself go mad on the hills and writing it down afterwards. But it was not easy. He was fastidious and his own work bored him, so that when he is superintending a rehearsal he cries: 'May I say a word. I consider the opera too bad to produce.' Love also was tiresome. 'I try to think,' says this hero, 'that love is a great compensation, but it is as hard work as anything else and does not make anything easier.' A disillusioned young man. Yet the Force is always latent; Music is his only real mistress, even as it is of Owen Jack. And the consequence is that woman, fluttering moth-like round the candle of genius, singes its wings in this sort of way:

> 'You are all I love in the world,' said Martin, and his thoughts flew to his opera comedy.
>
> 'What are you thinking of?' said Hella. 'I saw your thoughts fly to something.'

s the same Force which makes Lewis Dodd in the play get up [illegible]
he middle of supper with his mouth full to consult the score of
akfast with the Borgias that is on the piano. Nothing is sacred
such people, not even meal-times. But if Lewis Dodd, like
rtin, inspired foolish thoughts in fond women, he did not say
lish things of his own. That *Martin Schuler* made some stir
en it came out a year or two before the war is a tribute to the
ennial interest the public takes in the musical novel, an
rest which allows an author—who, one feels, in spite of in-
erent success, is at some pains to write—to say that a per-
nance of the *Waldstein* sonata filled those who heard it with
utterable yearning' whilst 'tears stood in their eyes.' The
ldstein one has heard before, but with the same pianist's inter-
tation of the Chopin *Ballade in E Flat* the ghosts of the unborn
sterpieces mock us from the womb of silence.

Another novel, *Christine*, published during the war and itself touched with the belligerent fever, showed that even then the public wanted to enjoy at second hand the vivid life which music bestows upon its votaries. Miss Alice Cholmondeley produced, in no derogatory sense, a bright and sparkling book. Christine has a frank charm, and falls in love with a simplicity that novelists deny to musical genius in its male embodiment. She cannot, of course, compare with Tessa Sanger, surely the most delightful girl who ever grew up in the emotional hothouse of a musical environment. There was a piece of work indeed! Miss Kennedy has followed in the footsteps of modern tradition for the characterisation of Sanger and Lewis Dodd, and she has stumbled, like so many others, in the exacting business of showing us the satyr and Hyperion, Caliban and Ariel, under the same human mask. If, however, she fails here, her success elsewhere is only the more striking. For amidst the squalid mess of Sanger's affairs, the daring, unconventional grace with which Tessa and her sisters handle life has the beauty of things of the woodland, and they manage to remain pure at heart in spite of conduct which not unreasonably shocks a good many old-fashioned subscribers to circulating Libraries. These young people strike a new note in contemporary imaginative literature.

I began with *The Constant Nymph*, and there I will end. In any case, my brief survey cannot pretend to have done more than trace a general principle through some interesting metamorphoses. Because they stood apart from the main stream I have not mentioned *Promise* and *Succession*, two novels which in their quiet introspective quality have some resemblance to [illegible]

Christophe. For another reason I have passed by Mr. E. F Benson's essays in the same *genre*, chief of them being *The Challoners*. The brilliance of Miss Kennedy's masterpiece would seem to indicate that it is impossible for anyone else to pursue further the implications of the theory that inspiration covers a multitude of sins and that music is the natural trade of your Don Juan. *Piano Quintet*, a novel which has appeared since *The Constant Nymph*, marks perhaps the beginning of a reaction Aurelian is no example of the 'Force' theory; against his self-discipline the desire of Imogen breaks in vain. Maybe that book is the harbinger of another day in the glorious career of the musical novel.

H. E. WORTHAM.

LL, *there are* David and Bathsheba, and Helen and Paris, and celot and Guinevere, and Tristram and Iseult, and Paolo and cesca, and, on a rather different plane, Dante and Beatrice Petrarch and Laura. And there are the Bible and Homer, alory and Wagner, and Tchaikowsky and Dante, and ch and the Lord knows how many others. And what ody seems to find uncommonly inspiring (participant, eter and audience alike) is the fact that someone is in love someone else's wife or husband.

ho remembers David's queenly wife, Michal?

> chal, Saul's daughter, looked through the window, and saw King leaping and dancing before the Lord, and she despised him in her . . . . And Michal the daughter of Saul came to meet David and How glorious was the king of Israel to-day, who uncovered himself y in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants. . . . And David said o Michal . . . I will yet be more vile than thus, and will be base in e own sight: and of the maidservants which thou hast spoken of, of m shall I be had in honour.
>
> Therefore Michal the daughter of Saul had no child unto the day of death.

Yes; and who sympathises with poor Menelaus or Mark, or thur or Giovanni? Who knows or cares what even the names re of the husbands of Beatrice, and Laura who bore her eleven ildren? Who applauds Dante's long-suffering wife, Gemma? ow dull has been made the tale of spouses, and how fascinating e tale of lovers!

But why? Why Tristram and Iseult rather than Mark and eult? Why Paolo and Francesca rather than Giovanni and rancesca? What is there less exhilarating about the 'not npossible she' than about the 'quite impossible she'?

Obviously this matter of impossibility. 'The crash of broken ommandments,' says Mr. Thomas Hardy, 'is as necessary an companiment to the catastrophe of a tragedy as the noise of um and cymbals to a triumphal march.'

For instance, if Bathsheba had not been married to the fficult Uriah, so that, unbudging and argumentative fellow, he

could only be got rid of by being placed in the [illegible] battle, if David had, just comfortably been allowed to add Bathsheba to his staff of wives, who would know her name to-day? She would be forgotten among the Ahinoams and Shephatiahs.

However, let the extra-marital romancers have it their way a little longer. Their time will soon be past now. Not in the future will the lover be found more romantic than the spouse. This making of wars and epics, this wailing of lovers in hell, the looking back over shoulders on bridges, this clamouring of orchestras in symphonies and operas, is going to cease. Even in these days life is too easy for lovers separated by marriage law. In America people become engaged even while they are still married to other people. 'Will you marry me?' a man asks a woman who has already a husband. In Soviet Russia marriages and divorces are simply a matter of registration in a ledger. The time is coming when no 'she' will be impossible. And so much, then, for the tragedy and romance that follow the breaking of the Seventh Commandment.

For what will there be to make a fuss about? The lovers will not remain separated, will not be lured to error. Already the betrayed girl with her unwanted child is out of fashion. Novelists of the status of George Eliot do not write about her now. She is not the romantic stand-by she used to be. And presently it will simply happen that Iseult will say to Mark: 'Sorry, old man, but I'm frightfully keen on Tristram. Divorce me, won't you?' —and that will be the end of it.

Who knows, indeed, but that husbands and wives may regard one another more anxiously and considerately when marriage ceases to be a safe contract. Even to-day it is not true, as Montaigne suggests, that marriage is an open question, since it is alleged from the beginning that such as are in the institution wish to get out, and such as are out wish to get in.

Wise men are not necessarily wise all the time, and certainly not for all time. 'Sir,' says Dr. Johnson, 'a wife ought not greatly to resent this' (a husband's infidelity). 'I would not receive home a daughter who had run away from her husband on that account. A wife should study to reclaim her husband by more attention to please him. Sir, a man will not, once in a hundred instances, leave his wife . . . if his wife has not been negligent in pleasing him.'

'Here,' comments the ecstatic Boswell, 'he discovered that acute discrimination, that solid judgment, and that knowledge of human nature for which he was, on all occasions, remarkable . . .'

But is it really a fact that Johnson exhibits here a profound knowledge of human nature? Assume that a rejected wife has

[illegible] by mere [illegible] to [illegible] him.

Well, she has got him back. What follows then? What does invariably follow upon a too insistent struggle for possession? The gamester obstinacy that refused to contemplate cost is gone. To victory has succeeded leisure, calm, weariness. Now achievement and effort may be balanced. Now it may be seen whether the thing so ardently desired was worth all the passion expended in its attainment. Questions arise. A fear of having been cheated awakens, and will not be stilled. It deepens. Never henceforth can the dearly-acquired possession be regarded without doubt, without resentment. It makes no difference whether the goal is spiritual or material, a struggle for love, or for an ancient cracked bowl. There is a stage at which the too fiercely and [illegible]ssly desired becomes hateful. Be very sure that the [illegible]gal son did not have many fatted calves killed in his honour. When the first exhilaration of his return was over, everyone began to wonder what there was so agreeable about having him back again. Getting him, not keeping him, had been the exciting thing.

So is the article for which too much has been given at auction viewed with disgust. It is not the money. Who does not cheerfully throw away money? It is something more fundamental. It is that in every aspect of life there lies the instinct to demand value for expenditure Justice is otherwise outraged. And an article which does not represent fair value is nothing but a repository of chagrin. It has been bid for and overbid for, and now here it is at home, slightly damaged, not worth the flurry, not worth the passion, not worth the price. Never again can it be considered without a sense of betrayal.

So is the errant husband received back by the wife who has studied to reclaim him. The harder she has had to fight for him, the more she has had to yield in pride, the higher she has had to bid, the less he is, in the end, worth to her. Let him see to it that she does not henceforth hate him for the pains he has cost her.

So much for the successful attempt at reclaiming a shaky husband. What about the unsuccessful attempt? Did Lady Nelson have great satisfaction out of her whole-time job of trying to lure back her Horatio? Or—that Emma Hamilton again!—was it really a triumph for Romney's wife to take in her husband, and tend him and nurse him when there was no fresh attitude left in which he might paint Lady Hamilton, and nobody else wanted him, and he was old and desolate and shamed and half-mad? . . . Well—who knows?—perhaps it was.

But the truth of the whole business, to return to Dr. Johnson

and Montaigne, is that Johnson, on the subject of [illegible], is no more sound than Montaigne is sincere. Johnson did not understand marriage at all, and Montaigne must have seen, even in his own time, that, so far from those who were in the institution of marriage wishing to get out, and those who were out wishing to get in, neither were married people generally anxious to be rid of one another, nor were bachelors particularly desirous of abandoning their freedom.

And that marriage should be so strong a thing is really one of the extraordinary facts of Nature. If a man, seeing a more brilliant, beautiful, amiable woman than his wife, should be attracted by her to the extent of wanting to give up his wife, that would not seem strange at all. Why should not a person prefer such a goddess of a creature ? Or if a woman, exhausting herself to keep together a home on the mean earnings of a dull, bald, timorous and irritable man, should pine for some Mussolini of a fellow, that too would appear most natural.

But no. Such things hardly happen. On the contrary, in overwhelming frequency, husbands and wives, with no inducement that is obvious, to the outside world, cling together through age and ugliness and failure and disillusionment till death does them part. They slip their wedding-rings over their bodies as if they were lifebelts and leave the rest to heaven. Just as it is degrading and useless for a wife to seek to reclaim her errant husband by posing in sycophantic attitudes, so, in general, is it strikingly unnecessary.

For this is the greatest triumph of the flesh and spirit—a more splendid marvel than any of your Dante and Beatrice idylls : the fact that marriage does bind. It was easy enough for Dante to worship Beatrice. He had not to live with her. He could imagine what he liked—she would never destroy his illusions. Practically she was just a work of art of his own creation. But that a man should have his life broken, and never again find compensation under heaven because a nagging old woman has died of some disease which is beautiful only to a physician, that is the real romance.

And this will be discovered and the triumph of spouses sealed on the day when marriage is made as simple all the world over as in Soviet Russia. Then, to the general amazement, it will be seen that men and women, without compulsion, will persist in living together monogamously. For youthful passion will create the inducement—passion is an excluding thing—and ease, habit, laziness, and, above all, this strange ordering of Nature, will ensure continuance.

And, besides, it must surely be discovered one of these days that monogamy is the simplest way of freeing people from the

preoccupation of man. It is only in books, on the stage, in drama and opera, that nothing goes on in life except love. In real life—to-day, and not 3000 years hence, as Mr. Wells suggests—"we take love by the way, as we take our food and holidays"; we assign it, with one or two regrets, to the third of the seven ages of man. And the book-keeper, the barrister, the sanitary inspector, the factory hand, the schoolmaster and the town councillor, they go about their daily avocations without thinking all the time about women, and when they really and seriously want to amuse themselves they play golf or bridge or cricket, they read the sporting papers, and they sit in an ecstasy of enthusiasm listening to political speeches.

And all this happens because *it is customary* to marry a woman and then leave off bothering about love, except in a form which amounts almost to self-love.

So much for the nature of things. There is, however, something in life that has been discovered to be safer and more reliable and comforting than Nature, and that is a well-drawn-up legal contract which promises permanence. Even although, in the end, it will be observed that couples do remain together faithfully, there will be, in the meantime, the unknown span of time that must be covered before it is possible to say, 'Yes. It has been so.' And it is this uncertainty that will cause romance to be transferred from the realm of lovers to the realm of spouses; but it is also this uncertainty that will cause the loss of a quality better than romance—orderliness. There is no doing anything with untidy minds or lives. The people who marry to-day in the unquestioning expectation that they have made an arrangement for the duration of their years on earth must, in the beginning, brace themselves to a far-reaching decision, but they have peace afterwards. They can go about their business, they can settle down in their homes, they can make arrangements for their children, they can look ten years ahead and twenty years ahead, and regulate their lives into old age without reservations.

There is something extremely satisfying about irrevocability. It defines limits, removes doubt, and thus creates freedom. To-day the housewife reads about beauty preparations and culture courses with interest rather than anxiety. She is not bound to worry about such things. She knows her home and her future are safe. She is the gainer by the system of matrimony. No matter how indolent, benighted or inefficient she may be, a position in the world has been created for her because she is part of a man's life. Even if he has no more elevation of spirit than a piece of yeastless dough, it is possible for her to have servants, clothes, fun, position, love; she precedes the unmarried working-woman and views her with hauteur solely by reason of the

mysterious force of [illegible]. The smugness of the ordinary [illegible] appreciate the artificiality of her claim to consideration—who goes sailing through humanity full of self-confidence—is really laughable.

"Let such a one not crave more romance than she can experience vicariously through the arts. Women have advanced far, but they have not yet reached the stage where they dare prefer to safety what is commonly called romance. As marriage frees men, so does it guard women.

"But those people who believe that the height of being is to live dangerously may look forward with an equal satisfaction to marrying dangerously. They may be pleased to consider that when instability is of the essence of the contract of marriage poets may find the risky enterprise of domesticity worthy of song. In the meantime, it is still a fact that if they [illegible] to inspire artists and enchant readers and audiences they must break laws to find love. Our values are so wrong. O[illegible] Arnold Bennett, in all the world, seems to realise that t[illegible] is nothing in human experience more astounding than that a man and a woman should be satisfied to spend a lifetime one with the other

SARAH GERTRUDE MILLIN.

CORRESPONDENCE

'THE PHILIPPINES'

To the Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

SIR,—My attention has been drawn to the article under the title 'The Philippines,' by Mr. G. C. Duggan, that appeared in your December issue.

I do not intend following him in his conclusions on the policy of the United States of America in the islands. As a Spaniard, my main object in writing is to rectify certain assertions contained in the article in question respecting the humanitarian work carried out during centuries both by the Spanish religious corporations and the Spanish State.

Allow me, consequently, to point out the true legacy received by the Americans in the Philippines from Spanish civilisation.

Let us observe, to begin with, that the religion inspired by the Spanish friars broke the chains of slavery and proclaimed the principles of equality and brotherhood. The Church and the State kept the Philippine tribes from the knowledge of Spanish in order to keep them distant from the vices of the so-called white civilisation. But the education methods both of the friars and the civil authorities from the commencement to the end of Spanish domination developed the natives to such a degree as to constitute to-day a serious problem for the Government owing to the considerable number of boys and girls attending schools founded by Spain.

It is obvious that American civilisation is penetrating and spreading rapidly with its habits and the use of the English language. But it is equally true that Spanish culture and Spanish thought is so deeply rooted in the native soul that we find, for instance, that Spanish legislation is still in force in civil, criminal, and commercial proceedings. Spanish lawyers and legal precedents enjoy in the islands equal authority in spite of certain changes imposed by the exigencies of modern times.

Perhaps the influence of Spanish education is yet more tangible in respect of the language question. It is not exaggerating to say that the Spanish tongue is the fundamental *social asset* in the Philippines, maintained as it is in almost every home, in schools, and even in the University of Manila. This legendary university of Saint Tomás, founded in the sixteenth century, is the true repository of Spanish culture and tradition. It has produced countless masters in philosophy, jurisprudence, medicine, literature, engineering, arts and commerce, who have propagated science and civilisation among the native inhabitants (called *tagalos*) of the islands, containing the elements of a new nationality rightly claiming self-government and independence.

The language question, after serious discussion, has been partially settled by transitory legislation establishing both Spanish and English as official in the courts of justice. However, it is still being debated by two large sections of the population of the islands—namely, the passing generation, which supports the Spanish language, and the coming one in favour of English. No doubt, whatever may be the results of the question, the Spanish idiom will remain indefinitely although mixed with neologisms under the influence of English literature.

It is unquestionable, in short, that the present state of the Philippines indicates that a population is evolving inspired by centuries of Spanish civilisation, the merits of which are being acknowledged by the United States of America and strengthened by the vigorous spirit of American civilisation.

It is interesting to quote at this juncture the opinion of a South American and a North American writer on the subject.

Señor Rubio y Zarabozo, in a study on Spain as a colonising Power, says 'that if to colonise is to keep the colony aloof from any progress so as to exploit the natives as certain European countries have done, we have to admit that Spain has always been backward as far as colonising is concerned; but if to colonise is to establish in the colony any element possessed by the world, then Spain has at all times been progressive.' But the writer adds that 'in spite of the portentous work carried out by Spain, she has always been surrounded by a legend forged by foreign writers. And envy has invented the most absurd calumnies to discredit the work of the nation that discovered the New World.'

The American author, Mr. F. Lunmis, writes: 'One of the most astounding things of the Spanish explorers is the humanitarian and progressive spirit that has characterised their institutions.' As to the methods towards the native, he says: 'Not only Spanish legislation was more humanitarian and systematic than others, but the Spaniards have never exterminated aborigen nations as our ancestors (the English), who exterminated many of them.'

I trust that Mr. Duggan will not fail to take into account the above facts describing briefly the work of Spain in the Philippines, where the love and benefits of Spanish civilisation are deeply rooted.

Yours faithfully,

TOMÁS BALDASANO.

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, 10 *&* 12, *Orange Street, Leicester Square, W.C.* 2.

Letters as well as articles will be considered for publication, but letters should be confined to criticism or amplification of articles which have already appeared in the Review. No anonymous contribution is published.

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We are glad to be able to include on this occasion advertisements from a number of those who used the first issue of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER. These advertisements, which appear on pages ii., iii., iv., v., vi., vii., viii., ix., include Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., and Macmillan & Co., Ltd., The Swedenborg Society, The Scottish Provident Institution, Messrs. G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., Blackie & Son, Cassell & Co., Ltd., the *Inquirer*, the *Guardian*, Messrs. William Blackwood & Sons, Ltd., and Sir John Bennett, Ltd.

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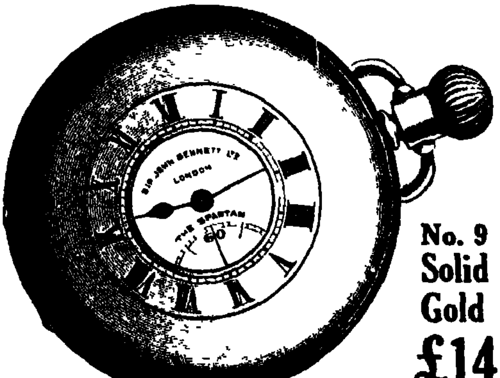
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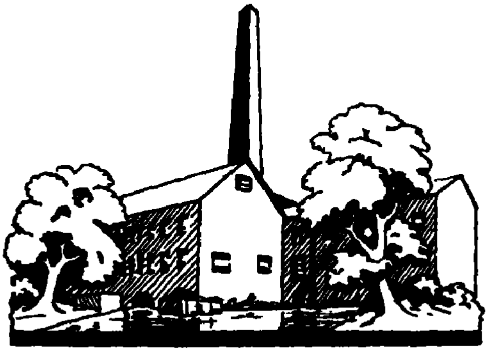
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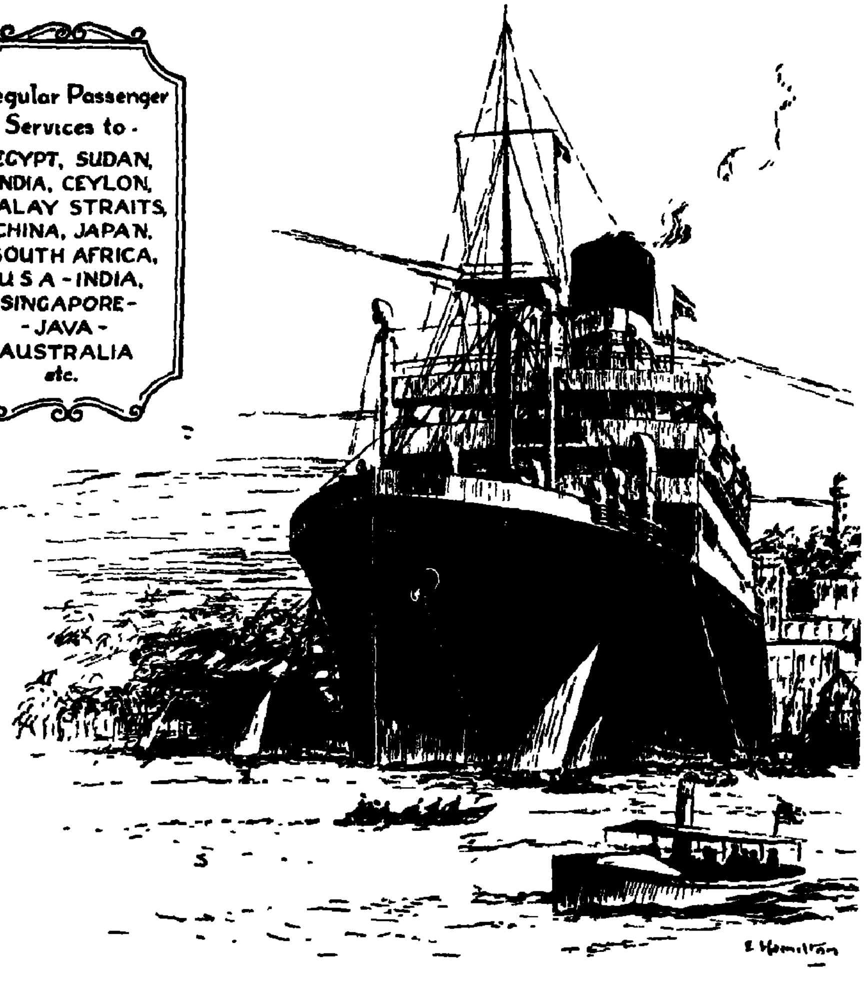
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NINETEENTH CENTURY *AND AFTER*



No. DCI—March 1927

OUR FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

'Those that of late had fleeted far and fast
To touch all shores, now leaving to the skill
Of others their old craft seaworthy still,
Have charter'd this; where, mindful of the past,
Our true co-mates regather round the mast,
Of diverse tongue, but with common will
Here, in this roaring moon of daffodil
And crocus, to put forth and brave the blast;
For some, descending from the sacred peak
Of hoar high-templed Faith, have leagued again
Their lot with ours to rove the world about;
And some are wilder comrades, sworn to seek
If any golden harbour be for men
In seas of Death and sunless gulfs of Doubt.'

Alfred Tennyson

[illegible] of this Review [illegible] had resigned the editorship of the *Contemporary Review* in order to found *The Nineteenth Century*, and this fact is alluded to in the last four lines of the sonnet.

The founder adopted as his principle that his Review should be conducted ' in an entirely free and open field, where all forms of honest opinion and belief (represented by men of sufficient weight) should be not only tolerated but welcomed,' and that it should be conducted on absolutely impartial and unsectarian principles, and that it should comprise fully signed and original articles only.

These principles of ' no policy and no anonymity ' are peculiar to the *Nineteenth Century and After*, and are not found in other publications contemporary with it. They are principles which make *The Nineteenth Century* an independent platform from which writers can address the public.

Under Sir James Knowles's able editorship *The Nineteenth Century* achieved a very wide success, and it is still largely indebted to the impetus which he gave it. His achievement in establishing the Review in the prominent position which it attained under him was remarkable. The rules which he laid down were sound—so sound, in fact, that there has been no temptation to depart from them, or to depart from the form of review which was a natural consequence. There is a safety and authority in signed articles which is foreign to anonymity. There has always been, and always will be, a demand for articles of a substantial length on politics, the arts, literature and science. No very short article can adequately comprise a subject, and there is always the need of a free and independent journal from which writers may deliver a message or debate problems of the hour. The appreciation of these facts helped Sir James Knowles to give the Review its form, and it is this form, little changed, which it still possesses. Indeed, if the earlier volumes are compared with the numbers published to-day little alteration of character will appear. In a recent copy of the *Outlook* I cut out this passage:

'The more it changes, the more it is the same thing.' A few days ago I chanced upon the first volume of *The Nineteenth Century* in one of those second-hand bookshops where anything is possible, bought it for threepence, and read it for an hour or so that night in bed. It left me with the feeling that a great deal of the issues that began in March 1877 could be included in the issue for March 1926.

One misses, of course, the League of Nations as a stock topic; but here are two articles on British Imperial questions, two more on the problem of the soul, and another on railway accidents, that only need

[illegible]

bounds, the foundations of morality were being sapped by [illegible] religion—this before the tango and the short skirt—and the Church of England was faced by a crisis more serious than any in its long history. This, again, is any bishop to any audience; I have no doubt St. [illegible] preached a sermon to the same effect.

Two of the articles in this first volume here referred to were by W. E. Gladstone and Frederic Harrison. I should have feared to offend their shades by alluding to them as 'any' contributors. Apart from this, and the fact that I think the writer made a bargain at threepence (for old numbers, when they are asked for, as they are surprisingly often, are very difficult to obtain), I agree with him. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*

For example, fifty years ago in more than one article we find bitter cries against the difficulties of housekeeping, and in the September number of 1877 George Jacob Holyoake begins an article on industry with these words:

> To what Chaos is industry tending? Its insurgency increases. Will its perturbations never end? From being aggressive will Trades Unions become destructive forces? Will the proletariat finally take the field and the capitalist have to fight for his life?

Nevertheless, the science notes given in the same number, and for which Professor Huxley was in part responsible, bring home to us that fifty years is, at least in the region of science, a long way off:

> From time to time during the last few years rumours have been afloat as to the possibility of employing electricity as a means of transmitting musical sounds to considerable distance . . . unquestionably the most remarkable of these instruments is that which was invented last year by Professor Graham Bell who is able to use it for the transmission not simply of musical notes but for articulate speech.

But I do not wish to examine in detail the first fifty years of the Review. This is done in two very able and interesting articles which I publish in this number—the first by Sir Francis Younghusband, and the second by Monsieur Yves-Guyot, the well-known editor of the *Journal des Economistes.*

Sir Francis says that the influence of the Review on the literature and thought of the last fifty years has been great, and I believe that no one will dispute this. Those interested in the *Nineteenth* may well look back with pride at its record during this time, and not only at the influence it has had, but the [illegible] it has given to its contributors. I should like to know, [illegible] how many books have seen their beginnings in an article [illegible]

[illegible] make no mean list of books which had their beginnings in its pages during the two years that I have been editor.

The table of contents of the first number is of considerable interest. Naturally this first number contains many distinguished names.

Prefatory Poem. By ALFRED TENNYSON, Poet-Laureate.
On the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion. By the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.
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Is the Pulpit Losing its Power? By the REV. J. BALDWIN BROWN.
How we Come by our Knowledge. By PROFESSOR CROOM ROBERTSON.
The True Story of the Vatican Council. By CARDINAL MANNING.
Falkland. By MATTHEW ARNOLD.
Recent Science. By the EDITOR, advised by PROFESSOR HUXLEY.

This table of contents is fairly representative of the others which followed it. Many famous names appear in the lists of contributors to these early volumes, and many notable people write to-day, probably more than the contemporary reader is aware of, since the figures who will be recognised in the future are often undistinguished in the present.

The proportion of the mixture of topics which is presented to the reader each month is, I believe, the same to-day as in the past. But is it the most acceptable mixture? This is a very difficult question for the editor to answer. It is little use acting under the influence of a critic who complains that there are too many political articles, for he will be immediately followed by another who says that too much space is devoted to religion, or to literature, or biography, according to taste. I can only remember that the character of the Review is to have a collection of signed and substantial articles on miscellaneous subjects, that the diversity of subjects has no limit, but that it is necessary to keep some [illegible] in the bill of fare, otherwise a reader will be disappointed [illegible]

[illegible]

In the present number I have not neglected to [illegible] recent history of other subjects than *periodical* literature. [illegible] Gairn's article deals with engineering, his example being the [illegible] motive engine; while since physical science to-day engross[illegible] much attention, I have devoted many pages to a striking [illegible] on it by Mr. Edser.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasise two things. The [illegible] is that there are certain great pleasures for the editor, and [illegible] are the successes of his writers. It is a great privilege to '[illegible]cover' a new writer; and it is a great pleasure to see articles appear in the Review, and subsequently to see a writer achieve some success by reason of his articles. When such happy results occur I feel that the Review has made some return to its contributors for their invaluable assistance.

Secondly and finally, *The Nineteenth Century* has its place in the literature of the last fifty years, and it has had its influence not only on the thought but sometimes on the action of the day. Famous controversies have been fought out in its pages and famous men have written for it. It is my aim that it shall continue successfully on its way unbiassed and independent.

CARROL ROMER, *Editor*.

THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS

The fifty years of this Review's life cover the most fateful period of English history. *The Nineteenth Century* came into being at the very zenith of the Victorian era, just ten years before the first Jubilee. It saw that war which tested not only the British Empire, but the whole of Western civilisation, in the most terrible ordeal. And it has carried through into the dawn of that new era which promises to be for the British Empire greater far than Victorian, Elizabethan, or any other days—that era when England will reach her full maturity and through her garnered experience give the lead in all that makes for richness of life while her offspring gather round her and for ever renew her vigour and strength.

To the endowment of this richer life of England and of the Empire this Review has made and will make no mean contribution. It owes its inception to a man of peculiar aptitude for evoking from the few what the many were most wanting to have—a man who wrote little himself, but was the cause of much writing in others. Sir James Knowles, years before he had inaugurated *The Nineteenth Century*, had with Tennyson founded the famous Metaphysical Society. Darwinism had just burst upon the world. Old conceptions of things were being bombarded and crumbling. New conceptions were forming. And Sir James Knowles had the idea of getting together leading men of religion, science, and thought into a Society where they could read and freely discuss papers on all the fundamental problems of existence. So came into existence the Metaphysical Society. It included such men as Gladstone, Cardinal Manning, Dean Stanley, Huxley, Tyndall, Henry Sidgwick, Mark Pattison, 'Ideal' Ward, and James Martineau; and it discussed such subjects as 'The Personality of God,' 'The Absolute,' 'The Nature of Things in Themselves,' 'The Theory of a Soul,' and 'A Future Life.'

It was from this Society that *The Nineteenth Century* may be said to have sprung. Free discussion was the principle on which the Society worked. And free discussion was the principle upon which *The Nineteenth Century* was based. And most of those who had debated in the Society contributed to the Review. The idea

[illegible] cussion merely for the sake of discussion, or with the [illegible] discussion in itself had any value, was tolerated, but free [illegible] sion, in the belief that through it men would be helped to [illegible] their own ideas with greater strength of conviction, and, [illegible] convinced of their own free will, be able to act with effect.

So the Review was to be the organ of no political or religious party. Conservative views were to be represented as well as Liberal, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, non-Christian as well as Christian, atheist or agnostic as well as orthodox. Readers were to be able to see every variety and shade of view on every subject of human interest. And the only qualification required of a contributor was that he should have something worth saying and be able to say it in a way that would appeal.

But there was one condition attached to the publication of articles. They must all be signed. There was to be no anonymity. That was a more reticent age than the present. And men were not so ready as now to push themselves into the glare of the limelight. Nor on certain subjects is it likely some will ever be. There are some matters so sacred that many dislike speaking about them before all and sundry. But a name attached to an article—especially if that name is of one who has given proof of his claim to be heard—gives weight to it. And by imposing this condition Sir James Knowles enabled his new Review to exert an influence from the start which anonymous articles would never have won.

And from the start he was able to benefit by the assistance of the most distinguished of those men who had been collected together largely through his own personal exertions in the Metaphysical Society. Tennyson wrote an ode for the first number. And Gladstone not only wrote the first article, but contributed no less than sixty-seven articles in all to the Review. Sir James Knowles on his death spoke of him as a model contributor. When once he had interested himself in a subject it took a possession of him to the exclusion of everything else. And, though he was very imperious in official matters, Sir James Knowles says that in discussing an article he was remarkably modest and diffident. The subjects of these articles were as diverse as 'Genesis and Science,' 'Daniel O'Connell,' 'Journal de Marie Bashkirtseff,' 'The Dawn of Creation,' 'The Peace to Come,' 'The Colour Sense'; and his last article was on the perennial subject 'Massacres in Turkey.'

The opening article by Gladstone was a review of Sir George Cornewall Lewis's book on *The Influence of Authority in Matters* [illegible]

[illegible] more than any other [illegible] ... remarkable, as coming from the champion of freedom, is [the] defence of authority. A general revolt against authority is [a] childish superstition; the love of freedom is an essential principle of human action, but it is only one of its essential principles, he urges. And the opposition to authority is often due, not to reasonable conviction, but to fancy; to lame or weak, or hasty, or shallow processes of the mind; or to sheer self-conceit or headstrong or indolent self-love.

Besides this article by Gladstone the first number contained articles on 'The Church of England, Present and Future,' by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, 'The True Story of the Vatican Council' by Cardinal Manning, 'Falkland' by Matthew Arnold, 'Recent Science' by Huxley. These distinguished men continued to support the new Review. They were followed in the succeeding numbers by others scarcely less distinguished in their respective spheres. Henry Irving wrote on 'An Actor's Notes on Shakespeare,' Frederic Harrison on 'The Soul and Future Life,' Lord Stratford de Redcliffe on 'Turkey,' Sir Garnet Wolseley on 'France as a Military Power,' Tyndall on 'Spontaneous Generation,' Herbert Spencer on 'Justice,' W. K. Clifford on 'The Teaching of Science,' and Ruskin, Walt Whitman, and Leslie Stephen were others of the earlier contributors. And besides these men who had already made their reputation, and whose names attached to an article were of value, Sir James Knowles evidently had his eye on coming men, for in quite early years of the Review we find articles by Edmund Gosse, Charles Whibley, Harold Cox, and Graham Wallas.

Only once did the editor depart from his policy of strict impartiality, and that [illegible] to the Channel Tunnel. He [illegible] [tunn]el as a national danger, and [illegible] to open the eyes of the [illegible] of trusting to the perpetual [illegible] point. War might come [illegible] [m]oments which precede the [illegible] the most difficult time in [illegible] [ac]tion.

[illegible] Review in its early days. The In[illegible] conflict, and Huxley was [illegible] It was fr[illegible] fashion among scientific [men] said to have sp[illegible] prominent exponent of the Society work[illegible] [Ty]ndall wrote articles to which *The Nineteenth* [Centu]ry pre[illegible] [s]cientific point of view. [illegible] debated in the S[illegible] great protagonist for orthodox religion, and

[illegible] Sir George [illegible] review of Sir Geo[rge] [illegible] the perennial [illegible] to Coun[illegible] de Maistre [illegible] authority in Ma[illegible]

to a pig.

The Symposium was another feature. Three or four joined in discussing a set subject such as the 'Soul and Future Life' and 'The Influence upon Morality of a Decline in Religious Belief.'

Politics received much attention, and it is noticeable that the views of Labour were, from the first, well represented in the Review. As far back as 1881 there was an article by Thomas Burt, M.P., on 'Working Men and the Political Situation.' Canon Barnett wrote on 'Great Cities and Social Reform.' John Burns in 1892 wrote on 'Labour Leaders.' Joseph Chamberlain wrote on 'The Labour Question.' And Keir Hardie in 1903, writing on the Independent Labour Party, pointed out that the voting power was now with the working class; and prophesied that they would vote together when the issues were no longer Liberal *versus* Conservative, but Capital *versus* Labour. 'The new Labour Party is here,' he wrote, 'a thing to be reckoned with—a natural and inevitable outcome of the possession of the franchise.'

Russia also was the subject of frequent articles. The first number had an article on it by Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff. And the gist of an article by a Russian on 'The Future of Russia' is worth recording here. He prophesied that after passing through the stage of infancy Russia would constitute a nation of 700 or 800 millions, be provided with an efficient form of government, and acquire a transcendental station such as it was difficult to conceive falling to the lot of any other country. Her dominion, including that of the whole Slav race, would extend from the Arctic and the Northern Seas to the Persian Gulf and from the Pacific to the Adriatic. In comparison with such an empire the British Empire would be very weak in defence and supply owing to the delays and dangers in transport. Canada, Australia, and South Africa enjoyed a practical independence, and were a source of weakness and confusion. So thought the Russian.

Carl Joubert also predicted a great future for Russia. There would first be a revolution, he surmised. But when it was over and the nation had emerged strengthened and purged of her curse of absolute monarchy and bureaucratic tyranny a great future would lie before Russia, for 'nowhere are there men of greater brain capacity and physical powers than in the huge inert masses of humanity which constitute the population—and in no land are more treasures concealed to be had for the asking.'

These latent possibilities of Russia, Germany undoubtedly realised and feared. She was aware of the present incapacity of

[illegible] between the Teuton and the Slav. [illegible] Britain were brought in. But what started the war and what had been disturbing Europe for years previously had been trouble between Slavs and Teutons. The Slavs wanted to keep open the road southward. The Teutons wanted to keep open the road eastward. A clash was inevitable.

But Germany was looking not only eastward, but seaward. She was being told that her future was upon the water. And she had been starting colonies in Africa and in the Pacific. We also had been growing and expanding. And we and the Germans came into contact in many parts of the world. One of the results of this expansion and contact of the German and British empires beyond the seas was the South African War, for if President Kruger had not been led to believe that he would be supported by the Germans he would never have embarked upon a war with us, and the Dutch and ourselves would probably have composed our differences without actually going to war. And one of the results of the South African War and of our subsequent settlement with the South African Dutch was deeper thought on Imperial affairs and a profounder conception of empire.

To this new conception Lord Curzon gave expression in the Review in 1908. He had been a contributor to it since 1888, and as a young man had paid especial attention to Imperial affairs. Now after his return from India, and without experience of the South African War before him, he gave his conclusions as to what should be the prime impelling motive in all our Imperial activities, and struck a note which is not often heard and is worth sounding again. The Empire was *not* acquired, he wrote, in 'a fit of absence of mind.' It was the result of three centuries of effort. The test of its worth was not size, but the work done, the bad things wiped out, the general impress left upon the well-being of mankind. But the Empire was still only in a fluid and transitional formation: it had to be welded into a great world-State. 'To the people of the Mother State it must be a discipline, an inspiration, and a faith. To the people of the circumference it must be more than a flag or a name, it must give them what they cannot otherwise or elsewhere enjoy; not merely justice or order, or matured prosperity, but the sense of partnership in a great idea, the consecrating influence of a lofty purpose.'

'I think it must be because in the heart of British endeavour there has burned the spark of heavenly flame that Providence has hitherto so richly blessed our undertaking,' says Lord Curzon. And he concludes by exhorting us 'to cling humbly but fervently to the belief that so long as we are worthy we may still remain

[illegible]
shadow which coming war was casting before it. In the years before the Great War there was no lack of premonition of the coming storm and of unreadiness for it. In 1913 Lord Roberts had written on 'How to Restore our Military Efficiency,' and in August 1914, in the number which appeared only four days before war broke out, he had an article on 'Our Dwindling Army,' showing that we had not made our Army attractive enough, and that consequently there was a steady diminution of numbers recruiting, recommending the universal training of all able-bodied youths near their homes for home defence, and stating that it must be on the Territorial Force that we must depend for the reserve of men of suitable age which shall be large enough to see us through 'our next great struggle'—the stupendous struggle which we were on the brink of while Lord Roberts must have been composing this article.

Other articles on 'Our Perishing Army,' 'British Unreadiness for War,' and so on, written by various authors, had appeared during the previous year or two. But there were two which deserve special notice as possessing permanent interest.

One was an article by Harold F. Wyatt on 'God's Test by War,' which appeared in April 1911. Whether the heart of England is still strong to dare and to resolve and to endure will be decided, he urged, by that which God has given as the trial of peoples—the test of war. The purpose imminent in the universe becomes more manifest as evolution proceeds. Victory is the result of efficiency, and efficiency is the result of spiritual quality.

> Self-sacrifice, self-denial, temperance, hardihood, discipline, obedience, order, method, organising power, intelligence, purity of public life, chastity, industry, resolution, are some only of the national and individual attributes which go towards producing the efficiency of modern armaments. And the efficiency or inefficiency of its armaments is the determining factor of a nation's success or of a nation's failure in that culminating moment of long processes of commercial and political rivalry—the moment of war.

The other article was by Cardinal Bourne. Writing in 1913 on 'How England Can be Prepared for Defence Against Possible Attack,' he urged that opportunity should be given to all to fit themselves of their own accord, as part of their normal education, to be ready to take effective part in the defence of their country. The whole manhood of the nation should be trained to be of real service in the defence of their country. And this serious training would, in other ways also, be a gain to the nation beyond all power of estimation. It is only the strong man armed who can hope to build his house in peace. Englishmen do desire, and most rightly,

[illegible]

During the war perhaps the most valuable [illegible] one by Lord Cromer on 'Thinking Internationally.' He [illegible] against vapid and flabby cosmopolitanism and recommended a reasonable internationalism founded on a sturdy patriotism. The egotism of extreme nationalism must be assuaged and the peace of the world secured by common action and mutual help. The civilised nations should meet together and define the elementary rights of nations and embody these rights in a series of treaties. But as regards disarmament, his opinion was that it would be madness for the British nation to consent to disarm unless it not merely could receive adequate assurances, but also acquire the absolute certainty that it could do so without danger. He showed the formidable nature of the obstacles to be encountered. These would have to be recognised and the difficulties fairly faced before we could agree to disarmament.

Politics and war did not, however, engage the whole attention of the Review. Sir Henniker Heaton used to write much on 'Penny Postage for the Whole Empire.' Mr. Pett Ridge wrote first of the faults of Londoners and then of their virtues. One of a Londoner's faults was his fondness for proclaiming, in regard to certain grievances, that he would put up with them no longer, and having said this, continuing to put up with them. Among his virtues were alertness of retort and his knowledge that the chief element of a repartee is that it should be served instantly. Complaints about the 'youth of the present day' were constantly being made. In 1908 Lord Meath considered that 'the grit of our forefathers was lacking in a large number of the young men and women of to-day.' And as far back as 1894 Mrs. Crackenthorpe was writing of 'The Revolt of the Daughters,' and in 1893 Miss Clementina Black was writing of 'The Dislike to Domestic Service.'

Ladies' clubs were treated of in an article by Mrs. Anstruther in 1899. And hell seems to have had a great attraction for contributors if not to the readers. One even wrote of 'Happiness in Hell'; and there were separate articles on 'The Hebrew Hell,' 'The Christian Hell,' and 'The Muslim Hell.' And, glancing in another direction, Mr. Clinton Dent in 1892 inquired 'Can Mount Everest be Ascended?' Mr. Mallock asked 'Is Life Worth Living?' And others wrote on 'Our Worn-out Parsons,' 'The Tinkering of Hymns,' 'How Poor Ladies Live,' 'Worry,' 'Weariness,' 'Bores,' 'Moles,' 'Babies and Monkeys,' and 'Devil Hunting in Elizabethan England.'

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in another asked 'Whence Came the Comets?' Norman [illegible] wrote on 'What the Sun is Made Of,' 'The History of a Star,' and 'New Stars.' And only in December of 1925 Dr. Jeans gave a masterly sketch of the universe. We might think of it as consisting of a number of sub-universes detached from one another like islands in an ocean, yet communicating with one another through radiation. The most distant of these island sub-universes known to us is so far away that light travelling at the rate of 186,000 miles a second takes a million years to reach us from there. The present conclusion of Jeans—though we can hardly believe the final word of astronomy—is the depressing view that the universe is running down like a clock which no one winds up. Every star is continually radiating energy away into space, and we have no knowledge of any appreciable part of the radiation coming back, or of the stars replenishing their source of energy in any way. And he indorses Professor H. N. Russell's theory that all the stars are moving down the same evolutionary ladder. At the top are stars of the very highest luminosity, radiating perhaps 10,000 times as much light as our sun. Moving down the ladder the luminosity of the stars decreases—to stars like Sirius radiating some forty times as much as our sun. Well down on the ladder are our sun and stars of similar luminosity. Finally on still lower rungs are stars so faint as to be almost invisible. And no doubt there are even lower rungs occupied by stars which have become perfectly invisible. The interval from top to bottom of this ladder is of the order of two hundred million million years. Happily our sun has several million million years yet to run before it reaches the bottom rung and disappears into invisibility, and before that time has elapsed we may hope that some more cheerful astronomers will have arisen who will show a way through the dark labyrinths of the universe by which the constituent particles of our sun would be able to reform themselves into a young sun and appear at the top of the ladder again.

Meanwhile, we might consider how *The Nineteenth Century* has fulfilled the objects of its founder. How has free discussion among contributors signing their names to their articles been of real influence in the national life? The best answer is its existence to-day, fifty years after its foundation. And that it should have survived the ordeal of the Great War adds force to that testimony; for when the cost of production was continually increasing, when men had less and less to spend on purchasing it, when most of the possible contributors were themselves engaged in the war, and the editor himself had to bear his part in the burden; when

[illegible]

[illegible] war; and when about the [illegible] to get authentic news upon which to form an [illegible] when there were all these drawbacks it was difficult [illegible] Review, always intended for the few rather than the many, to survive. *And its gallant editor during the war period, Mr. Wray* Skilbeck, did indeed succumb from the strain.

But he carried the Review through; and here it is to-day standing, as before, for enlightenment, striving to maintain the high level at which it started. Still comprehensive rather than exclusive, providing a platform for the expression of all shades of opinion on every great question of the day, representing the views and tendencies and aspirations of every class and party and sect, exercising a definite and beneficial influence on the development of thought and the direction of action and thereby contributing to the safety, honour and welfare of that Empire which the great Victorians did so much to build, which the no less great Georgians saw safely through the fiercest ordeal it has ever had to face, and which the coming generation has to make the leading power for good in the world.

And if there was scope and need for this Review fifty years ago there is many-fold that scope and need now. The public schools of England have since the war been more crowded than ever before. There has been a general rise in education throughout the country. Every part of the Empire is likewise developing. Great—perhaps excessive—attention is paid to mechanical development. Still aspiration after excellence in *every* line, everywhere and always exists in some measure; and concomitant with the material progress there is an eager desire for the excellenc which thought and feeling provide. More even than in the grea past men will be feeling strongly over the multitudinous question of Empire and of the part we ought to play in the world, over th weighty problems which science is continually throwing up, ov new forms of expression in art, and over the deepest questionin of the soul, and of our position in and relations to the mighty a marvellous whole which science is revealing to us. What m feel strongly about they will be wanting to express. And t Review affords them the vehicle for such expression. Provid they have fresh and clear ideas and can express them in such manner that the ordinary intelligent man in the club or wom in the home can understand them, and provided also that th have the capacity of making others feel what they have felt, scarcely matters on what topic so long as it is of human inter the Review provides them the means of communicating w their fellows.

And their fellows, on their part, are nowadays avidly reach

[illegible] remains of their waking hours. But there are precious intervals when the mind is at leisure and eagerly receptive. It may want something quite trivial or it may want something more profoundly serious than even war. All it asks is that it should be excellent of its kind. And here is the chance for the great review. For these are the moments that give the colour to men's lives and through them to the nation. Then is the time when men are both lightened and enlightened. And then is the time when proportion is given to their outlook.

The business man will not come here for financial advice. The soldier will not come for lessons in warfare. The artist will not come for connoisseurs' appreciation. The priest will not come to learn theology or the scientist for more knowledge. But each will come to hear what the other has to say in plain, intelligible words about what he understands best and what he wants to impress on the rest, believing that only as the rest can understand and appreciate its importance for the national life will he be able to get on with what is most interesting to himself. Men will go to special publications for special news and reviews. But here all will meet, and, in meeting, realise the increasing number and variety and width of interests there are in life. What really matters will begin to stand out in their minds. What is insignificant will sink into its proper insignificance.

The Review, as we have seen, commenced its career at the zenith of the Victorian era. It stands now, after the most awful happening in human history, at the dawn of a new era which promises to be greater still. That era will not be one of peace, if by peace is implied simple ease and sloth and luxury. It will be an era of tremendous strain and stress and conflict—conflict of interest between class and class, between capital and labour, between one part of the Empire and another part, and between the Empire and other nations of the world. The pace of life will be increased. The vehemence of life will be intensified. And with acceleration of pace and closer association will come increase of number and complexity in the problem which will constantly surge up for instant solution. Then from sheer necessity men will see that they cannot waste time and energy in approaching the settlement of their tremendous problems in a spirit of hate and intolerance. The very speed and complexity will compel men to exercise common-sense and meet in a spirit of good-will, with a single desire to work together. Practical necessity will force men to be reasonable and considerate.

And then over and above, and lying deep down under and

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both the inconceivably great and the almost infinitely little. Her zenith is reaching higher and higher, her horizon wider and wider, her nadir deeper and deeper. And the zenith curves round till it becomes the nadir. The infinitely great contracts into the infinitely little, and the infinitely little expands to the infinitely great. Art is reaching out into new forms of expression of light and colour and form and is discovering and disclosing new beauties all about us. And religion is on the very verge of bursting into a fuller glory. The old faith of our fathers which has stood us in such stead in our past will not disappear, as was thought when the Review was started. It will not gradually dwindle away. Rather will it renew itself, and, gathering fresh strength from its primal springs, burst through the outer protective coverings which have now served their purpose and come out into the full glory of the sunshine from which it originally sprang. The great and splendid days of religion are in the future, and it will furnish to us the motive power and the goal of all our activities.

For the expression, the communication to others, and the discussion of all these ideas which will arise in the future, this Review, with its principle of free discussion and its half a century of experience, will furnish a most suitable medium. And if it retains intact the single self-imposed condition of excellence on its output it will be a real power in forming the new era now dawning—the high-altitude era when we will no longer be content with Alpine heights, but will turn to the Himalaya for fuller satisfaction.

FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND.

MA CONNEXION AVEC LA 'NINETEENTH CENTURY'

Je suis très honoré que la *Nineteenth Century and After* m'ait demandé un article pour son 601ième numéro.

Si j'y ai un titre, c'est mon assiduité à la lecture non seulement des livres, mais des publications périodiques britanniques. En voici le point de départ : j'avais publié en 1867 un volume intitulé *l'Inventeur*. Dans une discussion sur la propriété industrielle, il fut cité au Sénat par M. Lefebvre-Durufié, ancien Ministre du Commerce, disant : 'Personne n'a mieux démontré dans quel dédale se trouve engagé le législateur. . . .' (*Moniteur*, 22 juin, 1867). Très flatté de cet honneur, j'allai l'en remercier. Après une conversation dans laquelle je répondis à d'aimables propositions que je ne voulais aucune fonction publique, il me donna ce conseil amical :—'Lisez tous les jours le *Galignani's Messenger*.'

Ce journal, fondé à Paris en 1915, recueillait tous les nouvelles et articles importants reçus d'Angleterre, et était, partout où se trouvait un Anglais, le premier journal demandé.

J'étais préparé à suivre ce conseil. Depuis ma prime adolescence j'étais imprégné des doctrines d'Adam Smith, de Locke, de David Hume, de Bentham, de Stuart Mill, de Cobden et de John Bright. Démocrate français, j'étais modelé sur le radicalisme anglais.

Depuis ce temps je n'ai pas cessé de lire the *Economist* et les revues anglaises : la *Contemporary Review*, l'*Edinburgh Review*, la *Fortnightly Review*, etc., et, à partir de 1877, la *Nineteenth Century*. Chaque numéro de revue, étant un recueil d'études spéciales et actuelles poussées à fond, est un excellent et rapide instrument de travail.

La *Nineteenth Century* remplissait complètement ce rôle. Sir James Knowles désirait que chaque question fût traitée sous toutes ses faces par des *leaders* : 'Excepté Bismarck et le Pape,' lui disait Frederic Harrison, 'vous avez eu pour collaborateurs tous les hommes éminents du monde.' Et il ajoutait : 'It grew to be a literary power in the New World as well as in the Old ; and the

[illegible] literature but on liberal thought.

A partir de 1884, je collaborai de temps en temps à la *Nineteenth Century*, et j'eus des rapports personnels agréables avec Sir James Knowles, sauf à propos de la question du tunnel sous la Manche. Je pus y exposer *the Dreyfus Drama and its significance* (janvier 1899). M. Wray Skilbeck, gendre de Sir James Knowles, bien préparé, le remplaça au moment de sa mort en 1908. Nous eumes des relations très intimes. En 1914 il engagea la *Nineteenth Century* dans la guerre avec passion. Bientôt il demanda la conscription. En 1919 il n'était disposé à oublier ni les horreurs commises par les Allemands ni leurs ambitions, et il protestait avec véhémence contre les personnes qui parlaient d'établir des rapports de cordialité avec les Bolcheviks. Le 26 juin nous avions lunché ensemble ; il se montra plein de verve et d'entrain. Je fus douloureusement surpris quand j'appris sa mort survenue le 17 juillet 1919. Le *Times* le caractérisa dans ces termes : ' Un gentleman anglais accompli et de grand cœur ; un ami de la pure littérature. Le plus loyal des amis, un directeur exact et consciencieux.'

La *Nineteenth Century* a continué de suivre la voie que lui avaient donnée ses deux premiers directeurs. Elle est toujours vivante, et tous les mois je continue d'apprécier la justesse et l'intelligence avec lesquelles y sont traitées toutes les questions au fur et à mesure qu'elles se présentent.

La Pratique de la Constitution Anglaise

En 1867 nous étions encore sous le régime de Napoléon III., qui avait traité ses adversaires politiques d'après la règle traditionnelle de proscription des partis vaincus par les partis vainqueurs. En 1869 je devais être condamné à la prison en vertu de la loi de sûreté générale pour l'insertion d'une dépêche, annonçant la souscription Baudin, dans un journal que je dirigeais à Nîmes L'Angleterre, la première, a admis la coexistence et la concurrence des partis. Cette extension de la concurrence commerciale à la concurrence politique peut être considérée comme le plus grand des progrès accomplis dans l'organisation politique. Depuis 1689 elle l'a préservée de toute révolution et lui a donné une vie publique d'une intensité inconnue chez tout autre peuple.

Par la *Common Law* la jurisprudence fait la légalité. Par la pratique du *compromise* la politique permet de modeler la loi et la Constitution. Il donne une souplesse aux combinaisons des partis impossible dans les pays de droit écrit. Mais les expériences que représentent ces pratiques sont longues, dures, et sont

[illegible] et d'appréciation.[1]

En même temps, j'y ai souvent trouvé des reproches à la Constitution française qui ne sont pas exacts.

La grande faiblesse du gouvernement parlementaire français provient de ce qu'il a toujours eu à se débattre contre des partis anti-constitutionnels. L'addition des bulletins de vote d'Extrême Droite et d'Extrême Gauche donne des majorités suffisantes pour renverser des Ministères, mais non pour en constituer.

En Angleterre les soixante-douze députés irlandais avaient aussi une influence perturbatrice dans la politique générale, et actuellement des membres du *Labour Party* jouent un rôle analogue.

Nous étions, en France, très préoccupés des rapports des deux chambres : la Chambre des Députés et le Sénat. La tradition républicaine était liée à la conception de la chambre unique ; et, cependant, l'action du Sénat est devenue plus efficace que ne l'est celle de la Chambre des Lords. Il est intervenu si utilement dans les questions budgétaires qu'il est devenu l'Assemblée financière Dans l'affaire du Boulangisme, il a sauvé la République. Sa seule présence a empêché certaines entreprises, et pendant la guerre il a été un instrument utile contre les défaitistes.

Seulement, la dissolution de la Chambre des Députés ne peut avoir lieu que sur son autorisation. Il ne l'a donnée qu'une fois, au Maréchal MacMahon, en 1877, et elle a abouti à un tel échec qu'aucun Ministre n'a osé lui demander de recommencer l'expérience.

Erreurs Internationales, et Utilité de l'Entente Cordiale

J'étais horripilé d'entendre répéter ce vieux lieu commun : 'L'Anglais est l'ennemi héréditaire,' quand de la fin de la Guerre de Cent Ans en 1453 à la Guerre de la Ligue d'Augsbourg (1688) s'étaient écoulés 235 ans de rapports cordiaux et souvent d'entente entre Français et Anglais. Vergennes et Pitt disaient chacun de leur côté en 1783 : 'C'est un préjugé qu'il existe des incompatibilités naturelles entre les deux nations.' Cependant, à propos de l'Egypte et des entreprises coloniales de la France, il y eut une série de difficultés déplorables.[2] Toutefois il y eut des tentatives pour les pallier.

L'Entente Cordiale fut fondée à la suite du voyage à Bordeaux du Lord Mayor, Sir Arnold Renals, en 1895, par Sir Ro[illegible]

[1] Voir mon volume *Politique parlementaire et politique atavique*, 1924 (Alcan).
[2] Voir *The Life of Lord Granville*, by Lord Fitzmaurice.

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[illegible] [illegible] ment reçue, et nous avons eu des moments difficiles à traverser. L'expédition, d'origine obscure, apportée toute faite à M. Hanotaux pour prendre l'affaire d'Egypte à rebours, aboutit à Fashoda.

L'émotion causée par cette affaire à peine calmée, éclata la guerre de l'Afrique du Sud. Quand j'allai parler à M. Delcassé de la pétition des *Uitlanders*, il l'ignorait et me déclara nettement que jamais la Grande Bretagne ne ferait la guerre. Imbu de cette croyance, Kruger la déclara La diplomatie de la place publique est plus dangereuse que celle des hommes au pouvoir, parce qu'elle est irresponsable. A Paris la foule acclamait Kruger, et à sa tête se distinguait un sénateur qui, condamné à deux ans de prison pour avoir déserté de l'armée en 1870, voulait ainsi se réhabiliter. A l'Elysée le Président Loubet déplorait cette insanité. Mais c'était un grand secret.

Un peu plus tard, quand je fus présenté à Roosevelt, il engagea la conversation par ces mots : ' Je suis enchanté de vous voir pour vous dire que je suis complètement d'accord avec vous sur cette question—la question des Boers.' Nous en parlames pendant quelques instants, et alors il conclut : ' Seulement, je vous prie de n'en rien dire, parce que cela pourrait me gêner.'

Je pense pouvoir aujourd'hui me départir de la discrétion qu'il m'avait demandée.

Ainsi les présidents de deux Républiques étaient obligés de dissimuler leur pensée intime sur une grave question de politique internationale par crainte d'opinions populaires.

En opposition à la politique impulsive et ignorante il y eut celle d'Edouard VII. Comme Prince de Galles il n'avait pas eu le droit d'avoir une opinion politique ; mais il avait dépensé une grande partie de son activité sur le Continent. Il le connaissait directement et non à travers les protocoles. Il voulut, par une action directe sur le Kaiser, le forcer de limiter les armements. Il se heurta à un refus. En 1908, dans une visite à François-Joseph pour son *Diamond Jubilee*, il trouva le même accueil. Il ne se rebuta pas, si bien qu'il mérita le nom de '*the European Peacemaker*.' Il le conservera toujours.

Au milieu de toutes ces difficultés, j'avais toujours soutenu la nécessité de l'Entente Cordiale. Sir James Knowles me permit de publier dans la *Nineteenth Century* (septembre 1906) un article intitulé *Pangermanisme, la Hollande et la Belgique*, où je montrais les appétits des Allemands qui se sont manifestés en 1914 ; et je prouvais que, forcément, l'Angleterre et la France seraient alliées, en cas d'agression de l'Allemagne, parce qu'elles avaient un intérêt semblable à préserver l'indépendance de la Belgique et de la Hollande.

[illegible] et il est [illegible] que le Foreign Office ne lui ait pas tenu le [illegible] juillet le langage qu'il a tenu le 2 août.

Dr. A. Shadwell terminait un article : *Is Peace possible?* (le 7 juillet 1918) en disant : 'The Germans have separated themselves from the rest of mankind on the ground of their superiority ; the result is, that the rest of mankind cannot live with them so long as they are in that frame of mind.'

Alors la question se pose : Ont-ils changé ?

Le Brigadier-General F. G. Stone dans un article : *Locarno, Genoa, and the Empire* (janvier 1927), montre les conséquences de l'accord de Locarno. L'Allemagne, la Belgique, et la France déclarent que dans aucun cas elles ne s'attaqueront l'une l'autre. C'est écrit, 'Great Britain has become the accepted instrument, acting promptly on her own initiative in the event of a flagrant violation. Italy shares the same obligation.'

General Stone montre l'importance de cette obligation, mais manifeste son appréhension à l'égard de 'l'illusion created by the atmosphere of Geneva.'

Les Pacifistes oublient trop facilement que la suppression de la guerre n'est pas la suppression de la défense ; c'est la suppression de l'agression. Aujourd'hui les Chinois, soutenus par les Bolcheviks, démontrent une fois de plus cette vérité.

Confusions et Contradictions

Sous certains rapports le progrès a dépassé tout ce que nous pouvions rêver il y a soixante ans, mais nous ne sommes pas dans l'atmosphère sereine que nous pouvions attendre.

J'étais *Free Trader*. Je suis membre honoraire du Cobden Club depuis 1879, et j'en suis fier. Il y a vingt-cinq ans le libre échange était considéré aussi certain par l'Angleterre que la règle de trois ; et au mois de décembre dernier je fus effrayé quand je vis M. Bruce, Premier of Australia, 'On the Problem of Empire Welfare,' réclamer la 'realisation of the Empire, in which Great Britain will join with the other Dominions in safeguarding Empire standards of living from competition based on sweated labour.'

Mais ce n'est pas le *sweated labour* qui détermine une grande capacité de production 'bon marché.' C'est la machine ; c'est le procédé chimique ; c'est le puissant instrument de travail

Quoiqu'ayant fait toujours de fortes réserves à l'égard de la legislation sur les Trade Unions et la manière dont elle était appliquée, je croyais cependant que l'ouvrier anglais raisonnait ; et le mineur a poursuivi la grève de 1926 avec une volonté

obstinée de ruiner l'industrie à la prospérité de laquelle il est le plus intéressé.

Je suis de l'avis de M. B. Seebohm Rowntree quand il dit ('Towards Industrial Efficiency, février 1917) : 'I think profit-sharing inadequate as a means of securing the maximum output. This can be much better done by well-arranged systems of day and piece wages.' Mais je suis opposé à l'institution des *Work Councils* qu'il proposait ; ils n'ont pas de responsabilité. La plupart des combinaisons mises en avant reposent sur une confusion. Le salaire n'est pas le paiement du travail ; c'est le paiement des objets produits ou des services rendus. Le contrat entre *employer* et le *worker* n'est qu'un contrat d'échange, dans lequel des tiers n'ont pas à intervenir.

La Société des Nations a été affublée d'un Bureau International du Travail. Ses fonctionnaires, dans un énorme palais à l'aspect de couvent percé de mille fenêtres, se donnent pour objet de soumettre toute la vie économique à des règles conventuelles Les Bolcheviks ont réalisé une expérience communiste dans des conditions de tyrannie, de ruine et d'horreur que jamais nul homme raisonnable n'aurait osé prévoir.

Quand le parti Libéral anglais est arrivé au pouvoir en 1906, il a oublié qu'il avait pour programme la liberté et le *retrenchment*. Il adopta, sous la direction de M. Lloyd George et de M Winston Churchill, une politique que les naifs appellent 'généreuse'[4] ; alors que, comme contribuables, ils sont obligés d'en payer les frais. Un Gouvernement prend à l'un et donne à l'autre ; sa générosité est une spoliation.

Dans une importante étude intitulée '*The Widows', Orphans' and Old Age Contributory Pensions Bill*,' M. W. R. Barker a montré les conséquences du projet exposé par M. Winston Churchill le 8 avril 1925 et déposé le lendemain par le Ministre des Finances.

Ce projet implique 746.000 000*l.* de contributions de l'Etat et une charge pesante sur toute l'industrie. C'est la tradition de la loi sur les pauvres d'Elizabeth. M. W. R. Barker terminait en disant : 'Le parti Conservateur est actuellement formé de jeunes Disraeli. Ils sont aussi convaincus qu'ils sont la Providence du pauvre que l'étaient leurs prédécesseurs.'

Le *Socialist Tory*, un peu par esprit de revanche contre les industriels qui avaient fait voter le Free Trade, a ouvert la porte toute grande aux progrès futurs du Socialisme.

Dans un article intitulé 'Liberalism and the Industrial Problem' (novembre 1921), un Conservateur, Mr. Cyril F. James dit :

[4] Yves-Guyot, *Les Conflits du Travail et leur Solution*, 1903.

Liberal writers once taught a great creed, the doctrine of individual *liberty*; but the Liberal party has abandoned this doctrine. Liberalism does not consist of a catalogue of parliamentary measures of a pseudo-philanthropic character, such as Old-Age Pensions or Unemployment Insurance, but is simply a fight for freedom. It is expressed in a recent manual by Mr. Elliot Dodds in these words : ' The realisation of individual liberty within the Commonwealth '

Il examine les solutions Socialistes que les Libéraux, ayant subi la déviation Socialiste, doivent préconiser, et il termine par celle-ci : ' No one now denies that land should never become private property.' Dans une ironie féroce, il semble poser l'alternative suivante aux Libéraux : ou la nationalisation ou la mort ; mais il n'y a pas d'alternative, car la nationalisation serait le suicide.

En réponse anticipée à l'affirmation de M. Cyril F. James, l'editor of the *Nineteenth Century* avait, en tête de l'article ' Labour and Land ' (mars 1921) de M W. R Smith, membre du *Labour Party*, protesté contre ' the abolition of private property, which would throw the countryside into confusion and ultimately ruin '

Au moment où je termine ces lignes, je vois la mainmise de M Lloyd George sur le parti Libéral Il m'est impossible de comprendre comment il peut avoir la propriété personnelle de ces centaines de mille livres, dont on ne connaît pas le total et dont personne ne contrôle l'emploi. Comment, dans un pays comme la Grande Bretagne, un ancient président du Conseil peut-il avoir l'impudence d'acheter un parti en lui donnant 300 000*l* pour les élections, et 40 000*l* de subvention annuelle ? Comment le *Liberal Party* a-t-il pu se trouver dans une position qui permette de commettre un pareil acte à son égard ?

Critérium du Progrès

Quand je vois tant de vieux préjugés entretenus par une ignorance féconde en mauvais sentiments, dominer la vie politique et sociale du monde, je trouve qu'il y a un abîme entre cet état de choses et les progrès réalisés par la science et la technique des industries. Les assemblées politiques de tous les peuples continuent d'entasser des projets de loi, des règlements ; la Société des Nations légifère de son côté : et cependant l'expérience universelle nous prouve l'importance de la question posée par le poète Horace : *Quid leges sine moribus.* Que sont les lois sans les mœurs ?

De là cette règle de l'évolution humaine : restriction du domaine juridique et extension du domaine moral ; élimination

des arrangements d'autorité par les [illegible] la expériences dont j'ai été et dont je suis [illegible] ont fortifié ma conviction dans la vérité de ce critérium de l'évolution : Le progrès est en raison directe de l'action de l'homme sur les choses et en raison inverse de la coercition de l'homme sur l'homme.

YVES-GUYOT.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF TWO EDITORS

To have had the privilege of knowing the first two editors of *The Nineteenth Century* is to me a source of deep gratitude, and of poignant regret—since I shall see them no more on earth—to have the honour of setting down some of my recollections of them, is a labour of love

I wish I knew more about the founding of the Review, knew in exactly what mixture of hope and fear it was started in 1877 by James Knowles, critic and architect. In later years the architect became almost lost in the man of letters; but several churches, 'Aldworth,' Lord Tennyson's Surrey home, the Thatched House Club, and public gardens and fountains remain to show his architectural gifts There was another side to his nature which had a greater part in inducing and helping him to found his Review—that was his earnest desire to know the truth, the truth about science, the truth about religion: this led to his forming the Metaphysical Society, in which all philosophy might be discussed When it is remembered that Tennyson and Gladstone, Huxley, Tyndall, Ruskin, Froude, Cardinal Manning and the Chief Rabbi, Mr Balfour, Dean Stanley, and Frederic Harrison were amongst the forty members of the Society, it will be seen that Mr. Knowles had not far to look for contributors. There were giants in those Victorian days, and he knew them all His two qualities, open-mindedness and truthfulness, were conspicuous from the first: he liked well that both sides of a question should be dealt with fairly; he liked better still that men should have the courage of their convictions, so made a rule that all articles must be signed.

Tennyson's Preferatory Sonnet was (and is) the keynote of the Review. Everyone remembers its allusion to the 'Roaring moon of daffodil and crocus,' the brave month of March in which it was started; everyone should remember the avowed object of those who 'regather round the mast' to seek

> If any golden harbour be for men
> In seas of Death and sunless gulfs of Doubt.

That quest was followed loyally by the founder and editor. By the time I had the good fortune to be introduced to Mr.

Knowles (he was not then Sir James) the Review had become a power in the land. To be asked to write an article for it was indeed a mark of distinction; it implied that in the editor's opinion the one invited had valuable knowledge and the spirit of truth.

I wish I could draw an adequate picture of a typical luncheon party at his house, Queen Anne's Lodge: that charming place was beautiful in itself, had a beautiful outlook on to St. James's Park, and was full of beautiful things; yet it was a home, not a museum. I remember no 'collections,' although Mr Knowles was a connoisseur, but wherever the eye turned there was something lovely to be seen.

Can I forget the thrill with which on my first visit I looked up above the mantelpiece in the dining-room and saw Watts' *Rider on the White Horse* looking down on me, and, awed hero-worshipper that I was, learnt that my host had bought it from the easel of the artist, who decided that he was the right person to have it, as he best appreciated it? In later days Millais's grand portrait of Tennyson, one of Mr. Knowles's most intimate friends, hung in that place; it was noble, but the Rider was my first love.

Mr. Knowles was well known as a critic of painting, and judge of the fine arts; his taste was generous and catholic: drawings by the Old Masters hung on his walls, also works by Turner, Rosetti, and Leighton. I believe I once gained an approving glance from him by stopping in front of a delightful little water-colour, a seascape As I looked at it he asked me if I liked it. I said I did, and ventured to ask who had painted it. I can still see the little smile which came into his eyes as he said: 'An artist, an artist to her finger-tips—Queen Alexandra.'

To return to the luncheon parties, what do I remember best? Not the beauty of the room, nor the carefully chosen guests or the excellent meal, but the host, the man who could and did gather round him the most famous men in the world of letters, art and politics, could and did get them to talk about the subjects they best understood, and could and did keep abreast of their knowledge. I think that was his secret: he was a poet, an artist and a statesman; he could meet these others on their own ground. Having magic in him, he brought out the very best side of his guests. I remember hearing of a lady who was convinced that Mr. Gladstone was the Enemy of Mankind; she met him once at luncheon, at Queen Anne's Lodge, where under the genial skilful handling of his host he talked so delightfully that the lady afterwards confided in a friend: 'My dear, I must *never* meet that man again, or I shall end by worshipping him.'

No attempt at a sketch of Sir James Knowles, the many-sided man, could be made without allusion to another branch of art in

which he took a deep interest; he loved the drama, and understood it. Henry Irving and Ellen Terry were amongst his most frequent guests, and Sir Henry owed much to Sir James's treasury of knowledge. It was the latter, for example, whose wide historical studies and vivid imagination suggested the rich Eastern setting of Tennyson's tragedy *The Cup;* and his opinion on any Shakespearean question was authoritative Such questions were often discussed when Irving was a guest. The editor had many actor friends—I think the profession had a warm corner in his heart; he liked to encourage talent when he saw it, and his opinion was of much value. I remember a well-turned compliment he once paid to a lady whose gifts were scarcely sufficiently appreciated at the time There had been a much criticised production of *Hamlet,* and the actress in question said, rather sadly: 'Mr. Knowles, you have not told me what you think of my Ophelia, I am afraid you do not like it' 'My dear Mrs. ——,' he said; 'on the contrary, your Ophelia is the only one I have seen which gave me the least idea that she ever had a mind she could go out of.'

It is almost impertinent of me to say that Sir James appeared to me to know everything Yet a picture rises before me. I had had the pleasure of being able to do him a trifling service, to bring back to him from Egypt an account of the doings and well-being of someone dear to him After luncheon I was taken to his study, and thence, to all intents and purposes, he took me to Egypt again He knew the land by heart; he knew the temples as if he had worshipped in them in some far-off life; he knew the Nile as if he, as well as his son, had been a great builder of bridges; as he talked I saw again Sphinx and Pyramid, tomb and desert. He was so keen, and yet so gentle, that I do not think I should have minded much telling him that I could not read, if that had been the case, for he would only have taken pains to find someone who could teach me the art as quickly as possible; but I would have stood a lot of punishment rather than have laid claim before him to knowledge I did not possess

This man with 'two sides to his head' kept his finger on the pulse of the nation No genuine movement for good or evil escaped him, no movement for evil evaded his censure, none for good lacked his support. After his death many who wrote of him recalled the one occasion on which he abandoned his usual attitude of impartiality and 'took sides'—I mean his unflinching opposition to the Channel Tunnel scheme. Years later Sir James, who must have received as many compliments from great men as anyone alive, could yet smile delightedly when he told me; 'Gladstone always used to point at me and say, "That's the man that killed the Channel Tunnel."' I understood his pleasure.

The born critic was above all a patriot. He believed that the tunnel meant peril to his country, therefore it was to be fought with might and main.

Almost my last memory of Sir James is in connexion with a little fairy play which he published in *The Nineteenth Century.* I can still see myself sitting in his study—kind Lady Knowles was also there—listening to hints about dialogue, and suggestions as to the correct dress for a fairy prince. It was not very long afterwards that a friend of mine, anxious to spare me a shock, looked up from a newspaper and asked: 'Was Sir James Knowles well when you saw him last?' 'Not at all,' I said. 'Why?' 'Because I am sorry to see that he is dead.'

One last picture—a memorial service at St. Margaret's, Westminster, at which the King was represented, a congregation of men and women who had worked for him, been helped by him, and now grieved at their loss In their hearts a question arose: 'Who will succeed him? Who *can* succeed him?'

The answer was simple, the mantle fell on Sir James's son-in-law, W. Wray Skilbeck In some ways the choice might have been considered unexpected, for Mr. Skilbeck was more of an out-of-door man than the usual run of editors; he was a sportsman, a well-known football player. But he was also first a solicitor and afterwards a barrister, and his knowledge of the law taught him much: he could weigh evidence, and realise that there are two sides to most questions. Further, he had had the priceless advantage of being Sir James's secretary for seventeen years, and the chance of learning from beginning to end the work of editing a review. Whether literary work would have been his chosen field of action or not matters little; when he saw that it was to be his life's task he spared no pains to master every detail, and threw his whole power into his effort

It was a year or so after Sir James's death in 1908 that I had the chance to get to know the new editor. What manner of man did I find? It was once said in praise of a famous preacher that he spoke 'as dying man to dying men'; Mr. Skilbeck's attitude was that of a living man to living men. He appeared to me to be an absolutely natural man—kindly, courteous, unspoilt, with one of the most sunny natures I ever met. There is a passage in one of Mr Bernard Shaw's prefaces which reminds me of Mr. Skilbeck. G B S. declares that he once visited an oculist who told him that his sight was normal. At first Mr. Shaw took this to mean that his sight was average, but it was explained to him that in this case it meant that it was just what a man's sight should be, and seldom is. In a purely Shavian sense I think Mr. Skilbeck was 'normal' in all relations of life, towards his family, his contributors and his employees. Certainly everyone w

worked under him adored him: to be asked to do something for him was to be given a great pleasure, and to receive swift appreciation. A wise woman once said to me: 'Gratitude is a plant that only grows on good soil.' Mr. Skilbeck never failed to be grateful. He was at heart a sportsman, and very certain to play the game. There was another side to his character—he had the gift of unfailing sympathy, and those who knew him best were aware of deep sensitiveness, and of a passionate devotion to music, which could sweep across his being like a great wind. Nothing that affected his fellow-men could be a matter of indifference to him, none of their sorrows failed to touch him, none of their mirth was unechoed in his heart Since he has been dead I have spoken to many people about him, those who knew him, and I have noticed that at the mention of his name a little smile lit up their faces, to be followed by a sigh

Looking back, and trying to think what changes, if any, came over *The Nineteenth Century* under his guidance, I notice two points The Victorian era, with all its romance, was over, and the minds of men were a little uneasy. Some presentiment was about of the terrible days close at hand The 'lengthening shadows on the lawn' were giving 'notice to the startled grass that darkness was about to pass' Men were less occupied with literature and art, more occupied with actions; they spoke less of England, more of the Empire The Review needed, and found, a man who moved amongst his fellow-men, and understood deeds as well as words.

There was another change which touched me more nearly. The conscience of the country began to stir, and to take an interest in the conditions under which the very poorest class lived. Lady Bountiful was dead, or had left the country, where she knew everyone, for London, where she knew only the West End. There was much talk about a very old evil, the Sweating System. Mr. Skilbeck allowed me to contribute an article on the lives and wages of the home-workers of London. There were in it many instances of heroism and hardship, some barely credible. The editor's interest was aroused, and his love of truth made him decide that he would like to see a few of these people himself. He suggested that I might take him on a voyage of discovery through mean streets. I was delighted, also amused, because he politely said he supposed he should come in frock-coat and tall hat I drew such a picture of the vast pleasure he would give to Bethnal Green that he changed his mind and came in tweeds He took his tall form—and it was a tall athletic form, so hardy that it was cold weather indeed when he could be seen in an overcoat —down worn steps to half-underground rooms, and dodged the family washing spread across rickety staircases Only one

grumble escaped him: '*Must they keep such awful cats?*' In a basement room he listened whilst an old flower-maker discoursed about the price of bread in the days of the Crimean War—to him history, to her a dim memory—and then let her mind slip back to tales her mother had told her of life during the Peninsular campaign: if I had not gently removed him, I fancy they would soon have been exchanging chatty recollections of the Wars of the Roses. I have heard Mr Skilbeck talk delightfully at his own table, when entertaining men of importance in the political world, and have marked his exquisite courtesy as a host, but I never heard him talk better than he did in that basement room, or show greater deference to anyone's opinions than he did to those of an old woman in Shoreditch. Her view of the visit was expressed to me a week or so later. 'There; isn't it a comfort sometimes to talk to someone that knows *something!*'

The war followed hard after, and I venture to think that during those awful years few men kept a clearer head or more dauntless heart, or did more to help others to lift up their eyes unto the hill. He had many special anxieties connected with the difficulties to be overcome in bringing out a great Review at such a time: he worked, he overworked, and he was no longer a very strong man The King of the Belgians realised the value of Mr. Skilbeck's unfailing help and support, and sent him the Order of La Courronne Belge I hope it was a pleasure to the editor; I know it was a pleasure to his friends But his editorial work did not satisfy him at this crisis; he felt bound to find some definite job to do for his country, and became a special constable, thus adding to his laborious days wakeful nights and perils in time of air raids.

My last meeting with him was in St James's Park; I had escaped for an hour from a Government office to rest from the task of helping to track down an enterprising firm engaged in exporting rubber, disguised as onions, to Holland A well-known form stood before me, and a well-known face smiled down at me. 'Well,' he said, 'are you convinced that all is lost?' 'No, indeed.' 'Then come and lunch with me.' I went, and we had a pleasant, cheerful meal. I think the last thing I heard him say was: 'I mean to be happy as long as I can.' He was happy, and he gave happiness; he gave sore hearts, too, when his friends knew that he had been stricken down on that July day in 1919 tond that in a few hours the *Nineteenth Century and After* had los to ı editor.

that That was my last meeting with him, but by no means my las should ction of him During the next winter I visited again m Skilbeck ıd in Shoreditch. She pointed to a large parcel, and said his contrisome mistake. It's a fine down quilt, from a big shop

of course, it's not meant for me.' 'Is there no name or message?' 'Yes, there's a name, but I don't know it.' I did, and was able to assure her that there was no mistake. Later on I met the sender and mentioned the matter. 'I thought Mr. Skilbeck would like her to have it,' was the answer. 'Wreaths for our graves the Lord hath given.' What man or woman would not like the wreath of such a thought and action to be laid on his or her grave?

If Sir James found God, as I doubt not he did, in lovely words, line and colour, his successor found God in the beauty hidden in the hearts of his fellow-men.

SYDNEY K. PHELPS.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PERIODICAL

The discussion of periodicals is not without elements of difficulty and danger. None the less, the subject is one that has evoked considerable interest and aroused criticism—whether favourable or adverse—in particular instances.

As an example of the latter may be cited that trenchant commentary on the *Cornhill*, in the first year of its inception, which affirmed it to be 'of not the slightest value to our literature.'

Since the time when the budding *Cornhill* received this nip of 'envious frost' the scope and aims of periodicals have greatly changed, and it may be of interest to trace their growth and history, to touch upon the general policy of editors and publishers, and to inquire, incidentally, into the causes that have conduced to limit the circulation of the more serious reviews.

Changes in the constitution of society (in the large sense) and of the political outlook are reflected in the general output of literature, but whereas in books we find an index to the life and thought of a generation, the periodical is, or should be, a mental chart recording from day to day the level of average educated intelligence.

Speaking loosely, there have been five definite epochs in periodical literature: its birth in the seventeenth century; its jubilee in the eighteenth century, when Addison and Steele did their brilliant work; its rapid expansion in the first half of the nineteenth century, the revolt of the specialists in the latter half; and the vast output of the present, with popular approbation as its objective.

Before outlining the history of the periodical one or two considerations arise with regard to publishers, to writers, and to the public which are of general application. Publishers and editors of every period have naturally regarded their ventures from a commercial point of view. Their first aim was to trade, literature and science being mere means to an end. They considered the periodical as essentially ephemeral and transitory, and aimed at making it increasingly attractive in order to swell the number of purchasers. This view of the intention of the publishers is borne out in many prefaces written by editors wher

introducing new magazines. 'A magazine,' says one editor, 'must be a business enterprise.' Any advantage it might be to literature he would regard as a happy incident to achieve which it must first of all be profitable. George Augustus Sala emphasises, in the opening paragraphs of his preface to the first volume of *Temple Bar*, his satisfaction that the magazine is a profitable undertaking, and that 'neither the Editor nor the Proprietor nor the contributors have seen any reason to doubt that *Temple Bar* is paying very well indeed.'

From time to time there have been attempts to ignore the business side and to start a journal governed by a specific ideal and guided by a strong personal bias, but these have generally ended in failure. William Stead, for instance, on starting the *Review of Reviews*, enjoyed at the outset the full measure of popularity to which his high standard and originality of aim entitled him, but when he ran counter to public opinion, as he did during the Boer War, the loss in circulation was immediate and disastrous.

With regard to the serious reviews, on the other hand, the motive which induces the contributor to put pen to paper is often twofold. The majority nowadays are, in a measure, influenced by the fees they collect, but there is a minority who regard the periodical as a vehicle for propounding their views or airing their hobbies, whether political, social, or scientific, either to convert it to a particular course of action or to announce their discoveries. I have not been able to discover any periodical, except the *Edinburgh Review*, which was bold enough at the very beginning to proclaim that its aims were disinterested and that the public good was its main object. In a few cases the trifling fees paid do not weigh with the writer. A laudable desire exists to communicate something new and fresh which may add to the store of human knowledge.

Unhappily, however, there is another and increasing class of writers who contribute to the Press a mass of reading matter that is immature or ill-conceived These come chiefly from the ranks of amateurs with ample leisure, to whom writing appears in the guise of a pleasant pastime, and who, careless of rebuffs since their livelihood is not at stake, continue to bombard the editorial sanctum until they effect an entry. But by whatever motive these two classes of writers are actuated, certain general rules laid down for their guidance require to be borne in mind, such as the editorial dictum that 'style and diction are not essential to an article . . . ; more important to a contributor, in the first place, than his technical literary equipment—though that is far from being negligible—is his developed sense of life' (editor of *Harper*). Or, again, 'it is of much less consequence to a country

whether its writers excel in the arts of composition and the various branches of literary skill than whether their opinions on those leading points (*i.e.*, politics and religion) are sound and right' (editor of *British Critic*). It is curious to note, in passing, that as authors increased in numerical strength, so, likewise, did the esteem in which their profession was held.

When we turn to watch the stream—in constant flood—of ephemeral literature, we are bewildered by its magnitude. The causes, however, of this ever-increasing volume are apparent. They can easily be traced to a higher educational standard—to the national growth of knowledge. Our modern system of national education began in 1816, when Brougham presided over a Select Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the education of the lower classes in London. Nothing tangible was done until another Committee of the Privy Council sat in 1834, when a small sum of money was voted for the building of schools. Soon after, a third Committee having reported in strong terms regarding the educational destitution prevailing in all important centres, a permanent Council on Education was appointed.

From that time the forward movement began. One of the many indications of its reality may be seen in the rapid growth of periodical literature. The wider the spread of knowledge the greater the demand for instructive and entertaining reading, while mere school-books were felt to be uninspiring and insufficient Successive Royal Commissions met; Acts of Parliament were passed; evening schools were inaugurated; secondary education was instituted. The population was learning to read. A new want was created of which the bookmen took cognisance, and were quick to take advantage. Magazines began to 'jostle one another in the literary world, each thrusting itself forward as the worthiest of public favour; each vaunting its editor and its list of writers.' New readers with new aspirations were clamouring to be supplied, but the ambition of the publisher was not wholly achieved for some years.

The beginning of the periodical dates back to the seventeenth century, when catalogues of books (1646) were first issued. The bare titles of books, however, did not seem sufficiently attractive, catalogues being, in the opinion of many, 'dry things scarce able to raise in men that gust and appetite to learning.' Short notices were added by the bookseller or by his hack. The amalgamation of the titles and the commentaries brought the 'notices' into greater prominence until they became the leading features. A further strong impetus was given to this new departure by the *Journal des Scavans*, which began to be printed in France in 1665 and by our own *Acta Philosophica* (1665), from both of which

editors drew material. A little later they also made abstracts from the *Acta Eruditorum*, issued in Germany in 1682. The French *Journal* was entirely devoted to giving its readers summaries of books. The work was so well done that it won the especial praise of Gibbon. 'I can hardly express,' he wrote, 'how delighted I am with this *Journal*, its characteristics are erudition, precision and taste.' Its publication has continued up to the present time, with only one short break at the end of the eighteenth century. The *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society (1665) followed in imitation of, and with a similar scope to, the French *Journal*. The aim was stated to be 'to give some account of the present undertakings, studies and labours of the Ingenious in many considerable parts of the world.' These two journals were, in reality, the parents of the periodical. In the *Weekly Memorials for the Ingenious* (1682) a further development may be registered, when an original contribution made its appearance for the first time. A few years after it was followed by the *Universal Historical Bibliothèque* (1686), which announced its intention of printing reviews of the most important books and the 'quality of the author if known.' This seems to be the first attempt at periodical criticism, and the first time that it is recorded that an editor asked for contributions from the learned. The innovation was welcome. Periodicals began at once to increase. An interesting attempt, on account of its novelty and originality, was the *Athenian Gazette* (1690), the forerunner of *Notes and Queries* and *Answers*, in which undertaking Samuel Wesley was a partner with John Dunton, the editor. It invited its readers to ask questions, and rashly promised to answer them. A staff of four, including the editor, all men of considerable ability and wide knowledge, resolved to deal with whatever queries were handed or sent in. The task, however, soon proved beyond their power. They had not realised the depths of curiosity in their fellow-men. Cunning and obscure questions came pouring in and overwhelmed both the editor and his assistants. Often at their wits' end how to reply, their answers became vague and unsatisfactory. When a riddle was too difficult to solve they took refuge by referring readers to some passage in the Bible. Defoe appears as one of the contributors to this magazine when it was issued under the name of the *Athenian Mercury*. In 1692 Dunton issued supplements in which natural history and natural phenomena were dealt with, thus still further widening the scope of the periodical. The *Compleat Library* (1691-2, also printed for John Dunton) came next in order of time and importance with a definite plan allotting a given space to original contributors and to the reviews of books. This magazine contained the elements of criticism as understood

to-day. Side by side with [illegible] serious reading were also many [illegible] termed 'periodicals of amusement.' Though vulgar and obscene, they reflect the manners of the day. Many were short-lived.

A new phase in the history of periodical literature is heralded in when the eighteenth century begins. The chief representatives are the *Tatler* (1709), which established the essay periodical as a type, the *Spectator* (1711), the *Guardian* (1712), and the *Examiner* (1710). Politics now became blended with literature. All the great writers then were politicians. Swift and Bolingbroke wrote diatribes for the *Examiner* and filled its pages with personal attacks against the leading men and women of the day; Addison and Steele used their pens in the *Spectator* and *Guardian* to defend Whig principles. The former attained such popularity for its outspoken articles that its sale rose to 4000. These journals were the only medium then existing of telling men what was happening in politics, and the only guide available for those who desired a lead. Addison and Steele owed their position as public men to the brilliant essays they wrote. The pen was their only weapon, for neither was an orator. The success they achieved, however, was checked by the Stamp Act, passed to curb the licence of the Press and to restrain frank criticism. Owing to its restriction, several periodicals were compelled to cease printing. They had gone a step further than their predecessors in giving current news, social and legal, and in criticising books on literature, history and travel. Perhaps the two most interesting of the century are the *North Briton* and *Gentleman's Magazine* (1731). The former was (1762) edited by John Wilkes. For the unheard-of audacity of describing a statement in the King's Speech as untrue a warrant was issued for his arrest. He was sent to the Tower and expelled from Parliament; his paper was condemned to be burnt by the common hangman, and the printer was pilloried. Great excitement followed. The people gathered round the pillory and subscribed money to aid the martyr for the liberty of the Press, while Junius, among many others, wrote his virulent letters against the violation of constitutional law. They are a good example of the political articles of the day, which not only kept the public alive by their venom, but also pleased the reader like a [illegible] indolent bout of fisticuffs. This note of irony and pungent satire, so common in bygone days, is now almost non-existent, and the world [illegible] is duller for its absence.

The latter, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, though not then the leading monthly, is better known to us than any other of the older periodicals. It contained summaries of events at home and abroad, scraps of art and antiquity, and short and accurate obituary notices now so often consulted by the genealogist. The

short articles on country houses and on topography contain details of importance to which the historian and antiquarian of to-day constantly refer, while the reviews of current literature and travel are indispensable. If the *Gentleman's Magazine* has no other merit, it yet deserves our gratitude for restoring, in 1796, Herrick again to English literature after he had lain forgotten for 150 years, and for stimulating Dr. Nott, of Bristol, to issue an edition of his poems in 1810. The careful indexes prepared in recent years have doubled its value and saved the searcher untold labour.

The modern periodical burst upon the world with a singular glory at the very beginning of the nineteenth century. The three outstanding monthlies were the *Edinburgh* (1802), the *Quarterly* (1809), and *Blackwood* (1817)—all of them now grown old, yet full of vigour and ever rejuvenated by a succession of life-giving editors. They were fortunate in the men who controlled their destinies; many of their names now written large in the history of English literature had enterprise, boldness, and originality. They gave the periodical its present form and standing and gathered together a circle of brilliant contributors Though in some respects a change, not always welcome, has taken place in the character and scope of the magazine, it still continued to shed its lustre around and to be read by a large number of the reading public.

The story of the founding of the *Edinburgh* is recorded in full in Cockburn's *Life of Lord Jeffrey*, 1852. A group of young men, among whom were Sydney Smith, Henry Brougham, and Francis Jeffrey, resolved, after some consultation together, to start a new magazine to be called the *Edinburgh Review*. The credit of mooting the idea is generally accorded to Sydney Smith. The aim of the *Edinburgh* was 'to erect a higher standard of merit, and secure a bolder and a purer taste in literature, and to apply philosophical principles and the maxims of truth and humanity to politics.' But the promoters were not sanguine; it seemed an almost unjustifiable experiment. Undaunted, however, the venture took shape and the first number appeared in October 1802. 'The effect,' says Cockburn, 'was electrical. It was an entire and instant change of everything that the public had been accustomed to in that sort of composition. The learning of the new journal, its talent, its spirit, its writing, its independence, were all new. Its literature, its political economy and its pure science were generally admired. It was hailed as the dawn of a brighter day.'

Reviewing books reached a height of perfection and thoroughness never before contemplated.

The intellect of the readers was expanding, and their mentality

was changing. A larger number of [illegible] some-thing stimulating to read and desired a freer and [illegible] discussion in political affairs. The group of young men—[illegible] and his companions—did not wish the grass to grow under their feet; they were keen for action. There was no time for compromise. The old ideas must give way to the new, even if those who held the former were pushed aside. The spirit of the age was with the young and the *Edinburgh* was their mouthpiece. Notwithstanding the enthusiasm prevailing, nothing short of 'the extraordinary combination of qualities which distinguished Jeffrey (the editor) could have secured' to the *Edinburgh* the position it held during the first years of its life.

It is not, as we have said, part of our design to discuss the literary or political matter of the periodical, but, as was inevitable, the Tory spirit was roused to action by the *Edinburgh*. To maintain Tory principles the *Quarterly* and *Blackwood* came out as rivals. These three journals together have maintained the political and literary note of the founders up to the present day, the political element always predominating, perhaps to a greater extent now than ever.

In the next fifty years the crowd of magazines hurtle against each other on the bookstall and in reading-rooms. No sooner has one outstripped the other in popularity than another starts in the race seeking to surpass its rival in excellence and dignity Their names seem legion and the heterogeneity bewildering. Four—the *Cornhill* (1860), *Macmillan's Magazine* (1860), *All the Year Round* (1859), and *Temple Bar* (1861)—are typical of the period.

The beginnings of these magazines have revolved round the question of supply and demand. Competition between publishers was now alive and active The series started with *All the Year Round*, with Charles Dickens as editor, and was succeeded after a short lapse of time by the other three under the respective editorships of Thackeray, David Masson, and George Augustus Sala. Since their object was to beguile the leisure hours of the public, fiction was preferred to politics The tables were turned. The political article was either non-existent or was relegated to the background. The classical and literary essay had proved failures.

The *Cornhill*, the most characteristic example of the spirit of modernity that was creeping in, was launched by Mr. George Smith in 1860 with the idea of making the popular serial the chief attraction. Though the plan cannot be claimed as original, the enterprise necessary to carry it out belongs to Mr. Smith. His scheme was the first definite move in this direction. The novelty of it 'lay in uniting the popular lure of the serial with the literary

work of the more serious reviews'. A pleasant record of the founding of this magazine is given in the *History of the House of Smith Elder*, where we are told of interviews with Thackeray, the first editor of the *Cornhill*, with Trollope, with George Eliot, and with Mrs. Browning and Tennyson. We also get a glimpse of a publisher's anxieties and triumph when he hazards his capital on the issue of a new magazine. How far the *Cornhill* and its contemporaries have altered since that day is unimportant here, but their appearance marked another milestone on the road to the twentieth century periodical

In all these journals, except perhaps the *Cornhill*, poetry had its small niche. Allusions to it, however, were scanty, for poetry is for the few. *Temple Bar*, among the rest, published poems, but the cold water thrown by its editor when he wrote, 'I am no poet , do not understand and cannot appreciate the Muses,' must have acted as a deterrent to many. Those who write verse have had to wait till the twentieth century before obtaining their reward in the *Poetry Review*, specially dedicated to their Muse.

The revolt of the 'eighties and 'nineties, as we have termed this next period, though not quite accurate when one comes to examine details, is significant of this period when historian, antiquarian, and scientist first become aware that the ordinary periodical did not meet their requirements A glance at the dates when the principal historical and other scientific magazines were founded will bring conviction to those who would be inclined to question this contention. A few samples are sufficient to show the tendency.

The *English Historical Review* began in 1886, the *Classical Review* in 1887, the *Church Quarterly Review* in 1875, the *Asiatic Quarterly* in 1886, the *Law Quarterly* in 1885, the *Magazine of Art* in 1878, and the *Western Antiquary* in 1883. The movement was natural ; there was much to be said in all these spheres of knowledge, and the existing channels of communication were blocked ; the ordinary periodicals had no space for the material the specialist kept pouring out, and the journals of learned societies had but a limited appeal. Readable historical articles found little favour with the editor, while scientific contributions were considered beyond the intelligence of the general reader. That this boycott has been carried too far is shown by the eagerness with which some books of history and works of science have been read and bought in recent years. It argues a lack of enterprise on the part of the editor or the publisher. If the public mind is not yet sufficiently educated to grasp the intricacies of scientific problems as expounded by the specialist, it behoves the editor to insist on a simpler form of expression. When the

scientist, however, condescends to a simplicity that will convey his meaning to the lay reader, he unwittingly does a greater service to his subject than to the unlearned public, for it is only by widening the bounds of knowledge that his discoveries will find breathing space and an atmosphere favourable to their growth.

The general periodical had not, however, come to a standstill. On the contrary, new magazines were keeping the printer busy. It is only necessary to mention *The Nineteenth Century* in 1877, which immediately took the foremost place in the political and literary field, and *Longman's Magazine* or *Murray's Magazine*; but these were merely developing on the lines of their predecessors, and forced their way into notice by dint of the great ability displayed by their editors. This period is also notable for the first magazine that made illustrations a distinct feature. Many had already inserted full-page illustrations and woodcuts in the 'sixties, but none of these approached to what we now accept as an illustrated magazine. The *English Illustrated Magazine* (1884) may perhaps be considered the parent of illustrated periodicals, though no doubt the bibliographer would name an earlier one. The continually changing attitude of the public is clearly shown by George Augustus Sala, who stated in *Temple Bar* (1861) that, with due regard to the interests of his readers, he preferred to give them sixteen extra pages of print rather than an illustration or two.

The journalism of our own day was quick to take the suggestion thus received Popularisation is its keynote. Innumerable publishers adopted the view of Sir George Newnes that a magazine should give 'wholesome and harmless entertainment to crowds of hard-working people craving for a little fun and amusement,' and should provide the public with light literature and a large supply of illustration to please the senses. The failure of Mr. W. Stead to see eye to eye with Sir George Newnes when the *Review of Reviews* was brought out resulted in the issue of the *Strand Magazine* in 1891. The design of that magazine was that it should 'contain stories and articles by the best British writers and special translations of the chief foreign authors.' Its policy was 'to change individual features as soon as there were signs that the public were tired of them.' No limit was to be put to illustration. It was a bold move, and even the publishers felt that they were embarking 'upon the wildest extravagance in furnishing no fewer than a hundred and ten illustrations in a single number.' It must be remembered that this was before the general adoption of process engraving, and that woodcuts were still in use. The success which followed was phenomenal. Though fiction predominated, many articles of a scientific nature, comprehensible

to the lay mind, were printed. One notable example deserves mention, namely, the contribution of Professor Langley on his own aeroplane with a picture of its flight, which may be said to be the first representation of the working of an aerial machine. The periodical market is now crowded with magazines of this kind of varying merit and popularity.

C. HAGBERG WRIGHT.